

Henry Wise, THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD,
IN
FIVE BOOKS.

By Sir WALTER RALEGH, Kt.

*The SEVENTH EDITION, printed from the Edition publish'd in the AUTHOR'S
Life-time, and revis'd by HIMSELF.*

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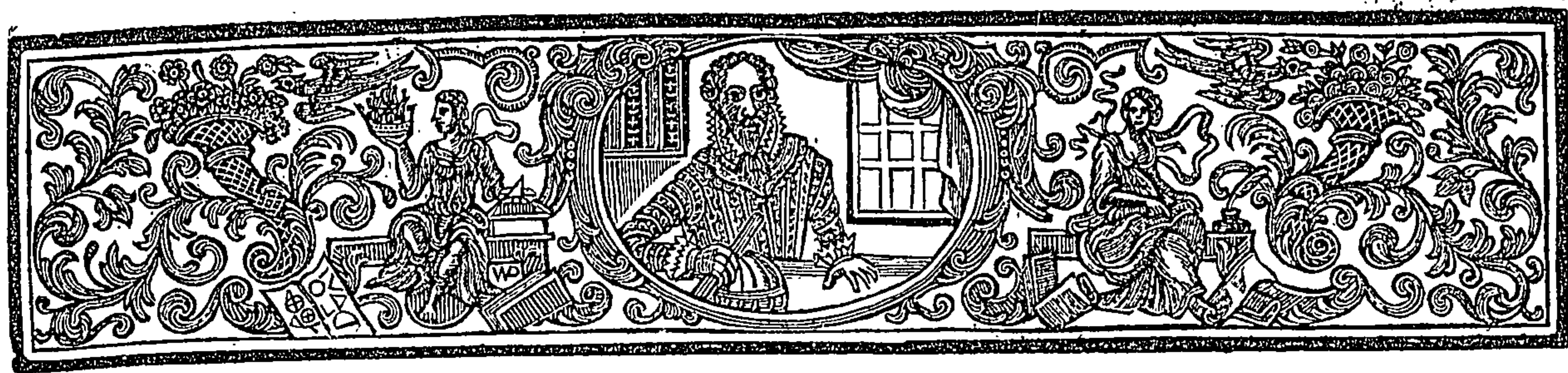
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MDCCXXXIII



THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING of the
*Beginning and First Ages of the same, from
the CREATION unto ABRAHAM.*

The FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. I. *Of the Creation, and Preservation of the WORLD.*

SECT. I. *That the INVISIBLE GOD is seen in his Creatures.*



OD, whom the wisest men acknowledge to be a Power uneffable, and Virtue infinite; a Light by abundant clarity invisible; an Understanding which itself can only comprehend, an Essence eternal and spiritual, of absolute pureness and simplicity; was, and is pleased to make himself known by the work of the world: In the wonderful magnitude whereof (all which he embraceth, filleth, and sustaineth) we behold the Image of that Glory which cannot be measured, and withal, that one, and yet universal Nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious lights of heaven, we perceive a Shadow of his Divine Countenance; in his merciful provision for all that live, his manifold Goodness; and lastly, in creating and making excellent the world universal, by the absolute art of his

own word, his Power and Almightyness; which Power, Light, Virtue, Wisdom, and Goodness, being all but attributes of one simple Essence, and one God, we in all admire, and in part discern *per speculum creaturarum*, that is, in the disposition, order, and variety of celestial and terrestrial bodies: terrestrial, in their strange and manifold diversities; celestial, in their beauty and magnitude; which in their continual and contrary motions, are neither repugnant, intermix'd, nor confounded. By these potent effects, we approach to the knowledge of the omnipotent Cause, and by these motions, their almighty Mover.

In these more than wonderful works, God (saith ^a *Hugo*) speaketh unto man: And it is true; that these be those discourses of God, whose effects, all that live, witness in themselves; the sensible, in their sensible natures; the reasonable, in their reasonable souls: For, according to ^b *St. Gregory*,

^a *Hugo super Eccles. Homil. 8.* ^b *Greg. in Mor. Herm. ad Al. Tat. 1. 5. Unus verò ingenuus, & non apparens, & immanifestus, omnia autem manifestans, per omnia apparet, & in omnibus. Apparentia solum generatorum est; nihil apparitio quam generatio.*

Omnis homo eo ipso quod rationalis conditus est, ex ipsa ratione, illum qui se condidit, Deum esse colligere debet: Every man, in that he is reasonable, out of the same reason may know, that he, which made him, is God. This God all men behold (saith *Job*) which is, according to the fathers, *Dominationem illius conspiciere in creaturis*, To discern him in his providence by his creature. That God hath been otherwise seen, to wit, with corporal eyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my understanding, grounded on these places of ^a *St. John* and ^a *St. Paul*, *Ye have not heard his voice at any time, neither have ye seen his shape.* And again, *Whom never man saw, nor can see.*

And this I am sure agrees with the nature of God's simplicity, of which *St. Augustine*, *Ipsa enim natura, vel substantia, vel quolibet alio nomine appellandum est, id ipsum quod Deus est, corporaliter videri non potest*; That nature, or that substance, or by whatsoever name that is to be called which is God, whatsoever that be, the same cannot be corporally perceived. And of this opinion were ^b *Origen*, *Cyril*, *Chrysostom*, *Gregory Nazianzene*, *Hierome*, *Augustine*, *Gregory the great*, *Evaristus*, *Alcuinus*, *Dionysius Areopagita*, *Aquinas*, and all others of authority. But by his own word, and by this visible world, is God perceived of men; which is also the understood language of the Almighty, vouchsafed to all his creatures, whose hieroglyphical characters are the unnumbered stars, the sun and moon; written on these large volumes of the firmament; written also on the earth and the seas, by the letters of all those living creatures, and plants, which inhabit and reside therein. Therefore said that learned ^c *Cusanus*, *Mundus universus nihil aliud est, quam Deus explicatus*; The world universal is nothing else but God express'd. As the invisible things of God (saith ^d *St. Paul*) are seen by the creation of the world, being considered in his creatures. Of all which, there was no other cause preceding than his own will, no other matter than his own power, no other workman than his own word, no other consideration than his own infinite goodness. The example and pattern of these his creatures, as he beheld the same in all eternity in the abundance of his own love, so was it at length in the most wise order, by his unchanged will moved, by his high wisdom disposed, and by his almighty power perfected, and made visible. And therefore (saith *Mirandula*) we ought to love God, *ex fide, & ex effectibus* (that is) both persuaded by his word, and by the effects of the world's creation: *Neque enim qui causa caret, ex causa & origine sciri, cognoscique potest, sed vel ex rerum, quæ factæ sunt, quæque fiunt & gubernantur, observatione & collatione; vel ex ipsius Dei verbo*: For he, of whom there is no higher cause, cannot be known by any knowledge of cause or beginning (saith ^e *Montanus*) but either by the observing and conferring of things, which he hath, or doth create and govern; or else by the word of God himself.

SECT. II.

That the wisest of the Heathen, whose authority is not to be despised, have acknowledged the world to have been created by God.

THIS work and creation of the world, did most of the ancient and learned philosophers acknowledge, though by divers terms, and in a different manner express'd; I mean all those who are intitled by *St. Augustine*, *summi philosophi*, philoso-

phers of highest judgment and understanding. ^f *Mercurius Trismegistus* calleth God, *principium universorum*, the original of the universal; to whom he giveth also the attributes of *Mens, Natura, Actus, Necessitas, Finis, & Renovatio*. And wherein he truly with *St. Paul* casteth upon God all power; confessing also, that the world was made by God's almighty word, and not by hands: *Verbo, non manibus, fabricatus est mundus*. *Zoroaster* (whom *Heraclitus* followed in opinion) took the word *Fire* to express God by (as in ^g *Deuteronomy* and in ^h *St. Paul* it is used) *Omnia ex uno igne genita sunt*, All things (saith he) are caused or produced out of one fire.

So did *Orpheus* plainly teach, that the world had beginning in time, from the will of the most high God: whose remarkable words are thus converted; ⁱ *Cum abscondisset omnia Jupiter summus, deinde in lumen gratum emisit, ex sacro corde operans cogitata & mirabilia*: Of which I conceive this sense: *When great Jupiter had bidden all things in himself; working out of the love of his sacred heart, he sent thence, or brought forth, into grateful light, the admirable works which he had fore-thought.*

Pindarus the poet, and one of the wisest, acknowledged also one God, the most high, to be the Father and Creator of all things; *Unus Deus, Pater, Creator summus*. *Plato* calleth God the cause and original, the nature and reason of the universal; ^j *Totius rerum natura, causa, & origo Deus*. But hereof more at large hereafter.

Now, although the curiosity of some men have found it superfluous to remember the opinions of philosophers in matters of divinity (it being true, that the scripture hath not want of any foreign testimony) yet as the fathers, with others excellently learned, are my examples herein; so *St. Paul* himself did not despise, but thought it lawful and profitable, to remember whatsoever he found agreeable to the word of God among the heathen, - that he might thereby take from them all escape, by way of ignorance, God rendring vengeance to them that know him not, as in the epistle to *Titus* he citeth *Epimenides* against the *Cretans*, and to the *Corinthians*, *Menander*; and in the seventeenth of the *Acts*, *Aratus, &c.* For, truth (saith *St. Ambrose*) by whomsoever uttered, is of the Holy Ghost; *Veritas, à quo-cunque dicatur, à Spiritu Sancto est*: And lastly, let those kind of men learn this rule; *Quæ sacris serviunt, prophana non sunt*; Nothing is prophane, that serveth to the use of holy things.

SECT. III.

Of the meaning of In Principio, Genes. I. 1.

THIS visible world, of which *Moses* writeth, God created in the beginning, or first of all; in which (saith *Tertullian*) things began to be. This word *Beginning* (in which the *Hebrews* seek some hidden mystery, and which in the *Jews Targum* is converted by the word *Sapientia*) cannot be referred to succession of time, nor to order, as some men have conceived, both which are subsequent; but only to creation then. For before that beginning, there was neither primary matter to be informed, nor form to inform, nor any being, but the eternal. Nature was not, nor the next parent or time begotten, time properly and naturally taken: for if God had but disposed of matter already in being; then as the word *Beginning* could not be referred to all things, so must it follow, that the institution of

^a John 5. 3. ⁱ Tim. 6. 16. ^b Origen 1. 2. *περὶ ἀρχῶν* c. 22. *Cyril & Chryl.* in Joh. hom. 14. *Greg. Naz.* 1. 2. *Theolog. Hier.* in *Isaiam* Aug. 1. 2. de *Trin.* c. 12 & 13. *Greg. Mag.* 1. 18. *Mor. Evar. ep.* 1. *Decret. Alcuin* 1. 2. de *Trin.* c. 16. *D. Areop.* c. 4. *Cael. Hierar.* Thom. p. 2. q. 12. art. 11. & alibi. *Deus qui natura invisibilis est, ut à visibilibus posset sciri, opus fecit quod Opificem sui visibiliter manifestaret, ut per eorum incertum sciretur, & ille Deus omnium esse crederetur.* Amb. in epist. ad Rom. c. 1. ^c *Catan.* de gen. dialog. ^d Rom. 1. 20. ^e A. Mont Nat Hist. fol. 7. ^f *Heracl.* in *Parmendrio*, & in sermone sacro. ^g Deut. 4. 24. *Heb.* 12. 19. ^h *Orph.* de sum. Jove ⁱ Vid c 6

matter proceeded from a greater power, than that of God. And by what name shall we then call such an one (saith *Laëtantius*) as exceedeth God in potency; for it is an act of more excellency to make, than to dispose of things made? Whereupon it may be concluded, that matter could not be before this beginning; except we feign a double creation, or allow of two powers, and both infinite; the impossibility whereof scorneth defence. ^a *Nam impossibile est plura esse infinita: quoniam alterum esset in altero finitum*; There cannot be more infinites than one: for one of them would limit the other.

SECT. IV.

Of the meaning of the words *Heaven and Earth*,
Genes. ii. 1.

THE universal matter of the world (which *Moses* comprehendeth under the names of *Heaven and Earth*) is by divers diversly understood; for there are that conceive, that by those words was meant the first matter, as the *Peripateticks* understand it; to which *St. Augustine* and *Isidore* seem to adhere, *Fecisti mundum* (saith *St. Augustine*) *de materia informi; quam fecisti de nulla re, pene nullam rem*: that is, Thou hast made the world of a matter without form; which matter thou madest of nothing, and being made, it was little other than nothing.

But this potential and imaginary *materia prima*, cannot exist without form. *Peter Lombard*, the *Schoolmen*, *Beda*, *Lyrans*, *Comestor*, *Tostatus*, and others affirm, that it pleased God first of all to create the *Empyrean Heaven*: which at the succeeding instant (saith ^b *Beda* and *Strabo*) he filled with *Angels*. This *Empyrean Heaven* *Steuchius Eugubinus* calleth *Divine clarity and uncreated*: an error, for which he is sharply charged by *Pererius*, though (as I conceive) he rather failed in the subsequent, when he made it to be a place, and the seat of *Angels*, and just Souls, than in the former affirmation; for of the first, That God liveth in eternal light, it is written, ^c *My soul, praise thou the Lord, that covereth himself with light*: and in the *Revelation*, ^d *And the city hath no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it: for the glory of God did light it*. And herein also ^e *John Mercer* upon *Genesis* differeth not in opinion from *Eugubinus*: for as by *Heaven* created in the beginning, was not meant the invisible or supercelestial; so in his judgment, because it was in all eternity the glorious seat of God himself, it was not necessary to be created; *Quem mundum super-cælestem meo judicio creari* (saith *Mercer*) *non erat necesse*.

But as *Moses* forbore to speak of *Angels*, and of things invisible and incorporate, for the weakness of their capacities, whom he then cared to inform of those things which were most manifest (to wit) That God did not only by a strong hand deliver them from the bondage of *Egypt*, according to his promise made to their fore-fathers; but also that he created, and was the sole cause of this aspectable, and perceivable universal: so on the other side I dare not think, that any supercelestial heaven, or whatsoever else (not himself) was increate and eternal; and as for the place of God before the world created, the finite wisdom of mortal men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the seat of infinite power, no more than infinite power itself can be limited: for his place is in himself, whom no magnitude else can contain: *How great is the house of*

God (saith ^f *Baruch*) *how large is the place of his possession! it is great, and hath no end; it is high, and unmeasurable*.

But leaving multiplicity of opinions, it is more probable and allowed, that by the words ^g *Heaven and Earth*, was meant the solid matter and substance, as well of all the heavens, and orbs supernal, as of the globe of the earth and waters, which covered it over (to wit) that very matter of all things, *Materia, chaos, possibilitas, sive posse fieri*. Which matter (saith ^h *Calvin*) was so called, *Quod totius mundi semen fuerit*; Because it was the seed of the universal: an opinion of ancient philosophers long before.

SECT. V.

That the substance of the waters, as mix'd in the body of the earth, is by *Moses* understood in the word *earth*: and that the earth, by the attributes of unformed and void, is described as the chaos of the ancient heathen.

Moses first nameth heaven and earth (putting waters but in the third place) as comprehending waters in the word *earth*; but afterwards he nameth them apart, when God by his spirit began to distinguish the confused mass, and (as *Basil* saith) *Præparare naturam aquæ ad fecunditatem vitalem*; To prepare the nature of water to a vital fruitfulness.

For under the word *Heaven*, was the matter of all heavenly bodies, and natures express'd: and by the name of *Earth and Waters*, all was meant, whatsoever is under the moon, and subject to alteration. Corrupt seeds bring forth corrupt plants; to which the pure heavens are not subject, though subject to perishing. *They shall perish* (saith ⁱ *David*) *and the heavens shall vanish away like smoke*, saith ^k *Esay*. Neither were the waters the matter of earth; for it is written, ^l *Let the waters under the heavens be gathered into one place, and let the dry land appear*: which proveth, that the dry land was mix'd and covered with the waters, and not yet distinguished; but no way, that the waters were the matter or seed of the earth, much less of the universal. *Initio tu, Domine, terram fundasti*; Thou, O Lord, in the beginning hast founded the earth: and again, ^m *The earth was covered with the deep* (meaning with waters) *as with a garment*, saith *David*. And if by natural arguments it may be proved, that water by condensation may become earth, the same reason teacheth us also, that earth rarified may become water: water, air: air, fire: and so on the contrary. ⁿ *Deus ignis substantiam per aerem in aquam convertit*; God turneth the substance of fire by air into water. For the heavens and the earth remained in the same state in which they were created, as touching their substance, though there was afterwards added multiplicity of perfection, in respect of beauty and ornament. ^o *Cælum vero & terra in statu creationis remanserunt quantum ad substantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis postmodum superaddita est*. And the word which the *Hebrews* call *Maim*, is not to be understood according to the *Latin* translation simply, and as specific water; but the same more properly signifieth liquor. For (according to ^p *Montanus*) *Est autem Maim liquor geminus, & hoc nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurali numero aquas fecit*; For *Maim* (saith he) is a double liquor (that is, of divers natures) and this name or word the *Latins*, wanting a voice to express it, call it in the plural, *aquas*, waters.

^a Cusan. de mente, lib. 3. ^b Beda Hex. Strabo super Gen. Eug. Cos. & de nat. in corp. ^c Ps. 104. 12. ^d Claritas divina non est lux facta, sed sapientia Dei, non creata, sed nata, Apoc. 21. 23. ^e Mercer. in Gen. 7. 7. ^f Bar. 3. 24. 25. ^g Cusan. in Compend. fol. 224. Operis. ^h Cal. in Gen. ⁱ Ps. 102. 26. ^k Esay 51. ^l Gen. 1. 9. ^m Ps. 104. 6. ⁿ Zeno. ^o Gul. Par. 600. ^p A. Mont. de nat.

This mass, or indigested matter, or chaos, created in the beginning, was without form, that is, without the proper form, which it afterwards acquired, when the spirit of God had separated the earth, and digested it from the waters. ^a *And the earth was void*, that is, not producing any creatures, or adorned with any plants, fruits, or flowers. But after *the spirit of God had moved upon the waters*, and wrought this indigested matter into that form, which it now retaineth; then did *the earth bud forth the herb, which seedeth seed, and the fruitful tree according to his kind, and God saw that it was good*; which attribute was not given to the earth, while it was confus'd; nor to the heavens, before they had motion, and adornment. *God saw that it was good*, that is, made perfect: for perfection is that to which nothing is wanting. *Et perfecti Dei perfecta sunt opera*; The works of the perfect God are perfect.

From this lump of imperfect matter had the ancient poets their invention of *Demogorgon*; *Hesiodus* and *Anaxagoras* the knowledge of that chaos: of which ^b *Ovid*;

*Ante Mare, & Terras, & (quod tegit omnia) cælum,
Unus erat toto naturæ vultus in orbe,
Quem dixere chaos, rudis indigestaque moles.*

Before the sea and land was made, and heaven, that all doth hide,

In all the world one only face of nature did abide:
Which chaos hight, a huge rude heap.

S E C T. VI.

How it is to be understood, that the spirit of God moved upon the waters; and that this is not to be searched curiously.

AFTER the creation of heaven and earth, then void and without form, the spirit of God moved upon the waters. The *seventy interpreters* use the word *superferebatur*, moved upon or over: *incubabat* or *fovebat*, saith *Hierome* out of *Basil*; and *Basil* out of a *Syrian* doctor; *Equidem non mecum tibi, sed viri cujusdam Syri sententiam recensito* (saith *Basil*): which words *incubare* or *fovere*, importing warmth, hatching, or quickning, have a special likeness. *Verbum translatus est ab avibus pulliti ei sue incubantibus, quamvis spirituali, & plane innarrabili, non autem corporali modo*; The word is taken of birds hatching their young, not corporally, but in a spiritual and unexpressible manner.

Some of the *Hebrews* convert it to this effect, *spiritus Dei volitabat*; The spirit of God did flutter: the *Chaldean* paraphrast in this sense, *Ventus a conspectu Dei sufflabat*: or, as others understand the *Chaldean*, *Flabat, pellebat, removebat*: The wind from the face of God did blow under, drive, or remove, or did blow upon; according to the ^c *11th Psalm*, *He caused his wind to blow, and the waters increase: but there was yet no wind nor exhalation*. ^d *Arias Montanus* in these words, *Et spiritus Elohim Merachefet, id est, efficaciter motitans, consovens, ac agitans super facies gemini liquoris*; The spirit of God effectually and often moving, keeping warm, and cherishing, quickning and stirring upon the face of this double liquor. For he maketh four originals, whereof three are agents, and the last passive and material, to wit, *Causa*, which is the divine goodness: ^e *Jehi*, which is, *fiat, sive erit*, let it be, or, it shall be. *Quæ vox verbo Dei prima prolata fuit*: Which voice (saith he) was the first that was uttered by the word of God. The third, *spiritus elo-*

him, the spirit of God, *id est, Vis quædam divina, agilis ac præsens, per omnia pertingens, omnia complens*; that is, a certain divine power, or strength, every where active and extending, and stretching through all, filling and finishing all things. The fourth he calleth *Maim, id est, Materies ad omnem rem faciendam habilis*; Matter apt to become every thing. For my self, I am resolved (*Cum Deus sit superrationale omni ratione*; Seeing God is in all reason above reason) that although the effects which follow his wonderful ways of working, may in a measure be perceived by man's understanding, yet the manner and first operation of his divine power, cannot be conceived by any mind, or spirit, compassed with a mortal body. *Animalis homo quæ Dei sunt non percipit*: For my thoughts (saith the Lord in ^f *Esaï*) are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways. And as the world hath not known God himself; so are his ways (according to *St. Paul*) *pass finding out*. *O righteous father, the world hath not known thee*, saith Christ. And therefore, whether that motion, vitality, and operation, were by incubation or how else, the manner is only known to God. ^g *Quomodo in omnibus sit rebus, vel per essentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noster non capit*; For how God (saith *St. Augustine*, speaking of his ubiquity) is in all things, either by essence, presence, or power, our understanding cannot comprehend. ^h *Nihil inter Deum hominemque distaret, si consilia, & dispositiones illius Majestatis æternæ, cogitatio assequeretur humana*; There would be no difference between God and man, if man's understanding could conceive the counsels and disposing of that eternal majesty; and therefore to be over-curious in searching how the all-powerful word of God wrought in the creation of the world, or his all-piercing and operative Spirit distinguishing, gave form to the matter of the universal, is a labour and search like unto his, who, not contented with a known and safe ford, will presume to pass over the greatest river in all parts, where he is ignorant of their depths: for so doth the one lose his life, and the other his understanding. We behold the sun, and enjoy his light, as long as we look towards it, but tenderly, and circumspectly: we warm ourselves safely, while we stand near the fire; but if we seek to out-face the one, or enter into the other, we forthwith become blind or burnt.

But to eschew curiosity; this is true, that the *English* word (*moved*) is most proper and significant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all whatsoever is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeed be truly called, *Principium motus*, and with *Mirandula*, *Vis causæ efficientis*, The force of the efficient cause, *St. Augustine* sometimes taketh for the Holy Ghost; sometimes for a wind or breath, *Sub nomine spiritus*, Under the name of a spirit, which is sometimes so taken: or for *Virtualis creatura*, for a created virtuality: *Tertullian* and *Theodoret* call it also a breath or wind: *Mercurius* nameth it, *Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem*, A pure or thin intelligible spirit: *Anaxagoras*, *Mentem*: *Tollatus*, *Voluntatem & mentem Dei*, The will and mind of God; which *Mens*, *Plato in Timæo* maketh *Animam mundi*, The soul of the world: and in his sixth book, *De Republica*, he calleth it, *The law of heaven*; in his epistles, *The Leader of things to come, and the presence of things past*. But as *Cyprian* wrote of the incarnation of Christ our Saviour, *Mens deficit, vox silet, & non mea tantum, sed etiam Angelorum*; My mind faileth, my voice is silent, and not mine only,

^a Gen. 1, 2, 12. ^b Ovid. Met. lib. 1. ^c Basil. Hexam. Col. fol. 13. ^d Ar. Mont. de natura, pag. 149. ^e Eccl. 55. 8.

^f Junius. ^g Psal. 147. 18. ^h Ar. Mont. ut sup. Ezech. in Aug. Tract. 20 in Johan. 17. 25. ⁱ Lact. in Placat.

but even the voice of angels : so may all men else say in the understanding and utterance of the ways and works of the creation ; for to him (saith ^a *Nazianzenus*) there is not one substance by which he is, and another by which he can, *Sed consubstantiale illi est, quicquid ejus est, & quicquid est* ; Whatsoever attribute of him there is, and whatsoever he is, it is the very same substance that himself is.

But the spirit of God which moved upon the waters, cannot be taken for a breath or wind, nor for any other creature, separate from the infinite active power of God, which then formed and distinguished, and which now sustaineth and giveth continuance to the universal. For the spirit of the Lord filleth all the world ; and the same is it *which maintaineth all things*, saith ^b *Solomon*. *If thou send forth thy spirit* (saith *David*) *they are created* : and *Gregory*, *Deus suo præsentiali esse, dat omnibus rebus esse, ita quod si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum defluerent universa* : God giveth being to all things, by being present with all things, so as if he should withdraw himself from them, then as of nothing the world was made, it would again fall away and vanish into nothing. And this working of God's spirit in all things, ^c *Virgil* hath express'd excellently :

*Principio cælum ac terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque astra,
Spiritus intus alit : totamque infusa per artus,
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.*

The heaven, the earth, and all the liquid main,
The moon's bright globe, and stars Titanian,
A spirit within maintains : and their whole mass,
A mind, which through each part infus'd doth pass.
Fashions, and works, and wholly doth transpierce
All this great body of the universe.

And this was the same spirit, which moved in the universal, and thereby both distinguished and adorned it. ^d *His spirit hath garnished the heavens*, saith *Job*. So then the Spirit of God moved upon the waters, and created in them their spirituality, and natural motion ; motion brought forth heat ; and heat rarification, and subtilty of parts. By this spirit (which gave heat and motion, and thereby operation to every nature, while it moved upon the waters, which were in one indigested lump, and ^e chaos, disposed to all forms alike) was begotten air : an element superior, as lighter than the waters ; thro' whose vast, open, subtle, diaphanick or transparent body, the light, afterwards created, might easily transpierce : light for the excellency thereof being the first creature which God called good, whole creation immediately followed. This Spirit *Chrysostom* calleth a vital operation, *Aquis a Deo insitam, ex qua aquæ non solum motionem, sed & vim procreandi animalia habuerint*. He calleth it, *A vital operation given by God unto the waters, whereby the waters had not only motion, but also power to procreate or bring forth living creatures*.

SECT. VII.

Of the light created, as the material substance of the sun, and of the nature of it, and difficulty of knowledge of it : and of the excellency and use of it : and of motion, and heat annexed unto it.

THESE waters were afterwards congregated, and called the sea : and this light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and united, and called the sun, the organ and instrument of created light.

For this first and dispersed light did not (as I conceive) distinguish the night from the day, but with a reference to the sun's creation, and the uniting of the dispersed light therein. This is proved by these words, ^f *Let there be lights in the firmament, to separate the day from the night* : which lights in the firmament of heaven, were also made for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years, implying a motion instantly to follow, by which, days and years are distinguished ; after which succeeded time, or together with which, that time (which was the measure of motion) began. For that space of the first three days which preceded the sun's creation, or formal perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be measured, and the day named in the fifth verse ; was but such a space, as afterwards by the sun's motion made a civil or natural day. And as waters were the matter of air, of the firmament, and of the lower and upper waters, and of the seas, and creatures therein ; earth, the matter of beasts, plants, minerals, and man's body : so may light (for expression sake) be called the chaos, or material substance of the sun, and other lights of heaven : howbeit, neither the sun, nor any thing sensible, is that light it self, ^g *Quæ causa est lucidorum*, Which is the cause that things are lightsome (tho' it make it self and all things else visible :) but a body most illightned, which illuminateth the moon, by whom the neighbouring region (which the *Greeks* call *æther*, the place of the supposed element of fire) is effected and qualified, and by it all bodies living in this our air. For this light *Avicenna* calleth *vehiculum & fomentum omnium cælestium virtutum, & impressionum* ; The conductor, and preserver, or nourisher of all celestial virtues and impressions, nothing descending of heavenly influences, but by the *medium*, or means of light. *Aristotle* calleth light a quality, inherent or cleaving to a diaphanous body, *Lumen est qualitas inherens diaphano* : but this may be better avouched of the heat, which it transporteth, and bringeth with it, or conducteth : which heat (say the *Platonicks*) ^h *Abeunte lumine residet in subiecto* ; The light being departed, doth reside in the subject, as warmth in the air, tho' the same be deprived of light. This light *Plotinus* and all the *Academics* make incorporeal, and so doth *Montanus*, *Cui nec duritia resistit, nec spatium* ; Which neither hardness resisteth, nor space leaveth.

Aristotle findeth corporality in the beams of light ; but it is but by way of repetition of other mens opinions, saith ⁱ *Picolominus*, *Democritus*, *Leuippus*, and *Epicurus*, give materiality to light itself, but improperly : for it passeth at an instant, from the heaven to the earth ; nor is it resisted by any hardness, because it pierceth thro' the solid body of glass, or other cristalline matter ; and whereas it is withstood by unclean, and unpure earthy substances, less hard, and more easy to invade than the former, the same is, ^k *Quod obstatulum natura terreum atque sordidum, non capit candilam luminis puritatem* ; Because an obstacle, by nature earthy and foul, doth not receive the pure cleanness of light : alluding to that most divine light, which only shineth on those minds, which are purged from all worldly dross, and human uncleanness.

But of this created light there is no agreement in opinion ; neither do I marvel at it, for it cannot be found either in the fathers, philosophers, school-men, or other ancient or latter writers, that any of them understood either it or themselves therein : all men (to cast off ignorance) have disputed thereof, but there is no man that hath been taught

^a Nazianz. lib. 2. Theol. ^b Wicl. 1. 7. ^c Virg. Æneid. lib. 8. 724. ^d Job 26. 13. ^e Gen. 1. 5. ^f Gen. 1. 14. ^g Lux dicitur, quæ se, & omnia visibilia facit. Cusan. in Compend. cap. 7. & exercit. lib. 5. ^h Eicm lib. de Lumine, cap. 11. ⁱ Picol. de finit. ^k Plotin.

thereby. *Thomas Aquinas* (not inferior to any in wit) as he hath shewed little strength of argument in refuting the opinions of *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Lombard*, *Lyranus*, and others : so is his own judgment herein, as weak as any man's ; and most of the schoolmen were rather curious in the nature of terms, and more subtile in distinguishing upon the parts of doctrine already laid down, than discoverers of any thing hidden, either in philosophy or divinity : of whom it may be truly said, *Nihil sapientie odiosius acumine nimio* ; Nothing is more odious to true wisdom, than too acute sharpness. Neither hath the length of time, and the search of many learned men (which the same time hath brought forth and devoured) resolved us, whether this light be substantial, corporal, or incorporeal : corporal they say it cannot be, because then it could neither pierce the air, nor those hard, solid, and diaphanous bodies, which it doth ; and yet every day we see the air illightned : Incorporeal it cannot be, because it sometime affecteth the sight of the eye with offence, and therefore by most of the fathers so esteemed. Others say (as *Patricius*) that it cannot be matter, because no form so excellent as it self to inform it : neither can it be any accident, which is not separable without the destruction of the subject : for light being taken from the sun, the sun is no more the sun in existence. 2dly, If light were proceeding from matter and form, then either, or both, must be one of these, lucid or bright, dark or opaque, diaphanous or transparent ; but darkness cannot be parent of light, and things diaphanous (being neither light nor darkness, but capable of either) cannot be the cause of either, and therefore must the matter, or form, or both, be lucid and shining. 3dly, Lucid and shining obtain their so being of the light ; and therefore if we derive this being of light from a former, then would the progress go on infinitely and against nature ; and therefore he concludeth, that light in the sun hath his being primarily, and immediately of it self, and is therefore the sun's form, and the form of all lucid and shining bodies : but what is taught hereby, let others judge.

But in my understanding, *Lumen* (which may be englished by the word *shine*) is an intentional species of that which may be englished by light ; and so, this shining, which proceedeth from the sun, or other lights of heaven, or from any other light, is an image, or intentional species thereof ; and an intentional species may be understood by the example of a red or green colour, occasioned by the shining of the sun through red or green glass : for then we perceive the same colour cast upon any thing opposite ; which redness or other colour we call the *intentional species* of the colour in that glass. And again, as this light, touching his simple nature, is no way yet understood, so it is disputed, whether this light first created, be the same which the sun inholdeth and casteth forth, or whether it had continuance any longer than till the sun's creation.

But by the most wise and unchanged order, which God observed in the works of the world, I gather, that the light, in the first day created, was the substance of the sun : for *Moses* repeateth twice the main parts of the universal : first, as they were created in matter ; 2dly, As they were adorned with form : first, naming the heavens, the earth, the waters, all confused ; and afterward, the waters congregated, the earth made dry land ; and the heavens distinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the earth, as it was earth, before it was un-

covered, and before it was called *Arida*, or dry land ; and the waters were waters, before they were congregated and called the sea, though neither of them perfect, or enriched with their virtual forms : so the sun, although it had not its formal perfection, his circle, beauty, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the substance thereof in the first day (under the name of light) created ; and this light formerly dispersed, was in the same fourth day united, and set in the firmament of heaven : for, to light created in the first day God gave no proper place or fixation ; and therefore the effects named by *Anticipation* (which was to separate day from night) were precisely performed, after this light was congregated and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wisdom of God find cause why it should move (by which motion, days and nights are distinguished) till then : because there was not yet any creature produced, to which, by moving, the sun might give light, heat, and operation.

But after the earth (distinguished from waters) began to bud forth the bud of the herb, &c. God caused the sun to move, and (by interchange of time) to visit every part of the inferior world ; by his heat to stir up the fire of generation, and to give activity to the seeds of all natures : For, as a king, which commandeth some goodly building to be erected, doth accommodate the same to that use and end, to which it was ordained ; so it pleased God (saith *Procopius*) to command the light to be ; which by his all-powerful word he approved, and approving it, disposed thereof to the use and comfort of his future creatures.

But in that it pleased God to ask of *Job*, *By what way is the light parted, and where is the way where light dwelleth ?* we thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not under man's understanding ; and therefore let it suffice, that by God's grace we enjoy the effects thereof. For this light is of the treasure of God (saith *Esdra*) and those which inhabit the heavens, do only know the Essence thereof. *Nihil ignotum in caelo, nihil notum in terra* : Nothing unknown in heaven, nothing perfectly known on earth. *Res verae sunt in mundo invisibili ; in mundo visibili umbrae rerum* : Things themselves are in the invisible world ; in the world visible, but their shadows. Surely, if this light be not spiritual, yet it approacheth nearest unto spirituality ; and if it have any corporality, then of all other the most subtile and pure ; for howsoever it is of all things seen, the most beautiful, and of the swiftest motion, of all other the most necessary and beneficial. For it ministrerh unto men, and other creatures, all celestial influences ; it dissipateth those sad thoughts and sorrows, which the darkness both begetteth and maintaineth ; it discovereth unto us the glorious works of God, and carrieth up with an angelical swiftness, our eyes unto heaven, that by the sight thereof, our minds being informed of his visible marvels, may continually travel to surmount these perceived heavens, and to find out their omnipotent cause and Creator. *Cognitio non quiescit in rebus creatis* ; Our knowledge doth not quiet it self in things created. *Et ipsa lux facit, ut cetera mundi membra digna sint laudibus, cum suam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet* ; It is the light (saith *St. Ambrose*) that maketh the other parts of the world so worthy of praise, seeing that it self communicateth its goodness and beauty unto all. Of which *Ovid* out of *Orpheus* :

^a Lucida corpora sunt plena sua luce, alienis tenebris impervia. Opaca sunt plena suis tenebris alieno lumine. ^b Transparentia tenebrae. ^c Diaphana. ^d Carent sui. & lumine & tenebris : alienis & lumine & tenebris permeantur. Scal. subt. ex. 71. ^e Gen. 1. 9. ^f Quomodo enim rex aliquis, &c. Procop. in Gen. 1. ^g Job 38. 24, 9. ^h Eld. 1. 2. c. 6. 40. ⁱ Herm. ^k Ficin.

*a Ille ego sum, qui longum metior annum,
Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus,
Mundi oculus.*

The world discerns it self, while I the world behold,
By me the longest years, and other times are told,
I the world's eye.

Lastly, if we may behold in any creature, any one spark of that eternal fire, or any far-off dawning of God's glorious brightness, the same in the beauty, motion, and virtue of this light, may be perceived. Therefore was God called *Lux ipsa*, and the light, by *Hermes* named *lux sancta*, and *Christ* our Saviour said to be *b that light, which lightneth every man that cometh into the world*. Yet in respect of God's incomprehensible sublimity, and purity, this is also true, that God is neither a mind, nor a spirit of the nature of other spirits; nor a light, such as can be discerned. *Deus profecto non mens est, at vero ut sit mens causa est; nec spiritus, sed causa qua spiritus extat; nec lumen, sed causa qua lumen existit*. God (saith *Hermes* in *Poemandro*) certainly is not a mind, but the cause that the mind hath his being; nor spirit, but the cause by which every spirit is; nor light, but the cause by which the light existeth.

So then the *mass* and *chaos* being first created, void, dark, and informed, was by the operative spirit of God, pierced and quickned, and the waters having now received spirit and motion, resolved their thinner parts into air, which God illightned: the earth also by being contiguate, and mixt with waters (participating the same divine virtue) *c* brought forth the bud of the herb that seedeth seed, &c. and for a mean and organ, by which this operative virtue might be continued, God appointed the light to be united, and gave it also motion and heat, which heat caused a continuance of those several species, which the earth (being made fruitful by the spirit) produced, and with motion began the time and times succeeding.

SECT. VIII.

Of the firmament, and of the waters above the firmament: and whether there be any crystalline heaven, or any primum mobile.

After that the spirit of God had moved upon the waters, and light was created, God said, *Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters*: that is, those waters which by rarification and evaporation were ascended, and those of the earth and sea.

But these waters, separate above this extension, which the *Latin* translation calleth *firmamentum*, or *expansum* (for so *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Junius* turn it) are not the crystalline heavens created in the imaginations of men; which opinion *Basilius Magnus* calleth a childish supposition, making in the same place many learned arguments against this fancy. For the waters above the firmament, are the waters in the air above us, where the same is more solid and condense, which God separated from the neather waters by a firmament, that is, by an extended distance and vast space: the words *Raquia* (which *Montanus* writeth *Rakiagh*) and *Shamajim*, being indifferently taken for the heaven and for air, and more properly for the air and *æther*, than for the heavens, as the best *Hebricians* understand them, *d Quo suprema ac tenuia ab infirmis crassis diducta, intersectaque disflarent*; For that whereby the supreme and thin bodies were placed in distance, being severed and cut off from low and gross matters: and

the waters above the firmament, express'd in the word *Majim*, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters above the air, or in the uppermost region of the same.

And that the word heaven is used for the air, the scriptures every where witness; as in the *c* blessings of *Joseph*, and in the 104th *Psalms*, *By these springs shall the fowl of the heaven dwell; and upon Sodom and Gomorrah it rained brimstone and fire out of the heaven*; and in *Isaac's* blessing to *Jacob*, *God give thee therefore of the dew of heaven*: and in *b Deuteronomy* the 11th, *But the land whither you go to possess it, is a land that drinketh water of the rain of heaven*: and in *i Job*, *Who hath ingendered the frosts of heaven?* and in *St. k Matthew*, *Behold the fowls of heaven, for they sow not*. So as in all the scriptures of the Old Testament throughout, is the word *heaven* very oft used for air, and taken also hyperbolically for any great height, as, *l* *Let us build us a tower, whose top may reach to heaven*, &c. And in this very place *Basil* avoucheth, that this appellation of heaven for the firmament, is but by way of similitude: his own words be these; *Et vocavit Deus firmamentum cælum. Hæc appellatio alii quidem proprie accommodatur, huic autem nunc ad similitudinem*; And God called the firmament heaven: this appellation (saith *Basil*) is properly applied to another (that is, to the starry heaven) but to this (that is, to the firmament dividing the waters) it is imposed by similitude. And if there were no other proof, that by the firmament was meant the air, and not the heaven; the words of *Moses* in the 8th verse, conferred with the same word *firmament* in the 20th verse, make it manifest: for in the 8th verse it is written, that God called the firmament, which divided waters from waters, heaven; and in the 20th verse he calleth the firmament of heaven, air; in these words, *And let the fowl fly upon earth in the open firmament of heaven*. And what use there should be of this icy, or crystalline, or watery heaven, I conceive not, except it be to moderate and temper the heat, which the *primum mobile* would otherwise gather and increase: though in very truth, instead of this help, it would add an unmeasurable greatness of circle, whereby the swiftness of that first moveable would exceed all possibility of belief. *Sed nemo tenetur ad impossibilia*; But no man ought to be held to impossibilities; and saith it self (which surmounteth the height of all human reason) hath for a forcible conductor the word of truth, which also may be called *Lumen omnis rationis & intellectus*; The light of all reason and understanding. Now that this supposed first moveable, turneth it self so many hundred thousand miles in an instant (seeing the scriptures teach it not) let those that can believe mens imaginations, apprehend it, for I cannot. But of these many heavens, let the reader that desireth satisfaction, search *Orontius*; and of this watery heaven, *Basilius Magnus*, in his *Hexam. fol. 40, 41, &c.* and *Matth. Beroaldus*, in his 2d book and 6th chapter. For my self, I am persuaded, that the waters called, 'The waters above the heavens, are but the clouds and waters engendred in the uppermost air.

SECT. IX.

A conclusion, repeating the sum of the works in the creation, which are reduced to three heads: the creation of matter, the forming of it, the finishing of it.

TO conclude, it may be gathered out of the first chapter of *Genesis*, that this was the order of the most wise God in the beginning, and when there

a Ovid. Met. 1. 1. *b* Job. 1. 9. & 14. 46. *c* Gen. 1. 11. *d* Mont. Nat. hist. fol. 152. *e* Gen. 40. 23. *f* Psal. 104. 12. *g* Gen. 19. 24. 27. 28. *h* Deut. 11. 11. *i* Job 38. 29. *k* Matth. 6. 26. *l* Gen. 11. 4.

was no other nature, or being, but God's incomprehensible eternity. First, he created the matter of all things: and in the first three days he distinguished, and gave to every nature his proper form; the form of levity to that which ascended; to that which descended, the form of gravity: for he separated light from darkness, divided waters from waters, and gathered the waters under the firmament into one place. In the last three days, God adorned, beautified, and replenished the world: he set in the firmament of heaven, the sun, moon, and stars; filled the earth with beasts, the air with fowl, and the sea with fish, giving to all that have life a power generative, thereby to continue their species, and kinds; to creatures vegetative and growing, their seeds in themselves; for ^a *he created all things, that they might have their being: and the generations of the world are preserved.*

S E C T. X.

That nature is no principium per se; nor form, the giver of being: and of our ignorance how second causes should have any proportion with their effects.

AND for this working-power, which we call nature, the beginning of motion and rest, according to *Aristotle*; the same is nothing else, but the strength and faculty, which God hath infused into every creature, having no other self-ability, than a clock, after it is wound up by a man's hand, hath. Those therefore that attribute unto this faculty, any first or sole power, have therein no other understanding, than such a one hath, who looking into the stern of a ship, and finding it guided by the helm and rudder, doth ascribe some absolute virtue to the piece of wood, without all consideration of the hand that guides, or of the judgment, which also directeth and commandeth that hand: forgetting in this and in all else, that by the virtue of the first act, all agents work whatsoever they work: *Virtute primi actus, agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt*: For as the mind of man seeth by the organ of the eye, heareth by the ears, and maketh choice by the will: and therefore we attribute sight to the eye, and hearing to the ears, &c. and yet it is the mind only, that giveth ability, life, and motion to all these his instruments and organs; so God worketh by angels, by the sun, by the stars, by nature or infused properties, and by men as by several organs, several effects; all second causes whatsoever, being but instruments, conduits, and pipes, which carry and disperse what they have received from the head and fountain of the universal. For as it is God's infinite power, and every-where-presence (compassing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giveth to the sun power to draw up vapours, to vapours to be made clouds; clouds to contain rain, and rain to fall: so all second and instrumental causes together with nature it self, without that operative faculty which God gave them, would become altogether silent, virtuelss, and dead: of all which excellently ^b *Orpheus*; *Per te virescunt omnia*; All things by thee spring forth in youthful green. I enforce not these things, thereby to annihilate those variable virtues which God hath given to his creatures, animate and inanimate, to heavenly and earthly bodies, &c. for all his works in their virtues praise him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or they in or with each other, which the heathen philosophers, and those that follow them, have taken on them to teach: I say, there is not any one among them, nor any one among us, that could ever yet conceive it, or ex-

press it, ever enrich his own understanding with any certain truth, or ever edify others (not foolish by self-flattery) therein. For (saith *Lactantius*, speaking of the wisdom of the philosophers) *Si facultas inveniendæ veritatis huic studio subjaceret, aliquando esset inventa; cum vero tot temporibus, tot ingeniiis in ejus inquisitione contritis, non sit comprehensa, apparet nullam ibi esse sapientiam*; If in this study (saith he) were means to find out the truth, it had ere this been found out: but seeing it is not yet comprehended, after that so much time, and so many wits have been worn out in the enquiry of it, it appeareth, that there is no wisdom there to be had. ^c *Nam si de una re præcisa scientia haberetur, omnium rerum scientia necessario haberetur*; If the precise knowledge of any one thing were to be had, it should necessarily follow, that the knowledge of all things were to be had. And as the philosophers were ignorant in nature, and the ways of her working; so were they more curious, than knowing, in their first matter and physical form. For if their first matter had any being, it were not then the first matter: for, as it is the first matter, it hath only a power of being, which it altogether leaveth, when it doth subsist. And seeing it is neither a substance perfect, nor a substance inchoate, or in the way of perfection, how any other substance should thence take concrescence, it hath not been taught, neither are these forms (saith a learned author) any thing, *si ex ea exprimitur potentia, quæ nihil est*. Again, how this first matter should be *subjectum formarum*, and passive, which is understood to precede the form, it is hard to conceive: for to make form, which is the cause, to be subsequent to the thing caused (to wit, to the first matter) is contrary to all reason, divine and human: only it may be said, that originally there is no other difference between heat and fire, of which the one cannot subsist without the other, but in a kind of rational consideration. Leaving therefore these riddles to their lovers, who by certain scholastical distinctions wrest and pervert the truth of all things, and by which *Aristotle* hath laboured to prove a false eternity of the world, I think it far safer to affirm with St. *Augustine*, That all species and kinds are from God, from whom, whatsoever is natural proceedeth, of what kind or estimation soever; from whence are the seeds of all forms, and the forms of all seeds and their motions; *A quo est omnis species, a quo est quicquid naturaliter est, cujuscunque generis est, cujuscunque estimationis est; a quo sunt semina formarum, forma seminum, motus seminum atque formarum*. And thus much *Averrois* is forced to confess. For all forms (saith he) are, *in primo motore*; which is also the opinion of ^d *Aristotle* in the 12th of his *Metaph.* and of *Albertus* upon *Dionysius*.

S E C T. XI.

Of fate; and that the stars have great influence: and that their operations may diversely be prevented or furthered.

AND, as of nature, such is the dispute and contention concerning fate or destiny, of which the opinions of those learned men that have written thereof, may be safely received, had they not thereunto annexed and fastened an inevitable necessity, and made it more general, and universally powerful than it is, by giving it dominion over the mind of man, and over his will, of which *Ovid*, and *Juvenal*:

^a Wild. Sol. 1. 14. ^b Natura enim remota providentia & potestate divina, prorsus nihil est. Lact. de falsa Sapientia, l. 3. 28. ^c Cypri. de mente, l. 3. ^d 12. Metaph.

^a *Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet.*
Servis regna dabunt, captivis fata triumphos.

'Gainst fate no counsel can prevail.
 Kingdoms to slaves by destiny,
 To captives triumphs given be.

An error of the *Chaldeans*, and after them of the *Stoicks*, the *Pharisees*, *Priscillianists*, the *Bardisanists*, and others, as ^b *Basil*, *Augustine*, and *Thomas* have observed: but that fate is an obedience of second causes to the first, was well conceived of *Hermes*, and *Apuleius* the *Platonist*. ^c *Plotinus* out of the astronomers calleth it a disposition from the acts of celestial orbs, unchangeably working in inferiour bodies, the same being also true enough, in respect of all those things which a rational mind doth not order nor direct. *Ptolemy*, *Seneca*, *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, *Chrysippus*, *Empedocles*, and the *Stoicks*, some of them more largely, others more strictly, ascribe to ^d fate a binding and inevitable necessity; and that it is the same which is spoken and determined by God (*quod de unoquoque nostrum fatus est Deus*) and the definite lot of all living. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the stars are instruments of far greater use, than to give an obscure light, and for men to gaze on after sun-set: it being manifest, that the diversity of seasons, the winters, and summers, more hot and cold, are not so uncertain by the sun and moon alone, who always keep one and the same course; but that the stars have also their working therein.

And if we cannot deny, but that God hath given virtues to springs and fountains, to cold earth, to plants and stones, minerals, and to the excremental parts of the basest living creatures, why should we rob the beautiful stars of their working powers? for seeing they are many in number, and of eminent beauty and magnitude, we may not think, that in the treasury of his wisdom, who is infinite, there can be wanting (even for every star) a peculiar virtue and operation; as every herb, plant, fruit, and flower adorning the face of the earth, hath the like. For as these were not created to beautify the earth alone, and to cover and shadow her dusty face, but otherwise for the use of man and beast, to feed them and cure them; so were not those uncountable glorious bodies set in the firmament, to no other end, than to adorn it; but for instruments and organs of his divine providence, so far as it hath pleased his just will to determine. *Origen* upon this place of ^e *Genesis*, *Let there be light in the firmament*, &c. affirmeth, that the stars are not causes (meaning perchance binding causes;) but are as open books, wherein are contained and set down all things whatsoever to come; but not to be read by the eyes of human wisdom: which latter part I believe well, and this saying of *Syracides* withal: ^f *That there are hid yet greater things than these be, and we have seen but a few of his works*. And though, for the capacity of men, we know somewhat, yet in the true and uttermost virtues of herbs and plants, which our selves sow and set, and which grow under our feet, we are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of celestial bodies. For hardly (saith ^g *Solomon*) *can we discern the things that are upon the earth, and with great labour find we out those things that are before us: who can then investigate the things that are in heaven?* ^h *Multum est de rebus caelestibus aliquid cognoscere*: It is much to know a little of heavenly things. But in this question of fate, the middle course is to be followed,

that as with the heathen we do not bind God to his creatures, in this supposed necessity of destiny; so on the contrary, we do not rob those beautiful creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of these second causes despoiled God of his prerogative, or had God himself constrained the mind and will of man to impious acts by any celestial inforcements, then sure the impious excuse of some were justifiable; of whom St. ⁱ *Augustine*, *Impia perversitate in malis factis rectissime reprehendendis ingerunt accusandum potius auctorem syderum, quam commissorem scelerum*; Where we reprehend them of evil deeds, they again with wicked perverseness urge, that rather the author and creator of the stars, than the doer of the evil, is to be accused.

But that the stars and other celestial bodies incline the will by mediation of the sensitive appetite, which is also stirred by the constitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted. *Corpora caelestia* (saith *Damascene*) *constituunt in nobis habitus, complexiones, & dispositiones*; The heavenly bodies (saith he) make in us habits, complexions, and dispositions; for the body (though ^k *Galen* inforce it further) hath undoubtedly a kind of drawing after it the affections of the mind, especially bodies strong in humour, and weak in virtues; for those of cholerick complexions are subject to anger, and the furious effects thereof; by which they suffer themselves to be transported, where the mind hath not reason to remember, that passions ought to be her vassals, not her masters. And that they wholly direct the reasonless mind, I am resolved: for all those which were created mortal, as birds, beasts, and the like, are left to their natural appetites; over all which, celestial bodies (as instruments and executioners of God's providence) have absolute dominion. What we should judge of men, who little differ from beasts, I cannot tell; for as he that contendeth against those inforcements, may easily master or resist them; so whosoever shall neglect the remedies by virtue and piety prepared, putteth himself altogether under the power of his sensual appetite; ^l *Vincetur fatum si resistas, vincit si contempseris*; Fate will be overcome, if thou resist it; if thou neglect, it conquereth.

But that either the stars or the sun have any power over the minds of men immediately, it is absurd to think, other than as aforesaid, as the same by the body's temper may be affected. *Lumen solis ad generationem sensibilibus corporum confert, & ad vitam ipsam movet, & nutrit, & auget, & perficit*: The light of the sun (saith St. ^m *Augustine*) helpeth the generation of sensible bodies, moveth them to life, and nourisheth, augmenteth, and perfecteth them: yet still as a minister, not as a master: *Bonus quidem est sol, in ministerio, non imperio*; The sun is good to serve, not to sway (saith St. ⁿ *Ambrose*.) And St. *Augustine*, *Deus regit inferiora corpora per superiora*; God ruleth the bodies below by those above: but he avoucheth not, that superiour bodies have rule over mens minds, which are incorporeal.

But howsoever we are by the stars inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in nature and art, that encounter the same, and weaken their operation; and *Aristotle* himself confesseth, that the heavens do not always work their effects in inferiour bodies, no more than the signs of rain and wind do always come to pass. And it is divers times seen, that paternal virtue and vice hath his counter-working to these inclinations. ^o *Est in juvenis patrum virtus*; In the young offspring the fathers virtue is; and so on the contrary, *patrum vitia*: and here-

^a Juven. sat. 7. 201. ^b Basil. Essai. 4. Aug. de heres. 70. c. 35. Tho. cont. Gent. 3. c. 83. ^c Picin. in 12. de leg. ^d Cic. de fat. ^e Gen. 1. 15. ^f Eccl. 42. c. 32. ^g Wisd. 9. 16. ^h Aristotle. ⁱ Aug. 20. super Gen. ad lit. ^j Gal. 1. ^k mor. an. leg. temp. ^l Quint. ^m Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 5. ⁿ Flex. l. 4. de term. 3. ^o Hor. l. 4. Od. 30.

in also there is often found an interchange; the sons of virtuous men, by an ill constellation, become inclinable to vice; and of vicious men to virtue.

Egregia est soboles scelerato nata parente :

A worthy son is born of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after God's reserved power) that so much setteth this art of influence out of square and rule, as education doth: for there are none in the world so wickedly inclined, but that a religious instruction and bringing up, may fashion anew and reform them; nor any so well disposed, whom (the reins being let loose) the continual fellowship and familiarity, and the examples of dissolute men, may not corrupt and deform. Vessels will ever retain a favour of their first liquor: it being equally difficult either to cleanse the mind once corrupted, or to extinguish the sweet favour of virtue first received, when the mind was yet tender, open, and easily seasoned; but where a favourable constellation (allowing that the stars incline the will) and a virtuous education do happily arrive, or the contrary in both, thereby it is that men are found so exceeding virtuous or vicious, heaven and earth (as it were) running together and agreeing in one: for as the seeds of virtue may, by the art and husbandry of christian counsel, produce better and more beautiful fruit, than the strength of self-nature and kind could have yielded them; so the plants, apt to grow wild, and to change themselves into weeds, by being set in a soil suitable, and like themselves, are made more unfavoury and filled with poison. It was therefore truly affirmed, *Sapiens adjuvabit opus astrorum, quemadmodum agricola terræ naturam*; A wise man assisteth the work of the stars, as the husbandman helpeth the nature of the soil. And *Ptolemy* himself confesseth thus much, *Sapiens, & omnia sapientis medici dominabuntur astris*; A wise man, and the ominous art of a wise physician, shall prevail against the stars. Lastly, we ought all to know that God created the stars, as he did the rest of the universal; whose influences may be called his reserved and unwritten laws. But let us consider how they bind: even as the laws of men do; for although the kings and princes of the world have by their laws decreed, that a thief and a murderer shall suffer death; and though their ordinances are daily by judges and magistrates (the stars of kings) executed accordingly; yet these laws do not deprive kings of their natural or religious compassion, or bind them without prerogative, to such a severe execution, as that there should be nothing left of liberty to judgment, power, or conscience: the law in his own nature, being no other than a deaf tyrant. But seeing that it is otherwise, and that princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) do sometimes for causes to themselves known, and by mediation, pardon offences both against others and themselves; it were then impious to take that power and liberty from God himself, which his substitutes enjoy; God being mercy, goodness, and charity it self. Otherwise that example of prayer by our Saviour taught; *And let us not be led into temptation, but deliver us from evil*, had been no other but an expence of words and time; but that God (which only knoweth the operation of his own creatures truly) hath assured us, that there is no inclination or temptation so forcible, which our humble prayers and desires may not make frustrate and break asunder: for were it (as the *Stoicks* conceive) that fate or destiny, though depending upon eternal power, yet being once ordered and disposed, had such a connexion and immutable dependency, that God

himself should in a kind have shut up himself therein; *How miserable then were the condition of men*. (saith *Augustine*) *left altogether without hope*.

And if this strength of the stars were so transferred, as that God had quitted unto them all dominion over his creatures; be he *Pagan* or *Christian* that so believeth, the only true God of the one, and the imaginary Gods of the other, would thereby be despoiled of all worship, reverence, or respect.

And certainly, God which hath promised us the reward of well-doing, which Christ himself claimed at the hands of the Father (*I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do*;) and the same God, who hath threatened unto us the sorrow and torment of offences, could not, contrary to his merciful nature, be so unjust, as to bind us inevitably to the destinies or influences of the stars, or subject our souls to any imposed necessity. But it was well said of *Plotinus*, that the stars were significant, but not efficient, giving them yet something less than their due: and therefore as I do not consent with them, who would make those glorious creatures of God virtuous: so I think that we derogate from his eternal and absolute power and providence, to ascribe to them the same dominion over our immortal souls, which they have over all bodily substances, and perishable natures: for the souls of men loving and fearing God, receive influence from that divine light it self, whereof the sun's clarity, and that of the stars, is by *Plato* called but a shadow, *Lumen est umbra Dei, & Deus est lumen luminis*; Light is the shadow of God's brightness, who is the light of light: But to end this question, because this destiny, together with providence, prescience, and predestination, are often confounded, I think it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two; for every man hath not observed it, though all learned men have.

SECT. XII.

Of PRESCIENCE.

Prescience, or foreknowledge (which the *Greeks* call *Prognosis*, the *Latins* *Præcognitio*, or *Præscientia*) considered in order and nature (if we may speak of God after the manner of men) goeth before providence: for God foreknew all things, before he had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and prescience is no other than an infallible foreknowledge. For whatsoever our selves foreknow, except the same be to succeed accordingly, it cannot be true that we foreknow it. But this prescience of God (as it is prescience only) is not the cause of any thing futurely succeeding: neither doth God's foreknowledge impose any necessity, or bind. For in that we foreknow that the sun will rise, and set; that all men born in the world shall die again; that after the winter the spring shall come; after the spring, summer, and harvest; and that according to the several seeds that we sow, we shall reap several sorts of grain, yet is not our foreknowledge the cause of this, or any of these: neither doth the knowledge in us bind or constrain the sun to rise and set, or men to dye; for the causes (as men persuade themselves) are otherwise manifest and known to all. *The eye of man* (saith *Boetius*) *beholdeth those things subject to sense, as they are; the eye seeth that such a beast is an horse, it seeth men, trees, and houses, &c. but our seeing of them (as they are) is not the cause of their so being, for such they be in their own natures*. And again out of the same author; *Divina providentia rebus generandis non imponit necessitatem, quia si omnia evenirent ex necessitate, præmia bonorum, &*

^a Matth. 6. 13.

^b John 13. 4.

^c Plat. pol. 6. Ficin. in 1. = pol.

^d Boetius de Consol.

pœna malorum periret; Divine providence (saith he) imposeth no necessity upon things that are to exist; for if all come to pass of necessity, there should neither be reward of good, nor punishment of evil.

SECT. XIII.

Of PROVIDENCE.

NOW providence (which the Greeks call *Pro-noia*) is an intellectual knowledge, both foreseeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not only behold all past, all present, and all to come, but is the cause of their so being, which prescience (simply taken) is not: and therefore providence by the philosophers (saith St. *Augustine*) is divided into memory, knowledge, and care: memory of the past, knowledge of the present, and care of the future: and we our selves account such a man for provident, as, remembering things past, and observing things present, can by judgment, and comparing the one with the other, provide for the future, and times succeeding. That such a thing there is as providence, the scriptures every where teach us; *Moses* in many places, the prophets in their predictions, Christ himself and his apostles assure us hereof; and besides the scriptures, *Hermes, Orpheus, Euripides, Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus*, and (in effect) all learned men acknowledge the providence of God; yea the *Turks* themselves are so confident therein, as they refuse not to accompany and visit each other in the most pestilent diseases, nor shun any peril whatsoever, though death therein do manifestly present it self.

The places of scripture proving providence, are so many, both in general and particular, as I shall need to repeat but a few of them in this place: *Sing unto God* (saith ^a *David*) *which covereth the heavens with clouds, and prepareth rain for the earth, and maketh the grass to grow upon the mountains, which giveth the beasts their food, and feedeth the young raven that cries*: ^b *All these wait upon thee, that thou mayst give them food in due season*: ^c *and thou shalt drink of the river* *Chereth* (saith God to *Elijah*) *and I have commanded the ravens to feed thee there*. ^d *Behold, the fowls of the air, they sow not, nor reap, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them*: Again, ^e *Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father*: yea, *all the hairs of your head are numbered*: And St. ^f *Peter*, *Cast all your care on him, for he careth for you*: *And his judgments are written*, saith ^g *David*.

God therefore, who is every where present, ^h *Who filleth the heavens and the earth, whose eyes are upon the righteous, and his countenance against them that do evil*, was therefore by *Orpheus* called *oculus infinitus*, an infinite eye, beholding all things; and cannot therefore be esteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his power to any other; for it is contrary to his own word, ⁱ *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo*; I will not give my glory to another. No man commandeth in the king's presence, but by the king's direction; but God is every where present, and king of kings. The example of God's universal providence is seen in his creatures. The father provideth for his children: beasts and birds and all living, for their young ones. If providence be found in second fathers, much more in the first and universal: and if there be a natural loving care in men, and beasts, much more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whose divine love was the

beginning, and is the bond of the universal: *Amor divinus rerum omnium est principium, & vinculum universi* (saith *Plato*): *Amor Dei est nobis perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumque ejus immobile sustentaculum, ac universæ machinæ fundamentum*; The love of God is the perpetual knot, and link or chain of the world, and the immovable pillar of every part thereof, and the basis and foundation of the universal. God therefore, who could only be the cause of all, can only provide for all, and sustain all; so as to absolute power, to every where presence, to perfect goodness, to pure and divine ^k love; this attribute transcendent hability of providence is only proper and belonging.

SECT. XIV.

Of PREDESTINATION.

NOW for predestination, we can difference it no otherwise from providence and prescience, than in this; that prescience only foreseeth; providence foreseeth and careth for, and hath respect to all ^l creatures, even from the brightest angels of heaven, to the unworthiest worms of the earth: and predestination (as it is used, especially by divines) is only of men, and yet not of all to men belonging, but of their salvation properly, in the common use of divines; or perdition, as some have used it. Yet ^m *Peter Lombard, Thomas, Bernensis Theologus*, and others, take the word predestination more strictly, and for a preparation to felicity. Divers of the fathers take it more largely sometimes: among whom St. *Augustine* speaking of two cities, and two societies, useth these words: *Quarum est una, quæ prædestinata est in æternum regnare cum Deo, altera æternum supplicium subire cum diabolo*; whereof one is it, which is predestinated to reign for ever with God, but the other is to undergo everlasting torment with the devil; for according to *Nonius Marcellus*, *Destinare, est præparare*; and of the same opinion are many protestant writers, as ⁿ *Calvin, Beza, Bucanus, Daneus*, and such like: and as for the manifold questions hereof arising, I leave them to the divines; and why it hath pleased God to create some vessels of honour, and some of dishonour, I will answer with *Gregory*, who saith, ^p *Qui in factis Dei rationem non videt, infirmitatem suam considerans, cur non videat, rationem videt*; He that seeth no reason in the actions of God, by consideration of his own infirmity, perceiveth the reason of his blindness. And again with St. ^q *Augustine*, *Occulta esse causa potest, injusta esse non potest*; Hidden the cause of his predestination may be, unjust it cannot be.

SECT. XV.

Of fortune: and of the reason of some things that seem to be by fortune, and against reason and providence.

LASTLY, seeing destiny or necessity is subsequent to God's providence, and seeing that the stars have no other dominion, than is before spoken, and that nature is nothing, but, as *Plato* calleth it, *Dei artem, vel artificiosum Dei organum*; The art, or artificial organ of God: And *Cusanus*, *divini præcepti instrumentum*; The instrument of the divine precept: we may then with better reason reject that kind of idolatry, or God of fools, called, *fortune* or *chance*; a goddess, the most revered, and the most reviled of all other, but not ancient: for *Homer* maketh her the daughter of *Oceanus*, as *Pausanias* witnesseth in his *Messenicks*. The Greeks

^a Ps. 147. 8, 9. ^b Ps. 104. 27. & 145. 15. ^c 1 Reg. 17. 4. ^d Matth. 6. 26. ^e Luke 12. 6, 7. ^f 1 Pet. 5. 7. ^g Ps. 136. 6. ^h Jer. 23. 24. ⁱ Esay 42. 8. ^k 1 John 4. 1. *God is love*. ^l Rom. 8. & 9. ^m Lomb. 1. 1. dist. 39. *Thom.* part 1. dist. 23. *Bein.* de Probl. de p. d. ⁿ Aug. 1. 15. c. 1. de Civ. Dei. ^o Cal. in c. 9. ad Rom. 2. 11. *Bez.* in magn. annor. in c. 9. ad Rom. *Daneus* 1. 3. de Salut. ^p Greg. Mag. Job 9. ^q Aug. ad Polin. ep. 59.

call her *τυχην*, signifying a relative being, or betiding, so as before *Homer's* time this great lady was scarce heard of; and *Hesiodus*, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all these counterfeit gods, hath not a word of *Fortune*; yet afterwards she grew so great and omnipotent, as from kings and kingdoms, to beggars and cottages, she ordered all things, resisting the wisdom of the wisest, by making the possessor thereof miserable; valuing the folly of the most foolish, by making their success prosperous: inasmuch as the actions of men were said to be but the sports of fortune, and the variable accidents happening in mens lives, but her pastimes: of which ^a*Palladius*, *Vita hominum ludus fortunæ est*; The life of man is the play of fortune: and because it often falleth out, that enterprizes guided by ill counsels, have equal success to those by the best judgment conducted, therefore had fortune the same external figure with sapience; whereof *Athenæus*:

*Longissime a sapientia fors diffidet,
Sed multa perficit tamen simillima:*
From wisdom fortune differs far,
And yet in works most like they are.

But I will forbear to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly understood) is nothing else but a power imaginary, to which the success of human actions and endeavours were for their variety ascribed; for when a manifest cause could not be given, then was it attributed to fortune, as if there were no cause of those things, of which most men are ignorant; contrary to this true ground of *Plato*, *Nihil est ortum sub sole, cujus causa legitima non præcesserit*; Nothing ever came to pass under the sun, of which there was not a just preceding cause. But *Aquinas* hath herein answered in one distinction, whatsoever may be objected; for many things there are (saith he) which happen, besides the intention of the inferior, but not besides the intention of the superior; *Præter intentionem inferioris, sed non præter intentionem superioris* (to wit, the ordinance of God;) and therefore (saith ^b*Melanchton*) *Quod poetæ fortunam, nos Deum appellamus*; whom the poets call fortune, we know to be God. And that this is true, the scripture in many places teacheth us; as in the Law of murder, *He that smiteth a man, and he die, shall die the death; and if a man hath not laid wait, but God hath offered him into his hands, then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee*. Now, where the scripture hath these words, *God hath offered him into his hands*, we say, if he hurt him by chance: and in ^d*Deuteronomy*, where the slipping the ax from the helve, whereby another is slain, was the work of God himself; we in our phrase attribute this accident, to chance or fortune: and in ^e*Proverbs*, *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord*: so as that which seemeth most casual and subject to fortune, is yet disposed by the ordinance of God, as all things else; and hereof the wiser sort, and the best learned of the philosophers were not ignorant, as *Cicero* witnesseth for them, gathering the opinion of *Aristotle* and his sectators, with those of *Plato*, and the *Academicks*, to this effect, that the same power which they called *Animam mundi*, the soul of the world, was no other than that incomprehensible wisdom, which we express by the name of God, governing every being as well in heaven as in earth; to which wisdom and power they sometime gave the title of necessity or fate, because it bindeth by inevitable or-

dinance: sometime, the style of fortune, because of many effects there appear unto us no certain causes. To this effect speaketh *St. Augustine* in his questions upon *Genesis* the first book: the same hath *Seneca* in his 4th of *Benefits*; which was also the doctrine of the *Stoicks*, of which sect he was: ^f*For whatsoever* (saith he) *thou callest God, be it Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one and the same, distinguished by divers terms, according as he useth, and exerciseth his power diversly*.

But it may be objected, that if fortune and chance were not sometimes the causes of good and evil in men, but an idle voice, whereby we express success; how comes it then, that so many worthy and wise men depend upon so many unworthy and empty-headed fools? That riches and honour are given to external men, and without kernel; and so many learned, virtuous, and valiant men wear out their lives in poor and dejected estates? In a word, there is no other inferior, or apparent cause, beside the partiality of man's affection, but the fashioning and not fashioning of our selves according to the nature of the time wherein we live: for whosoever is most able, and best sufficient to discern, and hath withal an honest and open heart and loving truth: if princes, or those that govern, endure no other discourse than their own flatteries: then, I say, such an one, whose virtue and courage forbiddeth him to be base and a dissembler, shall evermore hang under the wheel; which kind of deserving well and receiving ill, we always falsely charge fortune withal. For whosoever shall tell any great man or magistrate, that he is not just; the general of an army, that he is not valiant; and great ladies, that they are not fair; shall never be a counsellor, a captain, or a courtier. Neither is it sufficient to be wise with a wise prince, valiant with a valiant, and just with him that is just, for such a one hath no estate in his prosperity; but he must also change with the successor, if he be of contrary qualities; sail with the tide of the time, and alter form and condition, as the estate or the estate's master changeth: otherwise how were it possible, that the most base men, and separate from all imitable qualities, could so often attain to honour and riches, but by such an observant slavish course? These men having nothing else to value themselves by, but a counterfeit kind of wondering at other men, and by making them believe that all their vices are virtues, and all their dusty actions crystalline, have yet in all ages prospered equally with the most virtuous, if not exceeded them. For, according to *Menander*, *Omnis insipiens arrogantiæ & plausibus capitur*; Every fool is won with his own pride, and others flattering applause: So as whosoever will live altogether out of himself, and study other mens humours, and observe them, shall never be unfortunate; and on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and virtue (except the season wherein he liveth be of all these, and of all sorts of goodness, fruitful) shall never prosper by the possession or profession thereof. It is also a token of a worldly wise man, not to war or contend in vain against the nature of times wherein he liveth: for such a one is often the author of his own misery; but best it were to follow the advice, which the pope gave the bishops of that age, out of *Ovid*, while the *Arian* heresy raged:

^g*Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.*

While fury gallops on the way,
Let no man fury's gallop stay.

^a Sen. ep. 91. ^b An. viét. de Pertinace, Sen. ep. 74. Demetrius Poliorcetes, in the great and often changes of his fortune, is said to have said to one of his friends, *Fortune, applying to her a word of Æschylus*: Tu me extulisti, eadem me is (scilicet) perditum. ^c Te lacrima fortuna Deum, celoque locamus, Sat. 10. 366. ^d Exod. 21. 12, 13. ^e Deut. 19. 5. ^f Prov. 16. 33. ^g Cic. ac. quæd. 1. 1. ^h Senec. 1. 4. c. 7. ⁱ Ovid. Met. 1. 1. And

And if *Cicero* (than whom that world begat not a man of more reputed judgment) had followed the counsel of his brother *Quintus*, *Potuiſſet* (ſaith *Petrarch*) *in lectulo ſuo mori, potuiſſet integro cadavere ſepeliri*; He might then have died the death of nature, and been with an untorn and undiſſepered body buried; for, as, *Petrarch* in the ſame place noteth, *Quid ſtultius quam deſperantem (præſertim de effectu) litibus perpetuis implicari*? What more fooliſh than for him that deſpairs (eſpecially of the effect) to be entangled with endleſs contentions? Whoſoever therefore will ſet before him *Machiavel's* two marks to ſhoot at (to wit, riches, and glory, muſt ſet on and take off a back of iron to a weak wooden bow, that it may fit both the ſtrong and the feeble; for as he, that firſt deviſed to add ſails to rowing veſſels, did either ſo proportion them as being faſtened aloft,

and towards the head of his maſt, he might abide all winds and ſtorms, or elſe he ſometime or other periſhed by his own invention: ſo that man which prizeth virtue for itſelf, and cannot endure to hoife and ſtrike his ſails, as the divers natures of calms and ſtorms require, muſt cut his ſails and his cloth of mean length and breadth, and content himſelf with a ſlow and ſure navigation (to wit) a mean and free eſtate. But of this diſpute of fortune, and the reſt, or of whatſoever Lords or Gods, imaginary powers, or cauſes, the wit (or rather fooliſhneſs) of man hath found out: let us reſolve with *St. Paul*, who hath taught us, that there is ^a *but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all things, and we by him*; there are diverſities of operations, but God is the ſame, which worketh all in all.

^a 1 Cor. 8. 6. 12. 6

CHAP. II.

Of Man's eſtate in his firſt Creation, and of God's reſt.

SECT. I.

Of the image of God, according to which man was firſt created.

THE creation of all other creatures being finiſhed, the heavens adorned, and the earth replenished, God ſaid, ^a *Let us make man in our own image, according to our likenesſs.*

Man is the laſt and moſt admirable of God's works to us known: ^b *Ingens miraculum homo*; Man is the greateſt wonder (ſaith *Plato* out of *Mercurius*;) *Naturæ ardentiffimæ artificium*; The artificial work of the moſt ardent or fire-like nature (as ſaith *Zoroaſter*;) though the ſame be meant, not for any excellency external, but in reſpect of his internal form, both in the nature, qualities, and other attributes thereof: in nature, becauſe it hath an eſſence, immortal and ſpiritual in qualities, becauſe the ſame was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, becauſe man was made lord of the world, and of the creatures therein.

^c *Sanctius hiſ animal, mentisque capacius alt.e, Deerat adhuc, & quod dominari in cætera poſſet: Natus homo eſt.*

More holy than the reſt, and underſtanding more,
A living creature wants, to rule all made before,
So man began to be.

Of this image and ſimilitude of God, there is much diſpute among the fathers, ſchoolmen, and late writers: ſome of the fathers conceive, that man was made after the image of God, in reſpect chiefly of empire and dominion, as *St. Chryſoſtom*, *Ambroſe*, and ſome others: which *St. Ambroſe* denieth to the woman in theſe words, *Ut ſicut Deus unus, ab eo fieret homo unus; & quomodo ex Deo uno omnia, ita ex uno homine omne genus eſſet ſuper faciem totius terræ: unus igitur unum ſecit, qui unitatis ejus haberet imaginem*; That as God is one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewise of one man the whole kind ſhould be upon the face of the whole earth: therefore he being one, made one, that ſhould have the image of his unity. But whereas it is ga-

thered out of the following words of the ſame verſe, that man was after the image of God in reſpect of rule and power; it is written *Dominamini* in the plural number; and let them rule over the fiſh in the ſea, &c. and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceive, that man is ſaid to be after the image of God in reſpect of his immortal ſoul only: becauſe as God is inviſible, ſo the ſoul of man is inviſible; as God is immortal and incorporeal, ſo is the ſoul of man immortal and incorporeal; and as there is but one God which governeth the world, ſo but one ſoul which governeth the body of man; and as God is wholly in every part of the world, ſo is the ſoul of man wholly in every part of the body: *Anima eſt tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte*; The ſoul is wholly in the whole body, and wholly in every part thereof, according to *Ariſtotele*; though *Chalcidius*, and other learned men, deny that doctrine; which that it is otherwiſe than potentially true, all the *Ariſtotelians* in the world ſhall never prove. Theſe and the like arguments do the *Jews* make (ſaith *Toſtatus*) and theſe reſemblances, between the infinite God, and the finite man.

The ſchool-men reſemble the mind or ſoul of man to God, in this reſpect eſpecially; becauſe that as in the mind there are three diſtinct powers, or faculties (to wit) memory, underſtanding, and will; and yet all theſe being of real differences, are but one mind: ſo in God there are three diſtinct perſons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, and yet but one God. They alſo make the image and ſimilitude divers; and again, they diſtinguiſh between *imaginem Dei*, and *ad imaginem Dei*; and ſpin into ſmall threds with ſubtile diſtinctions many times the plainneſs and ſincerity of the ſcriptures: their wits being like that ſtrong water, that eateth thro' and diſſolveth the pureſt gold. *Victorinus* alſo maketh the image of God to be ſubſtantial, but not the ſimilitude: *Sed in ſubſtantia nomen qualitatis declarativum*; A word declaring quality in the ſubſtance. Out of which words, and that which followeth, it is inferred, that as the image and ſimilitude do greatly differ, ſo the ſinful ſoul doth not therefore leave to be the image of God; but it hath not his ſimilitude, except it be holy and righteous. *St. Auguſtine* alſo againſt *Adimantus* the *Manichee* affirmeth,

^a Gen. 1. 26. ^b Trif. Afel. 2. & de volunt. Dei. Plat. leg. 1. 1. ^c Sanctum, quia pars potior immortalis; animal, quia in mortali. In locum Ovid. Met. 1. 1. 76.

that by sin, the perfection of this image is lost in man; and in his retractions maintaineth the same opinion, and also affirmeth that the similitude is more largely taken, than the image.

But howsoever the school-men and others distinguish, or whatsoever the fathers conceive; sure I am, that St. Paul maketh the same sense of the image, which *Victorinus* doth of the similitude, who saith, *As we have borne the image of the earthly, so shall we bear the image of the heavenly*; and it cannot be gathered out of the scriptures, that the words *image* and *similitude* were used but in one sense, and in this place the better to express each other; whatsoever *Lombard* hath said to the contrary. For God knows, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himself in the scriptures, which neither *Moses*, the *Prophets*, or *Apostles*, ever conceived. Now as St. Paul useth the word (image) for both: so St. James useth the word (similitude) for both, in these words: *There-with bless we God even the Father, and therewith curse we men, which are made after the similitude of God.* Howsoever therefore St. *Augustine* seemeth, out of a kind of elegancy in writing, to make some difference: as where he writeth, *Confitemur imaginem in eternitate, similitudinem in moribus inveniri*; We confess that this image is found in eternity, but his similitude in manners, that is, in the spiritual dispositions and qualities of the mind; yet thus he elsewhere speaketh plainly: *Quasi vero possit esse imago aliqua, in qua similitudo non sit: si enim omnino similis non est, proculdubio nec imago est*; As if (says he) there could be any image, where the similitude is not: no, out of doubt, where there is no likeness, there is no image. The very words of the text make this most manifest, as, *Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness*; which is, *Let us make man in our image, that he may be like us*: and in the next verse following, God himself maketh it plain; for there he useth the word (image) only as thus: *God created the man in his image, in the image of God created he him.* And to take away all dispute or ambiguity, in the first verse of the fifth chapter, the word (similitude) is used again by it self, as, *In the day that God created Adam, in the likeness of God made he him.* And this similitude St. Paul, calleth the image; *Put on* (saith he) *the new man which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him.* And in *Syracides* it is written, *He made them according to his image.* Now if we may believe St. Paul before *Peter Lombard* and other school-men, then it is as manifest as words can make it, that the image and similitude is but the same; for St. Paul useth both the words directly in one sense. *For they turned the glory of the incorruptible God, to the similitude of the image of a corruptible man.*

Zanchius laboureth to prove, that man was formed after the image of God, both in body and mind: *Nulla pars in homine, que non fuerit huiusce imaginis particeps*; No part in a man (saith he) which was not participating God's image; for God said, *Let us make man according to our own image.* But the soul alone is not man, but the *Hypostasis* or whole man compounded of body and soul. *The body of man* (saith he) *is the image of the world, and called therefore Microcosmus*; but the *Idea* and exemplar of the world was first in God, so that man, according to his body, must needs be the image of God. Against which opinion of this learned man, his own objection seemeth to me suf-

ficient, where he alledgeth that it may be said, that *Moses* spake by the figure *Synecdoche*, as when a man is called a mortal man, yet is not the whole man mortal, but the body only: so when God said, *Let us make man after our image*, he meant the soul of man, and not the body of earth and dust: *Maledictus qui deitatem ad hominis lineamenta refert* (saith St. *Augustine*;) Cursed is he that referreth the Deity of God to the lineaments of man's body: *Deus enim non est humane forme particeps, neque corpus humanum divine* (saith *Philo*;) God is not partaker of human form, nor human body of the form divine. The *Hebrew* word for image, is *Tselem*, which signifieth a shadow or obscure resemblance: *In imagine pertransit homo*; Man passeth away in shadow: Let us then know and consider, that God, who is eternal and infinite, hath not any bodily shape or composition, for it is both against his nature and his word; an error of the *Anthropomorphite*, against the very essence and majesty of God.

Surely *Cicero*, who was but a *Heathen*, had yet a more divine understanding than these gross *Hereticks*: *Ad similitudinem Dei propius accedebat humana virtus, quam figura*; The virtue which is in man (saith he) came nearer the similitude of God than the figure. For God is a spiritual substance, invisible, and most simple; God is a just God, God is merciful, God is charity it self, and (in a word) goodness it self, and none else simply good. And thus much it hath pleased God himself to teach us, and to make us known of himself. What then can be the shadow of such a substance, the image of such a nature, or wherein can man be said to resemble his unexcogitable power and perfectness? Certainly, not in dominion alone; for the devil is said to be the prince of this world, and the kingdom of Christ was not thereof, who was the true and perfect image of his Father: neither because man hath an immortal soul, and therein the faculties of memory, understanding, and will; for the devils are also immortal, and participate those faculties, being called *demonies*, because *scientes* of knowledge and subtilty: neither because we are reasonable creatures, by which we are distinguished from beasts: for who have rebelled against God? who have made gods of the vilest beasts, of serpents, of cats, of owls, yea, even of shameful parts, of lusts and pleasures, but reasonable men? Yet do I not condemn the opinion of St. *Crisostom* and *Ambrose*, as touching dominion, but that, in respect thereof, man was in some sort after the image of God, if we take dominion, such as it ought to be, that is, accompanied with justice and piety; for God did not only make man a ruler and governor over the fishes of the sea, the fowls of heaven (or of the air) and over the beasts of the field; but God gave unto man a dominion over men, he appointed kings to govern them, and judges to judge them in equity. Neither do I exclude reason, as it is the ability of understanding. For I do not conceive, that *Irenaeus* did therefore call man, the image of God, because he was *animal rationale* only; but that he understood it better, with *Sybilla*; *Imago mea est homo, rectam rationem habens*; Man that is endued with right reason is said to resemble God (that is) by right reason to know and confess God his Creator, and the same God to serve, love, and obey; and therefore said St. *Augustine* (who herein came nearer the truth) *Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & similitudinem suam in mente*; God made man in respect of the intellect after his own image and similitude; and

^a 1 Cor. 15. 49. ^b Jam. 3. 9. ^c Ut supra. ^d Aug. ut supra. ^e Coloss. 3. 10. ^f Rom. 1. 23. ^g Zanch. de oper. Dei, l. 3. c. 1. ^h In Gen. ⁱ Eph. 6. 12. ^k John 18. 36.

^l Plat. in. Cratol. ^m Orosius de Just. l. 5.

^aReynerius, *Homo, quod habet mentem, factus est ad imaginem Dei*; Man was made after the image of God, in mind, or, in that he hath a mind.

SECT. II.

Of the intellectual mind of man, in which there is much of the image of God; and that this image is much deformed by sin.

BUT *mens* is not taken here for *anima physica*, according to *Aristotle*, which is, *forma vel natura hominis*; The form or nature of man; but this faculty or gift of God, called *mens*, is taken for *prima vis animi*, the principal strength of the mind, [or soul] *cujus actus est perpetua veritatis contemplatio*; whose act [exercise, or office] is the perpetual contemplation of truth; and therefore it is also called ^b*intellectus divinus, intellectus contemplativus, & anima contemplativa*; A divine understanding, and an intellect or mind contemplative. ^c*Est autem mens nostra* (saith *Cusanus*) *vis comprehendendi; & totum virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compositum*; Our intellectual mind (saith he) is a power of comprehending; even the whole, that is in this kind powerful, compounded of all the powers of comprehension: unto which *Mercurius* attributeth so much (if his meaning accompany his words) that he esteemeth it to be the very essence of God (which was also the error of the *Manichees*, and others) and no otherwise separate from God (saith he) than the light from the sun: for this *mens*, or understanding (saith *Mercurius*) ^d*est Deus in hominibus*; Is God in men; or rather (and which I take to be his meaning) is the image of God in man. For, as the sun is not of the same essence or nature with the divine light, but a body illighted, and an illumination created; so is this *mens* or understanding in men, not of the essence of God's infinite understanding, but a power and faculty of our souls the purest; or, the *lumen animæ rationalis*, by the true and eternal light illighted. And this *mens* others call *animam animæ*, the soul of the soul; or, with *St. Augustine*, the eye of the soul, or receptacle of sapience and divine knowledge, *Quæ amorem sapientie tanquam ducem sequitur*; Which followeth after the love of sapience as her guide (saith *Philo*;) between which and reason; between which and the mind, called *anima*; between which and that power which the *Latins* call *animus*, there is this difference: reason, is that faculty by which we judge and discourse; *anima*, by which we live. Hereof it is said, *Anima corpus animat, id est, vivificat*; [or] The soul is that which doth animate the body, that is, giveth it life; for death is the separation of body and soul: and the same strength (saith *Philo*) which God the great director hath in the world, the same hath this *anima*, or mind, or, soul in man. *Animus*, is that, by which we will and make election; and to this *Basil* agreeth, which calleth this *mens*, or divine understanding, *Perspicacem animæ partem*; The perceiving part of the mind, or, the light by which the soul discerneth: *Dormientium mens, non anima, sopitur*; & *in furiosis mens extinguitur, anima manet*: In men that sleep it is this (*mens*, or) understanding, and not the mind or soul, which resteth, during which time it is but habitual in wise men, and in mad men this (*mens*) is extinguished, and not the soul; for mad men do live, though distract.

Therefore this word being often used for the soul giving life, is attributed abusively to mad men, when we say that they are of a distract mind, in-

stead of a broken understanding: which word (*mind*) we use also for opinion, as, I am of this mind, or, that mind: and sometimes for mens conditions or virtues, as, he is of an honest mind, or, a man of a just mind: sometimes for affliction, as, I do this for my mind's sake: and *Aristotle* sometimes useth this word (*mens*) for the phantasy, which is the strength of the imagination: sometimes for the knowledge of principles, which we have without discourse: oftentimes for spirits, angels, and intelligences: but as it is used in the proper signification, including both the understanding agent and possible, it is described to be a pure, simple, substantial act, not depending upon matter, but having relation to that which is intelligible, as to his first object: or more at large thus; a part or particle of the soul, whereby it doth understand, not depending upon matter, nor needing any organ, free from passion coming from without, and apt to be dislevered, as, eternal from that which is mortal. Hereof excellently *Mercurius*; *Anima est imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Deus menti præest, mens animæ, anima corpori*; The soul (meaning that which giveth life) is the image of this understanding, or *mens*; and this (*mens*) or understanding is the image of God. God is president or ruler over this understanding, this understanding over the soul, and this soul over the body. This division and distinction out of the *Platonicks*, and *Peripateticks*, I leave to the reader to judge of. That *Mens humana* hath no need of any organ, ^e*Marsilius Ficinus* in his 9th book of the soul's immortality, laboureth to prove. *Zanchius* doth not differ from *Ficinus* in words; for (saith he) ^f*Ad facultatem intelligentem exercendam, non eget mens organo; tanquam medio, per quod intelligat: quanquam eget objecto in quod intueatur, & ex quo intellectionem concipiat. Hoc autem objectum sunt phantasmata, seu rerum a sensibus perceptarum simulachra ad phantasi- am prolata*: To exercise the faculty of understand, the mind of man (saith he) needeth no instrument, as a mean, by which it may understand: but it needeth an object, whereon to look, and whence to conceive the act of understanding. This object are the phantasms, or the resemblances of things received from the sense, and carried to the phantasy. But in effect, this conclusion seemeth to carry a contrary sense, when he maketh the phantasy, in representing the object to the understanding, to be a corporal *Organum*; neither can it be understood to be an *Organum* of any thing, but of the understanding. And he addeth, that the resemblance of things in man's imagination, are, to his understanding and mind, as colours are to the sight; whence it so followeth, that the imagination or phantasy it self is to the faculty of understanding, as the eye is to the faculty of seeing: and as this is an *Organum*, so that. Of this question, how the mind in all her actions maketh use of the body, and hath communion with the body, I refer the reader to a most grave and learned discourse in the last reply of *M. D. * Bilson*, late bishop of *Winchester*, unto *Hen. Jacob*. Howsoever the truth be determined, we must conclude, that it is neither in respect of reason alone, by which we discourse, nor in respect of the mind it self, by which we live, nor in respect of our souls simply, by which we are immortal, that we are made after the image of God. But most safely may we resemble our selves to God *in mente*, and in respect of that pure faculty, which is never separate from the contemplation and love of God. Yet this is not all; for *St. Bernard* maketh a true difference between the nature and faculties of the mind or soul, and be-

^a Peyn. de ment. ^b Parmand. ^c De mente, Idiot. l. 3. ^d Sen. ep. 65. l. 1 & 31. l. 1. ^e Lib. 9. c. 5. ^f Zanch. de oper. Dei, par. 3. l. 1. c. 2. ^g Page 185. & sequent. Ad imaginem Dei creavit illum, id est, sapientie, virtutis, ac bonitatis compotem, qui se in futurum creatorem ignoscere suum; atque imitari. proque ingenii, proque auctoritatis, tibi concessa ratione, flueret. Exam.

tween the infusion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which, being added to the nature, essence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the image of God: whose words are these, *Non propterea imago Dei est, quia sui meminit mens, seque intelligit & diligit* (which also was the opinion of St. *Augustine*;) *sed quia potest meminisse, intelligere, ac diligere eum a quo facta est*, (that is) The mind (or *mens*) was not therefore the image of God, because it remembereth, understandeth, and loveth it self; but because it can remember, understand, and love God, who created it. And that this image may be deformed and made unprofitable, hear *Basil*; *Homo ad imaginem & similitudinem Dei factus est, peccatum vero imaginis hujus pulchritudinem deformavit, & inutilem reddidit, dum animam corruptis concupiscentiæ affectibus immergit*: Man was made after the image and similitude of God, but sin hath deformed the beauty of this image, and made it unprofitable, by drawing our minds into corrupt concupiscence.

It is not therefore (as aforesaid) by reason of immortality, nor in reason, nor in dominion, nor in any one of these by it self, nor in all these joyned, by any of which, or by all which we resemble, or may be called the shadow of God, though by reason and understanding, with the other faculties of the soul, we are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in respect of the habit of original righteousness, most perfectly infused by God into the mind and soul of man in his first creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberality, that we were printed with the seal of God's image (though reason may be said to be of her gift, which, joined to the soul, is a part of the essential constitution of our proper species) but from the bountiful grace of the Lord of all goodness, who breathed life into earth, and contrived within the trunk of dust and clay, the imitable hability of his own piety and righteousness.

So long therefore (for that resemblance which dominion hath) do those that are powerful retain the image of God, as according to his commandments they exercise the office or magistracy to which they are called, and sincerely walk in the ways of God, which in the scriptures is called, *“walking with God*; and all other men so long retain this image, as they fear, love, and serve God truly, that is, for the love of God alone, and do not bruise and deface his seal by the weight of manifold and voluntary offences, and obstinate sins. For the unjust mind cannot be after the image of God, seeing God is justice it self; the blood-thirsty hath it not, for God is charity and mercy it self; falshood, cunning practice, and ambition, are properties of satan; and therefore cannot dwell in one soul, together with God: and to be short, there is no likelihood between pure ^b light and black darkness, between beauty and deformity, or between righteousness and reprobation. And though nature, according to common understanding, have made us capable by the power of reason, and apt enough to receive this image of God's goodness, which the sensual souls of beasts cannot perceive; yet were that aptitude naturally more inclinable to follow and embrace the false and duple pleasures of this stage-play world, than to become the shadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanship of God's wisdom, and the liberality of his mercy, formed eyes to our souls, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impurity of our flesh, behold the highest heavens, and thence bring knowledge and object to the mind and soul, to contemplate the ever-during

glory, and termless joy, prepared for those which retain the image and similitude of their Creator, preserving undefiled and unrent the garment of the new man, which, after the image of God, is created in righteousness, and holiness, as faith St. *Paul*. Now whereas it is thought by some of the fathers, as by St. *Augustine*, with whom ^d St. *Ambrose* joyneth, that by sin, the perfection of the image is lost, and not the image it self: both opinions by this distinction may be reconciled (to wit) that the image of God, in man, may be taken two ways; for, either it is considered according to natural gifts, and consisteth therein; namely, to have a reasonable and understanding nature, &c. and in this sense, the image of God is more lost by sin than the very reasonable or understanding nature, &c. is lost (or sin doth not abolish and take away these natural gifts:) or, the image of God is considered, according to supernatural gifts, namely, of divine grace and heavenly glory, which is indeed the perfection and accomplishment of the natural image; and this manner of similitude and image of God is wholly blotted out, and destroyed by sin.

SECT. III.

Of our base and frail bodies: and that the care thereof should yield to the immortal soul.

THE external man God formed out of the dust of the earth, or (according to the signification of the word, *Adam*) of *Adamath*, of red earth, or *ex limo terræ*, out of the slime of the earth, or a mixed matter of earth and water. *“Non ex qualibet humo, sed ex ghaphar adamath (id est) ex pinguisima & mollissima*: Not that God made an image or statue of clay, but out of clay, earth, or dust, God formed and made flesh, blood, and bone, with all parts of man.

That man was formed of earth and dust did *Abraham* acknowledge, when in humble tear he called unto God, to save *Sodom*: *“Let not my Lord now be angry, if I speak, I that am but dust and ashes*: And, *In these houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust, do our souls inhabit*, according to *Job*. And though our own eyes do every where behold the sudden and resistless assaults of death, and nature assureth us by never-failing experience, and reason by intallible demonstration, that our times upon the earth have neither certainty nor durability; that our bodies are but the anvils of pain and diseases, and our minds the hives of unnumbered cares, sorrows, and passions: and that (when we are most glorified) we are but those painted posts, against which envy and fortune direct their darts; yet such is the true unhappiness of our condition, and the dark ignorance which covereth the eyes of our understanding, that we only prize, pamper, and exalt this vassal and slave of death, and forget altogether (or only remember at our cast away leisure) the imprisoned immortal soul, which can neither die with the reprobate, nor perish with the mortal parts of virtuous men: seeing God's justice in the one, and his goodness in the other, is exercised for evermore, as the ever-living subjects of his reward and punishment. But when is it that we examine this great account? never while we have one vanity left us to spend: we plead for titles, till our breath fail us; dig for riches, while our strength enableth us; exercise malice, while we can revenge; and then when time hath beaten from us both youth, pleasure, and health, and that nature is felt hateful the house of old age, we remember with *Job*, that

^a Gen. 1. 27. ^b 2 Cor. 6. 14. ^c 2 Cor. 13. 9. ^d St. Ambrose. ^e Anas Mont. de nat. 1. 136. ^f Gen. 15. 27. ^g Job 1. 19. ^h Job 10. 21. & 17. 13.

we must go the way from whence we shall not return, and that our bed is made ready for us in the dark; and then, I say, looking over-late into the bottom of our conscience (which pleasure and ambition had locked up from us all our lives) we behold therein the fearful images of our actions past, and withal this terrible inscription: *That God will bring every work into judgment, that man hath done under the sun.*

But what examples have ever moved us? what persuasions reformed us? or what threatnings made us afraid? we behold other mens tragedies play'd before us, we hear what is promised and threatened: but the world's bright glory hath put out the eyes of our minds; and these betraying lights (with which we only see) do neither look up towards termless joys, nor down towards endless sorrows, till we neither know, nor can look for any thing else, at the world's hands. Of which excellently *Marius Victor*:

*Nil hostes, nil dira fames, nil denique morbi
Egerunt, fuimus, qui nunc sumus, iisque periculis
Tentati; nibilo meliores reddimur unquam,
Sub vitiis nullo culparum sine manentes.*

Diseases, famine, enemies, in us no change have wrought, [caught:
What erst we were, we are; still in the same snare
No time can our corrupted manners mend,
In vice we dwell, in sin that hath no end.

But let us not flatter our immortal souls herein; for to neglect God all our lives, and know that we neglect him, to offend God voluntarily, and know that we offend him, casting our hopes on the peace, which we trust to make at parting, is no other than a rebellious presumption, and (that which is the worst of all) even a contemptuous laughing to scorn, and deriding of God, his laws and precepts. *Frustra sperant, qui sic de misericordia Dei sibi blandiuntur*; They hope in vain, saith *Bernard*, which in this sort flatter themselves with God's mercy.

SECT. IV.

Of the spirit of life, which God breathed into man in his creation.

IN this frame and carcass God breathed the breath of life; and the man was a living soul: (that is) God gave a body of earth and of corruptible matter, a soul spiritual and incorruptible; not that God had any such bodily instruments as men use, but God breathed the spirit of life and immortality into man, as he breatheth his grace daily into such as love and fear him. *The spirit of God* (saith *Elibu* in *Job*) *bath made me, and the breath of the Almighty bath given me life: In qua sententia* (saith *Rabanus*) *vitanda est paupertas sensus carnalis, ne forte putemus Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo formasse corpus hominis, vel saucibus aut labiis suis inspirasse in faciem formati, ut vivere possit & spiraculum vite habere: nam & propheta cum ait, manus tue fecerunt me, &c. tropica hac locutione magis quam propria (id est, juxta consuetudinem, qua solent homines operari) locutus est: In which sentence* (saith he) the beggarliness of carnal sense is to be avoided, lest perhaps we should think, either that God with bodily hands made mans body of slime, or breathed with jaws or lips upon his face (being formed) that he might live, and have the spirit of life: for the prophet also when he saith, thy hands have made me, spake this tropically, rather than properly (that is) according to the custom which

men use in working. *Quantum est periculis his, qui scripturas sensu corporeo legunt?* In what danger are they that read the scriptures in a carnal sense? By this breath was infused into man, both life and soul, and therefore this (soul) the philosophers call *Animam, quæ vivificat corpus, & animat*; Which doth animate and give life to the body. *The inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding*, saith *Job*, and this spirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reasonable soul of man, returneth again to God that gave it, as the body returneth unto the earth, out of which it was taken; according to *Ecclesiastes*: *And dust shall return to the earth, out of which it was taken, and the spirit shall return to God that gave it.* Neither is this word (spirit) usually otherwise taken in the scriptures, than for the soul; as when *Stephen* cried unto God: *Domine, suscipe spiritum meum, Lord Jesus receive my spirit*: and in *St. John*, *And Jesus bowed his head, and gave up the ghost*, or spirit; (which was) that his life and soul left his body dead. And that the immortal soul of man differeth from the souls of beasts, the manner of creation maketh it manifest: for it is written, *Let the waters bring forth in abundance every creeping thing, and let the earth bring forth the living thing according to his kind, the beast of the earth, &c.* But of man it is written, *Let us make man in our own image, &c.* and further, that *the Lord breathed in his face the breath of life.* Wherefore, as from the water and earth were those creatures brought forth, and thence received life; so shall they again be dissolved into the same first matter, whence they were taken: but the life of breath everlasting, which God breathed into man, shall, according to *Ecclesiastes*, *return again to God that gave it.*

SECT. V.

That man is (as it were) a little world: with a digression touching our mortality.

MAN, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abstract or model, or brief story of the universal: in whom God concluded the creation, and work of the world, and whom he made the last and most excellent of his creatures, being internally endued with a divine understanding, by which he might contemplate and serve his Creator, after whose image he was formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of reason and other abilities, that thereby also he might govern and rule the world, and all other God's creatures therein. And whereas God created three sorts of living natures (to wit) angelical, rational, and brutal; giving to angels an intellectual, and to beasts a sensual nature, he vouchsafed unto man, both the intellectual of angels, the sensitive of beasts, and the proper rational belonging unto man, and therefore (saith *Gregory Nazianzene*) *Hommo est utriusque nature vinculum*; Man is the bond and chain which tyeth together both natures: and because in the little frame of man's body there is a representation of the universal, and (by allusion) a kind of participation of all the parts there, therefore was man called *Microcosmos*, or the little world. *Deus igitur hominem factum, velut alterum quendam mundum, in brevi magnum, atque exiguo totum, in terris statuit*; God therefore placed in the earth the man whom he had made, as it were another world, the great and large world in the small and little world; for out of the earth and dust was formed the flesh of man, and therefore heavy and lumpish; the bones of his body we may compare to the hard

^a Eccl. 12. 14. ^b Bern. in Ps. qui habitat. ^c Job 33. 4. ^d Eccl. 12. 7. ^e Ar. Phys. 1. 8. c. 2. ^f Gen. 1. 2. ^g Gen. 2. 7. ^h Ar. Phys. 1. 8. c. 2. ⁱ Aug. 1. qu. 83. 4. 67. retr. 1. 1. c. 2.

^j Eccl. 12. 7. ^k Acts 7. 59. ^l John 9. 30. ^m Gen. 1. 2. ⁿ Greg. Naz. Epul. Omne in homine creatum, &

rocks and stones, and therefore strong and durable; of which *Ovid*:

^a *Inde genus durum sumus, experiensque laborum,
Et documenta damus qua sumus origine nati:*

From thence our kind hard-hearted is,
Enduring pain and care,
Approving that our bodies of
A stony nature are.

His blood, which disperseth it self by the branches of veins through all the body, may be resembled to those waters, which are carried by brooks and rivers over all the earth; his breath to the air, his natural heat to the inclosed warmth which the earth hath in it self, which, stirred up by the heat of the sun, assisteth nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties, which the earth bringeth forth; Our radical moisture, oyl, or balsamum (whereon the natural heat feedeth and is maintained) is resembled to the fat and fertility of the earth; the hairs of man's body, which adorns, or overshadows it, to the grafs, which covereth the upper face and skin of the earth; our generative power, to nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the light wandring, and unstable clouds, carried every where with uncertain winds; our eyes, to the light of the sun and moon; and the beauty of our youth, to the flowers of the spring, which, either in a very short time, or with the sun's heat, dry up and wither away, or the fierce puffs of wind blow them from the stalks; the thoughts of our mind, to the motion of Angels; and our pure understanding (formerly called *mens*, and that which always looketh upwards) to those intellectual natures, which are always present with God; and lastly, our immortal souls (while they are righteous) are by God himself beautified with the title of his own image and similitude. And although, in respect of God, there is no man just, or good, or righteous (for, ^b *In angelis deprehensa est stultitia*, Behold, He found folly in his Angels, saith *Job*;) yet, with such a kind of difference, as there is between the substance and the shadow, there may be found a goodness in man: which God being pleased to accept, hath therefore called man, the image and similitude of his own righteousness. In this also is the little world of man compared, and made more like the universal (man being the measure of all things; ^c *Homo est mensura omnium rerum*, saith *Aristotle* and *Pythagoras*) that the four complexions resemble the four elements, and the seven ages of man the seven planets; whereof, our infancy is compared to the *Moon*, in which we seem only to live and grow, as plants; the second age to *Mercury*, wherein we are taught and instructed; our third age to *Venus*, the days of love, desire, and vanity; the fourth to the *Sun*, the strong, flourishing, and beautiful age of man's life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which we seek honour and victory, and in which our thoughts travel to ambitious ends; the sixth age is ascribed to *Jupiter*, in which we begin to take account of our times, judge of our selves, and grow to the perfection of our understanding; the last and seventh to *Saturn*, wherein our days are sad, and over-cast, and in which we find by dear and lamentable experience, and by the loss which can never be repaired, that of all our vain passions and affections past, the sorrow only abideth: Our attendants are sicknesses, and variable infirmities, and by how much the more we are accompanied with plenty, by so much the more

greedily is our end desired, whom when *time* hath made unfociable to others, we become a burthen to our selves: being of no other use, than to hold the riches we have from our successors. In this time it is, when (as aforesaid) we, for the most part, and never before, prepare for our eternal habitation, which we pass on unto with many sighs, groans, and sad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanship of death, finish the sorrowful business of a wretched life; towards which we always travel both sleeping and waking: neither have those beloved companions of honour and riches any power at all to hold us any one day, by the glorious promise of entertainments; but by what crooked path soever we walk, the same leadeth on directly to the house of death, whose doors lie open at all hours; and to all persons. For this tide of man's life, after it once turneth and declineth, ever runneth with a perpetual ebb and falling stream, but never floweth again: our leaf once fallen, springeth no more; neither doth the sun or the summer adorn us again, with the garments of new leaves and flowers.

*Redditur arboribus florens revirentibus atas;
Ergo non homini, quod fuit ante, redit.*

To which I give this sense.

The plants and trees made poor and old
By winter envious,
The spring-time bounteous
Covers again from shame and cold:
But never man repair'd again
His youth and beauty lost,
Though art, and care, and cost,
Do promise nature's help in vain.

And of which,

-CATULLUS, EPIGRAM. 53.

*Soles occidere & redire possunt:
Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda.*

The sun may set and rise:
But we contrariwise
Sleep after our short light
One everlasting night.

For if there were any baiting place, or rest, in the course or race of man's life, then, according to the doctrine of the *Academics*, the same might also perpetually be maintained; but as there is a continuance of motion in natural living things, and as the sap and juice, wherein the life of plants is preserved, both evermore ascend or descend; so is it with the life of man, which is always either increasing toward ripeness and perfection, or declining and decreasing towards rottenness and dissolution.

SECT. VI.

Of the free power, which man had in his first creation, to dispose of himself.

THESE be the miseries which our first parents brought on all mankind, unto whom God in his creation gave a free and unconstrained will, and on whom he bestowed the liberal choice of all things, with one only prohibition, to try his gratitude and obedience. God set before him, a mortal and immortal life, a nature celestial and terrene, and (indeed) God gave man to himself, to be his own guide, his own workman, and his own painter, that he might frame or describe unto

^a *Ovid Met. l. 1.* ^b *Job 4. 18.* ^c *Arist. 10. Metaph. c. 1. f.*

himself what he pleased, and make election of his own form. ^a *God made man in the beginning, (saith Siracides) and left him in the hands of his own counsel.* Such was the liberality of God, and man's felicity: whereas beasts, and all other creatures reasonless, brought with them into the world (saith *Lucilius*) and that even when they first fell from the bodies of their dams, the nature, which they could not change; and the supernal spirits or angels were from the beginning, or soon after, of that condition, in which they remain in perpetual eternity. But (as aforesaid) God gave unto man all kind of seeds and grafts of life (to wit) the vegetative life of plants, the sensual of beasts, the rational of man, and the intellectual of angels; whereof which soever he took pleasure to plant and cultivate, the same should futurely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreeable to his own choice and plantation. This freedom of the first man *Adam*, and our first father, was enigmatically described by *Asclepius Atheniensis* (saith *Mirandulæ*) in the person and fable of *Proteus*, who was said, as often as he pleased, to change his shape. To the same end were all those celebrated *Metamorphoses* among the *Pythagoreans*, and ancient poets, wherein it was feigned, that men were transformed into divers shapes of beasts, thereby to shew the change of mens conditions, from reason to brutality, from virtue to vice, from meekness to cruelty, and from justice to oppression. For by the lively image of other creatures did those *Ancients* represent the variable passions, and affections of mortal men; as by serpents were signified deceivers; by lyons, oppressors and cruel men; by swine, men given over to lust and sensuality; by wolves, ravening and greedy men; which also *St. Matthew* resembleth to false prophets, ^d *which come to you in sheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves:* by the images of stones and stocks, foolish and ignorant men; by vipers, ungrateful men; of which ^e *St. John Baptist, O ye generation of vipers, &c.*

SECT. VII.

Of God's ceasing to create any more: and of the cause thereof, because the universal created was exceeding good.

IN this work of man, God finished the creation; not that God laboured as a man, and therefore rested: for God commanded, and it was finished, *Cui voluisse est fecisse*; With whom to will is to make, saith *Beda*. Neither did God so rest, that he left the world made, and the creatures therein to themselves: for ^d *My father worketh to this day (saith Christ) and I work;* but God rested (that is) he created no new *species* or kinds of creatures, but (as aforesaid) gave unto man a power generative, and so to the rest of living creatures, to plants and flowers, their seeds in themselves; and commanded man to ^e multiply and fill the earth, and the earth and sea to bring forth creatures according to their several kinds: all which being finished, God saw that his works were good, not that he foreknew not, and comprehended not, the beginning and end before they were; for God made every plant of the field before it was in the earth; but he gave to all things which he had created the name of good, thereby to teach men, that from so good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good, and from whose simple purity and from so excellent a cause there could proceed no impure or imperfect effect. For

man having a free will and liberal choice, purchased by disobedience his own death and mortality; and for the cruelty of man's heart, was the earth afterward cursed, and all creatures of the first age destroyed, but the righteous man *Noah* and his family, with those creatures which the ark contained, reserved by God to replenish the earth.

CHAP. III.

Of the place of PARADISE.

SECT. I.

That the seat of Paradise is greatly mistaken: and that it is no marvel that men should err.

CONCERNING the first habitation of man, we read, that *the Lord God planted a garden east-ward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he made, Gen. ii. 6.* Of this seat and place of *Paradise*, all ages have held dispute; and the opinions and judgments have been in effect, as divers, among those, that have written upon this part of *Genesis*, as upon any one place therein, seeming most obscure: Some there are, that have conceived the being of the terrestrial *Paradise*, without all regard of the world's geography, and without any respect of east and west, or any consideration of the place where *Moses* wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the heavens) the way how to find out and judge, in what region of the world this garden was by God planted, wherein he was exceeding respective and precise. Others, by being themselves ignorant in the *Hebrew*, followed the first interpretation; or trusting to their own judgments, understood one place for another; and one error is so fruitful, as it begetteth a thousand children, if the licentiousness thereof be not timely restrained. And thirdly, those writers which gave themselves to follow and imitate others, were in all things so observant sectators of those masters, whom they admired and believed in, as they thought it safer to condemn their own understanding, than to examine theirs. For (saith *Vadianus* in his epistle of *Paradise*) *magno errore, magnorum virorum auctoritate persuasi, transmittimus;* We pass over many gross errors, by the authority of great men led and perswaded. And it is true, that many of the fathers were far wide from the understanding of this place. I speak it not, that I my self dare presume to censure them, for I reverence both their learning and their piety, and yet not bound to follow them any further, than they are guided by truth: for they were men; *Et humanum est errare.* And to the end that no man should be proud of himself, God hath distributed unto men such a proportion of knowledge, as the wisest may behold in themselves their own weakness: *Nulli unquam dedit omnia Deus;* God never gave the knowledge of all things to any one. ^f *St. Paul* confess'd that he knew not, whether he were taken up into the third heaven in the flesh, or out of the flesh; and Christ himself acknowledges thus much, ^g that neither men, nor angels knew of the latter day; and therefore, seeing knowledge is infinite, it is God (according to ^h *St. Jude*) who is only wise. *Sapientia ubi invenitur?* (saith *Job*) But where is wisdom found? ⁱ *and where is the place of understanding? Man knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not found in the land of the living.* And therefore seeing God found folly in his angels, mens judgments (which inhabit in the houses of clay) cannot be without their mistakings: and so the fathers,

^a Eccles. 15. 14. ^b Matth. 7. 15. ^c Matth. 3. 7. ^d John 5. 17. ^e Gen. 1. 28. & ver. 22. 24. ^f 2 Cor. 12. 2.
 ^g Matth. 24. 36. ^h Jude Ep. ver. 27. ⁱ Job 28. 12, 13. 4. 18.
 No. 2. J and

and other learned men, excusable in particulars, especially in those whereupon our salvation dependeth not.

S E C T. II.

A recital of strange opinions touching Paradise.

NOW touching *paradise*, first it is to be enquired, Whether there were a *paradise*, or no? or whether *Moses's* description were altogether mystical and allegorical? as *Origen*, *Philo*, *Fran. Georgius*, with others, have affirmed; and that under the names of those four rivers, *Pison*, *Gebon*, *Hiddekel* and *Perath*, the tree of life, and the tree of knowledge, there were delivered unto us other mysteries and significations; as, that by the ^a four rivers, were meant the four cardinal virtues, *Justice*, *Temperance*, *Fortitude* and *Prudence*; or (by others) *Oil*, *Wine*, *Milk* and *Honey*. This allegorical understanding of *Paradise* by *Origen* divulged, was again by *Fran. Georgius* received (saith *Sixtus Senensis*;) whose frivolous imaginations *Sixtus* himself doth fully and learnedly answer, in the 34th annotation of his 5th book, fol. 338. the last edition.

^bSt. *Ambrose* also leaned wholly to the allegorical construction, and set *Paradise* in the third heaven, and in the virtues of the mind, *Et in nostro principali*, which is, as I conceive it, *in mente*, or in our souls: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this sort. By the place or garden of *Paradise*, was meant the soul or mind; by *Adam*, *mens* or understanding; by *Eve*, the sense; by the *serpent*, delectation; by the *tree* of good and evil, sapience; and by the rest of the trees, the virtues of the mind, or in the mind planted, or from thence springing. Notwithstanding all which, upon 1 *Corinth. cap. 6.* he in direct words alloweth both of a celestial and terrestrial *Paradise*; the one, into which St. *Paul* was wrap'd; the other, into which *Adam* was put by God. *Aug. Chrysamenis* was of opinion, that a *Paradise* had been; but that there was not now any mark thereof on the earth: the same being not only defaced, but withal the places now not so much as existing. To which *Luther* seemeth to adhere.

The *Muniches* also understood, that by *Paradise* was meant the whole earth; to which opinion *Vadianus* inclineth, as I conceive his words, in two several places. First, upon this; *Fill the earth*, *Gen. 10.* of which he gives this judgment: *Hoc ipso etiam quod dixit, Replete terram, dominamini universis animantibus, subijcite terram, clarissime docet, totam terram extantem, Et omnigenis (ut tum erat) fructibus consistam, sedem Et hortum illum Adæ, Et posteritatis futuræ fuisse*; These words (saith he) in which God said, Bring forth fruit and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it, and rule over every creature, do clearly shew, that the universal earth, set or filled with all sorts of fruits (as then it was) was the garden and seat of *Adam*, and of his future posterity. And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, out of the ^c*Acts, Apostolus ex uno sanguine omne genus humanum ideo factum docet, ut habitarent super universam faciem terre: tota igitur terra paradisus ille erat*; The apostle (saith he) teacheth, that God hath made of one blood all mankind, to dwell over all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth (saith he) was that *Paradise*. Which conjectures I will answer in order. *Goropius Becanus* differeth not much from this opinion, but yet he acknowledgeth that *Adam* was first planted by God in one certain place, and peculiar garden; which place *Goropius* findeth near the river of *Acesines*, in the confines of *India*.

^d*Tertullian*, *Bonaventure*, and *Durandus*, make *Paradise* under the equinoctial; and *Postellus*, quite contrary, under the north pole: the *Chaldeans* also for the most part, and all their sectators, followed the opinion of *Origen*, or rather *Origen* theirs; who would either make *Paradise* a figure, or sacrament only, or else would have it seated out of this sensible world, or raised into some high and remote region of the air. *Strabus* and *Rabanus* were both sick of this vanity, with *Origen* and *Philo*: So was our venerable ^e*Bede* and ^f*Peter Comestor*, and ^g*Moses Barcephas* the Syrian, translated by *Musius*. But as *Hopkins* says of *Philo Judeus*, that he wonder'd, *Quo malo genio afflatus*, By what evil angel he was blown up into this error; so can I but greatly marvel at the learned men, who so grossly and blindly wander'd; seeing *Moses*, and after him the prophets, do so plainly describe this place by the region in which it was planted, by the kingdoms and provinces bordering it, by the rivers which water'd it, and by the points of the compass upon which it lay, in respect of *Judea*, or *Canaan*.

Noviomagus also upon *Beda, De natura rerum*, believeth that all the earth was taken for *Paradise*, and not any one place. For the whole earth (saith he) hath the same beauty ascribed to *Paradise*. He addeth, that the ocean was that fountain from whence the four rivers, *Pison*, *Gebon*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, had their beginning; for he could not think it possible, that these rivers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates* (whereof the one ran through *India*, the other through *Egypt*, and the other through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*) could rise out of one fountain, were it not out of the fountain of the ocean.

S E C T. III.

That there was a true local Paradise eastward in the country of Eden.

TO the first therefore, that such a place there was upon the earth, the words of *Moses* make it manifest, where it is written, *And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he had made*: and howsoever the vulgar translation, called *Jerom's* translation, hath converted this place thus, *Plantaverit Dominus Deus Paradisum voluptatis a principio*: The Lord God planted a *Paradise* of pleasure from the beginning; putting the word (pleasure) for *Eden*, and (from the beginning) for eastward: it is manifest, that in this place *Eden* is the proper name of a region. For, what sense hath this translation (saith our *Hopkins*, in his treatise of *Paradise*) that he planted a garden of pleasure, or, that a river went out of pleasure to water the garden? but the seventy interpreters call it *Paradisum Edenis*, The *Paradise* of *Eden*; and so doth the *Chaldean* paraphrast truly take it for the proper name of a place, and for a noun appellative; which region, in respect of the fertility of the soil, of the many beautiful rivers and goodly woods, and that the trees (as in the *Indies*) do always keep their leaves, was called *Eden*, which signifieth in the *Hebrew*, pleasantness, or delicacy; as the *Spaniards* call the country, opposite to the isle of *Cuba*, *Florida*: and this is the mistaking, which may end the dispute, as touching the double sense of the word, that as *Florida* was a country, so called for the flourishing beauty thereof; so was *Eden* a region, called pleasure or delicacy for its pleasure or delicacy: and as *Florida* signifieth flourishing; so *Eden* signifieth pleasure: and yet both are the proper names of countries; for *Eden* be-

^a Bartol. tem. 2. l. 1. c. 111. cap. 3. ^b Motes. Harc. de Par.

^b Amb. de Parad.

^c Gen. cap. 2.

^c Acts 17. 26.

^d Bart. 16. 126.

^e Bed. in Gen. ^f Pet. Comest. l. 1. c. 1.

ing the proper name of a region (called pleasure in the *Hebrew*) and *Paradise* being the choice seat of all that region, *Paradise* was truly the garden of *Eden*, and truly the garden of pleasure.

Now, for *eastward*, to translate it, *from the beginning*, it is also contrary to the translation of the seventy; to the ancient *Greek* fathers, as *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, *Theodoret*, *Gregory*; and to the *Rabines*, as *Ramban*, *Rabbi Solomon*, *R. Abraham*, and *Chimchi*; and of the *Latins*, *Severinus*, *Damascenus*, &c. who plainly take *Eden* for the proper name of a region, and set the word (*eastward*) for *ab initio*; for *Damascene's* own words are these, *Paradisus est locus Dei manibus in Eden ad orientem mirabiliter confitus*; *Paradise* is a place marvellously planted by the hands of God in *Eden*, towards the east.

And after all these fathers, *Guilhelmus Parisiensis*, a great learned man, and *Sixtus Senensis*, of latter times, do both understand these words of *Eden* and of the *east*, contrary to the vulgar translation; *Parisensis*, as indifferent to both, and *Sixtus Senensis*, directly against the vulgar: of which these are their own words; After this I will begin to speak of *Paradise* terrestrial, which God planted from the beginning, or eastward, &c. *Post hæc incipiam loqui de Paradiso terrestri, quem plantasse Deum ab initio vel ad orientem*, &c. And then *Senensis*; *Moses enim clarissime prodit, Paradisum a Deo constitum in regione terre orientalis, quæ dicitur Eden: Eden autem esse proprium nomen, apparet ex quarto capite Gen. ubi legimus, Cham habitasse ad orientalem plagam Eden*; For *Moses* (saith he) doth shew most clearly, that *Paradise* was planted of God in a region of the east country, which is called *Eden*: but that *Eden* is a proper name, it appeareth in ^a *Genesis*, where we read, that *Cham* dwelt on the east border of *Eden*. *Pererius* endeavoureth to qualify this translation; for this particle (saith he) *ab initio*, is referred to all the time of the creation, and not to the very first day; alledging this place of *Christ*, that although the devil was said to be a ^b *Man-slayer from the beginning*, yet that was meant but after the sixth day. But surely, as I think (referring my self to better judgment) the devil was from the instant of his fall a man-slayer in disposition, though he had not whereon to practise till man's creation. And for conclusion, *St. Hierome* (if that be his translation) adviseth himself better in the end of the 3d chapter of *Genesis*, converting the word (*Eden*) by (*ante*) and not (*a principio*) as, God did set a cherubin before the garden of *Eden*; *Collocavit Deus ante paradisum voluptatis, cherubin*; and *Pererius* himself acknowledgeth, that this is the true sense of this place, precisely taken, according to the *Hebrew*, *Posuit a parte orientali horti Eden, cherubin*; He set on the east side of the garden of *Eden*, a cherubin. *Becanus* affirmeth, that the *Hebrew* word (*Be*) signifieth (with) as well as (in) and so the text beareth this sense; That God planted a garden with pleasure (that is to say) full of pleasure. But *Becanus* followeth this construction, only to the end to find *Paradise* upon the river of *Acesines*; for there he hath heard of the *Indian* fig-tree in great abundance, which he supposeth to be the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and would therefore draw *Paradise* to the fig-tree: which conceit of his I will answer hereafter.

Now, because *Paradise* was seated by *Moses* towards the east, thence came the custom of praying towards the east, and not by imitation of the *Chaldeans*: and therefore all our churches are built east and west, as to the point where the sun riseth in *March*, which is directly over *Paradise* (saith *Da-*

masceus;) affirming, that we always pray towards the east, as looking towards *Paradise*, whence we were cast out; and yet the temple of *Solomon* had their priests and sacrifices, which turned themselves in their service and divine ceremonies, always towards the west, thereby to avoid the superstition of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*.

But because east and west are but in respect of places (for although *Paradise* were east from *Judea*, yet it was west from *Persia*) and the serving of God is every where in the world; the matter is not great, which way we turn our faces, so our hearts stand right; other than this, that we who dwell west from *Paradise*, and pray turning our selves to the east, may remember thereby to beseech God, that as by *Adam's* fall we have lost the *Paradise* on earth; so by *Christ's* death and passion we may be made partakers of the *Paradise* celestial, and the kingdom of heaven. To conclude, I conceive, that there was no other mystery in adding the word (east) to *Eden* by *Moses*, than to shew, that the region of *Eden*, in which *Paradise* was, lay eastward from *Judea* and *Canaan*: for the scriptures always called the people of those nations, the sons of the east which inhabited *Arabia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Chaldea*, and *Persia*: of which *Ovid*,

*Eurus ad auroram, Nabathæaque regna recessit,
Persidaque, & radiis juga subdita matutinis.*

The east wind with *aurora* hath abiding
Among th' *Arabian* and the *Persian* Hills,
Whom *Phæbus* first salutes at his up-rising.

And if it be objected, that *Jeremy* the prophet, threatening the destruction of *Jerusalem*, doth often make mention of *northern* nations, it is to be noted, that the *north* is there named, in respect of those nations that followed *Nabuchodonosor*, and of whom the greatest part of his army was compounded; not that *Babylon* it self stood *north* from *Jerusalem*, though inclining from the *east* towards the *north*.

Now to the difference of this translation, *Peter Comestor* giveth best satisfaction: for he useth the word, *from the beginning*, that is, *from the first part of the world (a principio) id est* (saith he) *a prima orbis parte*; and afterward he affirmeth, that *a principio*, and *ad orientem*, have the same signification: *from the beginning*, and *eastward*, is all one; *a principio idem est quod ad orientem*.

But to return to the proof of this place, and that this story of mankind was not allegorical, it followeth in the text of the 2d chapter and 5th verse, in these words; *For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree pleasant to the sight, and good for meat*, &c. so as first it appeared that God created *Adam* elsewhere as in the world at large, and then *put him into the garden*: and the end why, is express'd, verse 18, *that he might dress it and keep it*: *Paradise* being a garden or orchard filled with plants, and trees, of the most excellent kinds, pleasant to behold, and (withal) good for meat: which proveth that *Paradise* was a terrestrial garden, garnished with fruits, delighting both the eye and taste. And to make it more plain, and to take away all opinion of allegorical construction, he affirmeth, verse 10, that it was watered and beautified with a river; expressing also the region, out of which this river sprang, which he calleth *Eden*; and that *Eden* is also a country near unto *Charon* in *Mesopotamia*, ¹ *Ezechiel* witnesseth.

But to all these cabalists, which draw the truth and story of the scriptures into allegories, *Epiphanius* answereth in these words; *Si Paradisus non est sensibilis, non est etiam fons, si non est fons, non est*

^a Gen. 4. 16. ^b John 8. 44. ^c Gen. 3. 24. ^d Ezech. 17. 23.

flumen, si non est flumen, non sunt quatuor principia, non Pison, non Gebon, non Tigris, nec Euphrates; non est ficus, non folia, non comedit Eva de arbore, non est Adam, non sunt homines, sed veritas jam fabula est, & omnia ad allegorias revocantur; If *Paradise* be not sensible, then there was no fountain, and then no river; if no river, then no such four heads or branches, and then not any such river as *Pison*, or *Gebon*, *Tigris*, or *Euphrates*; no such fig-tree, or fruit, or leaves; *Eve* then did not eat of the fruit, neither was there any *Adam*, or any man, the truth was but a fable, and all things esteemed are called back into allegories. Words to the same effect hath *St. Hierome* upon *Daniel*; *Conticeſcant eorum deliramenta, qui umbras & imagines in veritate ſequentes, ipſam conantur evertere veritatem, ut Paradifum & flumina, & arbores putent allegoriæ legibus ſe debere ſubruere*: Let the dotage of them be ſilent, who following ſhadows and images in the truth, endeavour to ſubvert the truth it ſelf, and think that they ought to bring *Paradise*, and the rivers, and the trees, under the rules of allegory.

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the ſtory, is the place made more manifeſt. For, God gave *Adam* free liberty to eat of every tree of the garden (the tree of knowledge excepted) which trees *Mofes* in the 9th verſe ſaith that they were good to eat; meaning the fruit which they bare. Beſides, God left all beaſts to *Adam* to be named, which he had formerly made; and theſe beaſts were neither in the third heaven, nor near the circle of the moon, nor beaſts in imagination: for if all theſe things were enigmatical or myſtical, the ſame might alſo be ſaid of the creation of all things. And *Ezechiel*, ſpeaking of the glory of the *Aſſyrian* kings, uſeth this ſpeech; *“ All the trees of Eden, which were in the garden of God, envied him; which proveth both Eden, and Paradise, therein ſeated, to be terrestrial: for the prophets made no imaginary compariſons. But Mofes wrote plainly, and in a ſimple ſtyle, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and precise in the deſcription of Paradise, than in any other place of ſcripture; of purpoſe to take away all ſcruple from the incredulity of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of prophecy) to be apt to fabulous inventions; and that if he had not deſcribed both the region and the rivers, and how it ſtood from Canaan, many of the unbelieving Iſraelites, and others after them, would have miſconſtrued this ſtory of mankind. And, is it likely, there would have been ſo often mention made of Paradise in the ſcriptures, if the ſame had been an Utopia? For we find that the valley, wherein ^b Sodom and Gomorrah ſtood (ſometimes called Pentapolis, of the five principal cities therein) was before the deſtruction (which their unnatural ſin purchaſed) compared to the Paradise of the Lord, and like to the land of Egypt toward Zoar: in like manner was Iſrael reſembled to the Paradise of God, before the Babylonians waſted it: which proveth plainly, that Paradise it ſelf, exceeded in beauty and fertility, and that theſe places had but a reſemblance thereof: being compared to a ſeat and ſoil of far exceeding excellency.*

Beſides, whence had *Homer* his invention of *Alcinous's* gardens, as *Juſtin Martyr* noteth, but out of *Mofes's* deſcription of *Paradise*? *Gen. ii.* And whence are their praiſes of the *Elyſian* fields, but out of the ſtory of *Paradise*? To which alſo appertain thoſe verſes of the golden age in *Ovid*:

*“ Ver erat æternum; placidique tepentibus auris,
Mullebant Zephyri natos ſine ſemine flores.*

The joyful ſpring did ever laſt,
And Zephyrus did breed
Sweet flowers by his gentle blaſt,
Without the help of ſeed.

And it is manifeſt, that *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Pindarus*, *Hefiodus*, and *Homer*, and, alter him, *Ovid*, one out of another, and all theſe together with *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and their ſectators, did greatly enrich their inventions, by venting the ſtohn treaſures of divine letters, altered by prophane additions, and diſguiſed by poetical converſions, as if they had been conceived out of their own ſpeculations and contemplations.

But beſides all theſe teſtimonies, if we find what region *Eden*, or *Eden* was; if we prove the river that ran out of it, and that the ſame afterwards was divided into four branches; together with the kingdoms of *Havila*, and *Cuſh*; and that all theſe are eaſtward from *Canaan*, or the deſerts of the *Amorites*, where *Mofes* wrote; I then conceive, that there is no man that will doubt, but that ſuch a place there was. And yet I do not exclude the allegorical ſenſe of the ſcripture; for as well in this there were many figures of *Chriſt*, as in all the Old Teſtament throughout: the ſtory being directly true notwithstanding. And to this purpoſe (ſaith *St. Auguſtine*) *Tres ſunt de Paradifo generales ſententiæ: una eſt eorum, qui tantummodo corporaliter Paradifum intelligi volunt: alia eorum, qui ſpiritualiter tantum (id eſt) eccleſiam: tertia eorum, qui utroque modo Paradifum accipiunt*; (that is) There are three opinions of *Paradise*: the one of thoſe men, which will have it altogether corporal: a ſecond of thoſe, which conceive it altogether ſpiritual, and to be a figure of the church: the third of thoſe, which take it in both ſenſes; which third opinion ^d *St. Auguſtine* approveth, and of which *Suidas* giveth this allowable judgment: *“ Quemadmodum homo ſenſibilis, & intelligibilis ſimul conditus erat: ſic & hujus ſanctiſſimum nemus ſenſibile ſimul & intelligibile, & duplici ſpecie eſt præditum*; (that is) As man was created at one time, both ſenſible, and intelligible, ſo was his holy grove, or garden, to be taken both ways, and endued with a double form.

S E C T. IV.

Why it ſhould be needful to intreat diligently of the place of Paradise.

BUT it may be objected, that it is needleſs, and a kind of curioſity, to enquire ſo diligently after this place of *Paradise*, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no uſe. To which I answer, that there is nothing written in the ſcripture, but for our inſtruction; and if the truth of the ſtory be neceſſary, then by the place proved, the ſame is alſo made more apparent. For if we ſhould conceive that *Paradise* were not on the earth, but liſted up as high as the moon; or that it were beyond all the *Ocean*, and in no part of the known world; from whence, *Adam* was ſaid to wade through the ſea, and thence to have come into *Judea* (out of doubt) there would be few men in the world, that would give any credit unto it. For what could ſeem more ridiculous than the report of ſuch a place? and beſides, what maketh this ſeat of *Paradise* ſo much diſputed and doubted of, but the conceit that *Piſſon* ſhould be *Ganges*, which watereth the eaſt *India*; and *Gebon*, *Nilus*, which enricheth *Egypt*: and theſe two rivers ſo far diſtant, as (except all the world were *Paradise*) theſe ſtreams can no way be comprized therein?

^a Ezech. 31. 9.

^b Gen. 13. 10.

^c Ovid. Met. 1.

^d Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 13. c. 21.

^e Suidas in verbo Paradifus.

Secondly,

Secondly, If the birth and works, and death of our Saviour, were said to have been in some such country, of which no man ever heard tell, and that his miracles had been performed in the air, or no place certainly known: I assure my self, that the Christian religion would have taken but a slender root in the minds of men: for times and places are approved witnesses of worldly actions.

Thirdly, If we should rely, or give place to the judgment of some writers upon this place of *Genesis* (though otherwise for their doctrine in general they are worthy of honour and reverence) I say that there is no fable among the *Grecians* or *Egyptians* more ridiculous: for who would believe that there were a piece of the world so set by it self, and separated, as to hang in the air under the circle of the moon? or who so foolish to conceive, that from thence the four rivers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, should fall down, and run under all the ocean, and rise up again in this our habitable world, and in those places where they are now found? which left any man think that I enforce, or strain to the worst, these are *Peter Comestor's* own words. *Est autem locus amœnissimus, longo terræ & maris tractu a nostra habitabili Zona secretus, adeo elevatus, ut usque ad lunarem globum attingat, &c.* (that is) It is a most pleasant place, severed from our habitable Zone, by a long tract of land and sea, elevated so, that it reacheth to the globe of the moon.

And *Moses Barcephas* upon this place writeth in this manner: *Deinde hoc quoque responsum volumus, Paradisum multo sublimiore positum esse regione, atque hæc nostra extet terra, eoque fieri ut illinc per præcipitium delabantur fluvii tantocum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non possis; eoque impetu impulsæ pressique sub oceani vado rapiuntur, unde rursus profiliant ebulliantque in hoc a nobis culto orbe:* which have this sense: Furthermore (saith he) we give this for an answer, that *Paradise* is set in a region far raised above this part which we inhabit; whereby it comes to pass, that from thence these rivers fall down with such a headlong violence, as words cannot express; and with that force so impulsed and press'd, they are carried under the deep ocean sea, and do again rise and boil up in this our habitable world: and to this he addeth the opinion of *Ephram*, which is this: *Ephram dicit, Paradisum ambire terram, atque ultra oceanum ita positum esse, ut totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumdet regione, non aliter atque lunæ orbis lunam cingit;* (which is) That *Paradise* doth compass or embrace the whole earth, and is so set beyond the ocean, as it environeth the whole orb of the earth on every side, as the orb of the moon doth embrace the moon. To the end therefore that these ridiculous expositions and opinions do not bring question unto truth it self, or make the same subject to doubts or disputes, it is necessary to discover the true place of *Paradise*, which God in his wisdom appointed in the very navel of this our world, and (as *Melanchton* says) *in parte terræ meliore*, in the best part thereof, that from thence, as from a center, the universal might be filled with people and planted; and by knowing this place, we shall the better judge of the beginning of nations, and of the world's inhabitation: for near unto this did the sons of *Noah* also disperse themselves after the flood, into all other remote regions and countries. And if it be a generous desire in men, to know from whence their own forefathers have come, and out of what regions and nations; it cannot be displeasing to understand the place of our first ancestor, from whence all the streams and branches of mankind have followed

and been deduced. If then it do appear by the former, that such a place there was as *Paradise*, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be unprofitable, it followeth in order to examine several opinions before remembred, by the truth it self; and to see how they agree with the sense of the scripture, and with common reason; and afterward to prove directly, and to delineate the region in which God first planted this delightful garden.

SECT. V.

That the flood hath not utterly defaced the marks of Paradise, nor caused hills in the earth.

AND first, whereas it is supposed by *Aug. Chrysostomus*, that the flood hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in such sort, as no man can find any mark or memory thereof (of which opinion there were others also, ascribing to the flood the cause of those high mountains, which are found on all the earth over, with many other strange effects:) for mine own opinion, I think neither the one, nor the other to be true. For although I cannot deny, but that the face of *Paradise* was after the flood withered, and grown old, in respect of the first beauty (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things time hath changed:) yet if there had been no sign of any such place, or if the soil and seat had not remained, then would not *Moses*, who wrote of *Paradise* about 850 years after the flood, have described it so particularly, and the prophets long after *Moses*, would not have made so often mention thereof. And though the very garden it self were not then to be found, but that the flood, and other accidents of time, made it one common field and pasture with the land of *Eden*, yet the place is still the same, and the rivers still remain the same rivers. By two of which (never doubted of) to wit, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, we are sure to find in what longitude *Paradise* lay; and learning out one of these rivers, which afterward doth divide it self into four branches, we are sure that the partition is at the very border of the garden it self.

For it is ^b written, that out of *Eden* went a river to water the garden, and from thence it was divided, and became into four heads; now, whether the word in the *Latin* translation (*inde*) from thence, be referred to *Eden* it self, or to *Paradise*; yet the division, and branching of those rivers, must be in the north, or south side of the very garden (if the rivers run as they do, north and south;) and therefore these rivers yet remaining, and *Eden* manifestly known, there could be no such defacing by the flood, as is supposed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, that the place could be so altered, as future ages knew it not; so is there no probability that either these rivers were turned out of their courses, or new rivers created by the flood which were not, or that the flood (as aforesaid) by a violent motion, when it began to decrease, was the cause of high hills, or deep valleys. For what descent of waters could there be in a spherical and round body, wherein there is nor high nor low? seeing that all violent force of waters is either by the strength of wind, by descent from a higher to a lower, or by the ebb or flood of the sea. But that there was any wind (whereby the seas are most enraged) it appeareth not, rather the contrary is probable: for it is written, ^c *Therefore God made a wind to pass upon the earth, and the waters ceased.* So as it appeareth not, that, until the waters sank, there was any wind at all, but that God afterward, out of his goodness, caused the wind to blow, to dry up the abundant

^a Barcephas converted by Masius.

^b Gen. 2. 10.

^c Gen. 8. 1.

slime and mud of the earth, and make the land more firm, and to cleanse the air of thick vapours, and unwholsome mists: and this we know by experience, that all downright rains do evermore disperse the violence of outrageous winds, and beat down, and level the swelling and mountainous billows of the sea: for any ebbs and floods there could be none, when the waters were equal, and of one height, over all the face of the earth, and when there were no indraughts, bays, or gulfs to receive a flood, or any descent, or violent falling of waters in the round form of the earth and waters, as aforesaid: and therefore it seemeth most agreeable to reason, that the waters rather stood in a quiet calm, than that they moved with any raging or over-bearing violence. And for a more direct proof that the flood made no such destroying alteration, *Josephus* avoweth that one of those pillars erected by *Seth*, the third from *Adam*, was to be seen in his days; which pillars were set up above 1426 years before the flood, counting *Seth* to be an hundred years old at the erection of them; and *Joseph* himself to have lived some forty or fifty years after Christ: of whom, altho' there be no cause to believe all that he wrote, yet that which he avouched of his own time, cannot (without great derogation) be called in question. And therefore it may be possible, that some foundation or ruin thereof might then be seen. Now, that such pillars were raised by *Seth*, all antiquity hath avowed. It is also written that *Berosus* (to whom, altho' I give little credit, yet I cannot condemn him in all) that the city of *Enoch*, built by *Cain* about the mountains of *Libanus* was not defaced by length of time: yea, the ruins thereof, *Annius* (who commented upon that invented fragment) saith, were to be seen in his days, who liv'd in the reign of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* of *Castile*. And if these his words be not true, then was he exceeding impudent: for, speaking of this city of *Enoch*, he concludeth in this sort: *Cujus maximæ & ingentis molis fundamenta visuntur, & vocatur ab incolis regionis, Civitas Cain, ut nostri mercatores, & peregrini referunt*; The foundation of which huge mass is now to be seen, and the place is called by the people of that region, the City of *Cain*, as both our strangers and merchants report. It is also avowed by *Pomponius Mela* (to whom I give more credit in these things) that the city of *Joppa* was built before the flood, over which *Cepha* was king: whose name, with his brother *Phineus*, together with the grounds and principles of their religion, was found graven upon certain altars of stone. And it is not impossible, that the ruins of this other city, called *Enoch* by *Annius*, might be seen, tho' founded in the first age: but it could not be of the first city of the world, built by *Cain*; the place rather than the time denying it.

And to prove directly that the flood was not the cause of mountains, but that there were mountains from the creation, it is written, that *the waters of the flood overflowed by fifteen cubits the highest mountains*. And *Masius Damascenus*, speaking of the flood, writeth in this manner: *Est supra Minyadam excelsus mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo confugientes multos, sermo est, diluvii tempore liberatos*; And upon *Minyada* there is an high mountain in *Armenia* (called *Baris*) unto which, it is said, that many fled in the time of the deluge, and that they saved themselves thereon. Now, tho' it is contrary to God's word, that any more were saved than eight persons (which *Masius* doth not avouch, but by report) yet it is a testimony, that such mountains were before the flood, which

were afterwards, and ever since, known by the same names, and on which mountains it is generally received that the ark rested; but untruly, as I shall prove hereafter. And again it appeareth, that the mount *Sion* (tho' by another name) was known before the flood; on which the *Thalmudists* report, that many giants saved themselves also; but (as *Annius* saith) without all authority, either divine or human.

Lastly, it appeareth that the flood did not so turn upside down the face of the earth, as thereby it was made past knowledge, after the waters were decreased, by this, that ^bwhen *Noah* sent out the dove the second time, she returned with an olive-leaf in her mouth, which she had pluck'd, and which (until the trees were discovered) she found not: for otherwise she might have found them floating on the water; a manifest proof, that the trees were not torn up by the roots, nor swam upon the waters, for it is written, *folium olive raptum, or decerptum*, a leaf pluck'd; which is, to take from a tree, or to tear off. By this it is apparent (there being nothing written to the contrary) that the flood made no such alteration, as was supposed, but that the place of *Paradise* might be seen to succeeding ages, especially unto *Moses*, by whom it pleased God to teach the truth of the world's creation, and unto the prophets which succeeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this discovery.

SECT. VI.

That Paradise was not the whole earth, as some have thought: making the ocean to be the fountain of those four rivers.

THIS conceit of *Aug. Chrysamensis* being answered, who only giveth his opinion for reason, I will in a few words examine that of the *Manichees*, of *Noviomagus*, *Vadianus*, *Goropius*, *Becanus*, and all those that understood, that by *Paradise* was meant the whole earth. But in this I shall not trouble the reader with many words, because by those places of scripture formerly remember'd, this universality will appear altogether improper. The places which *Vadianus* alledgeth, ^cBring forth fruit and multiply, fill the earth and subdue it, rule over every creature, &c. with this of the *Acts*, ^dAnd hath made of one blood all mankind, to dwell on all the face of the earth, do no way prove such a generality: for the world was made for man, of which he was lord and governour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his use. Now, altho' all men were of one and the same fountain of blood originally; and *Adam's* posterity inhabited in process of time over all the face of the earth: yet it disproveth in nothing the particular garden, assigned to ^e*Adam* to dress and cultivate, in which he lived in so blessed an estate before his transgression. For if there had been no other choice, but that *Adam* had been left to the universal, *Moses* would not then have said ^feastward in *Eden*, seeing the world hath not east nor west but respectively. And to what end had the angel of God been set to keep the east side, and entrance into *Paradise* after *Adam's* expulsion, if the universal had been *Paradise*? for then must *Adam* have been chased also out of the world. For if all the earth were *Paradise*, that place can receive no better construction than this, That *Adam* was driven out of the world into the world, and out of *Paradise* into *Paradise*, except we should believe with *Metrodorus*, that there were infinite worlds. Which to deny, he thinks all one as to affirm, *That in so large a field as the*

^a Gen. 4. 17.

^b Gen. 8. 11.

^c Gen. 1. 28.

^d Acts 17. 26.

^e Gen. 2. 8.

^f Gen. 3. 24.

universal, there should grow but one thistle. *Noviomagus* upon *Beda*, seemeth to be led by this, that it was impossible for those three rivers, *Ganges*, *Nilus* and *Euphrates* (which water three portions of the world so far distant) to rise out of one fountain, except the ocean be taken for the well, and the world for the garden.

And it is true, that those four rivers, being so understood, there could be no conjecture more probable; but it shall plainly appear, that *Pison* was falsely taken for *Ganges*, and *Gehon* falsely for *Nilus*, altho' *Ganges* be a river by *Havila* in *India*, and *Nilus* runs thro' *Ethiopia*. The *Seventy* write *Chus* for *Ethiopia*, and thereby the errors of the *Manichees*, and the mistakings of *Noviomagus*, *Goropius* and *Vadianus*, with others, are made manifest. Yet was their conjecture far more probable than that of *Ephrem*, *Cyrillus* and *Athanasius*, That *Paradise* was seated far beyond the Ocean sea, and that *Adam* waded through it, and at last came toward the country in which he was created, and was buried at mount *Calvary* in *Jerusalem*. And certainly, tho' all those of the first age were of great stature, and so continued many years after the flood, yet *Adam's* shin-bones must have contained a thousand fathom, and much more, if he had forded the ocean; but this opinion is so ridiculous, as it needs no argument to disprove it.

SECT. VII.

Of their opinion which make Paradise as high as the moon: and of others which make it higher than the middle region of the air.

THirdly whereas *Beda* saith, and as the schoolmen affirm, *Paradise* to be a place altogether removed from the knowledge of men (*locus a cognitione hominum remotissimus*) and *Barcephas* conceived, that *Paradise* was far in the east, but mounted above the ocean, and all the earth, and near the orb of the moon (which opinion, tho' the schoolmen charge *Beda* withal, yet *Pererius* lays it off from *Beda*, upon *Strabus*, and his master *Rabanus*) and whereas *Rupertus*, in his geography of *Paradise*, doth not much differ from the rest, but finds it seated next or nearest heaven; it may seem, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates*: but neither of them (as I conceive) well understood; who (undoubtedly) took this place for heaven it self, into which the souls of the blessed were carried after death.

True it is, that these philosophers durst not for fear of the *Areopagites* (in this, and many other divine apprehensions) set down what they believed in plain terms, especially *Plato*: though *Socrates* in the end suffered death for acknowledging one only powerful God; and therefore did the devil himself do him that right, as by an oracle, to pronounce him the wisest man. *Justin Martyr* affirmeth, that *Plato* had read the scriptures; and *St. Augustine* gave this judgment of him, as his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Christian. And it seemeth to me, that both *Tertullian* and *Eusebius* conceive, that *Socrates*, by that place aforesaid, meant the celestial *Paradise*, and not this of *Eden*. *Solinus*, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightful, and healthful, upon the top of mount *Atbo* (called *Acrithonos*) which being above all clouds of rain, or other inconvenience, the people (by reason of their so many years) are called *Macrobici* (that is) long-liv'd. A further argument is used for proof of the height of this place, because therein was *Enoch* preserved from

the violence of the flood: approved by *Isidore* and *Peter Lombard*: in which place also *Tertullian* conceived, that the blessed souls were preserved till the last judgment: which *Irenæus* and *Justin Martyr* also believed. But this opinion was of all catholic divines reprov'd, and in the *Florentine council* damned; of which *St. Augustine* more modestly gave this judgment: *Sicut certum est Enoch & Eliam, nunc vivere: ita ubi nunc sunt, an in paradiso an alibi, incertum est*; (that is) As it is certain that *Enoch* and *Elias* do now live; so where they now live, in paradise, or elsewhere, it is uncertain. But *Barcephas* gives a third cause, though of all other the weakest. For (saith he) it was necessary that *Paradise* should be set at such a distance and height, because the four rivers (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not have had sufficient force to have thrust themselves under the great ocean, and afterward have forced their passage thro' the earth, and have risen again in the far distant regions of *India*, *Egypt*, and *Armenia*.

These strange fancies and dreams have been answered by divers learned men long since, and lately by *Hopkins*, and *Pererius*, writing upon this subject; of whose arguments I will repeat these few: (for to use long discourse against those things, which are both against scripture and reason, might rightly be judged a vanity in the answerer, not much inferior to that of the inventor.)

It is first therefore alledged, that such a place cannot be commodious to live in: for being set so near the moon, it had been too near the sun, and other heavenly bodies. Secondly, because it must have been too joyn'd a neighbour to the element of fire. Thirdly, because the air in that region is so violently removed, and carried about with such swiftness, as nothing in that place can consist or have abiding. Fourthly, because the space between the earth and the moon (according to *Ptolemy* and *Alfraganus*) is seventeen times the diameter of the earth, which makes in a gross account about one hundred and twenty thousand miles. Hereupon it must follow, that *Paradise*, being raised to this height, must have the compass of the whole earth for a basis and foundation. But had it been so raised, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men, seeing it would deprive us of the sun's light all the fore-part of the day, being seated in the east, as they suppose. Now, to fortify the former opinions, *Tostatus* addeth this, that those people which dwell near those falls of waters, are deaf from their infancy, like those that dwell near the *Catadupæ*, or over-falls of *Nilus*. But this I hold as feigned. For I have seen in the *Indies*, far greater water-falls, than those of *Nilus*, and yet the people dwelling near them are not deaf at all. *Tostatus* (better to strengthen himself) citeth *Basil* and *Ambrose* together: to which *Pererius*, *Sed ego hæc apud Basilium & Ambrosium in eorum scriptis, quæ nunc extant, nusquam me legere memini*; But I do not remember (saith he) that I ever read those things either in *Basil* or *Ambrose*.

But for the bodies of *Enoch* and *Elias*, God hath disposed of them according to his wisdom. Their taking up might be into the celestial *Paradise*, for ought we know. For altho' flesh and blood, subject to corruption, cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven, and the seed must rot in the ground before it grow, yet we shall not all die (saith *St. Paul*) *but all shall be changed*: which change in *Enoch* and *Elias*, was easy to him that is almighty. But for the rest, the scriptures are manifest, that by the flood all perished on the earth saving eight per-

* Diog. Laert. in Sco. b Jull. Mart. adm. ad Gent. Aug. c Cicero Somn. Scip. d 1 Cor. 15. 51. e 1 Pet. 3. 20.

fons; and therefore in the terrestrial *Paradise* they could not be.

For *Tostatus*'s own opinion, who soared not altogether so high as the rest, but believed that *Paradise* was raised above the middle region of the air, and twenty cubits above all mountains, that the flood did not therefore reach it (which *Scotus* and other latter school-men also believed; for, say they, there were no sinners in *Paradise*, and therefore no cause to overwhelm it:) this is also contrary to the express letter of the scripture, which directly, and without admitting of any distinction, teacheth us, that ^a *the waters over-flowed all the mountains under heaven*. And were it otherwise, then might we as well give credit to *Masius Damascenus*, and the *Thalmudists*, who affirm, that there were of the giants that saved themselves on the mountain *Baris*, and on *Sion*. But to help this, *Scotus* being (as the rest of the school-men are) full of distinctions, saith; that the waters stood at *Paradise*, as they did in the ^b red sea, and at *Jordan*; and as the flood was not natural, so was *Paradise* saved by miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* qualifyeth his high conceit with this supposition, that it was not believed, that *Paradise* was so seated, as *Bede* and others seem to affirm in words, but by *hyperbole* and comparatively, for the delicacy and beauty so resembled. But this I dare avow of all those school-men, that though they were exceeding witty, yet they better teach all their followers to shift, than to resolve, by their distinctions. Wherefore not to stay long in answering this opinion of *Tostatus*, I confess that it is written, that the mountains of *Olympus*, *Atho*, and *Atlas*, over-reach and surmount all winds and clouds, and that (notwithstanding) there is found on the heads of the hills both springs and fruits; and the *Pagan* priests, sacrificing on these mountain-tops, do not find the ashes (remaining of their sacrifices) blown thence, nor thence wash'd off by rains, when they return: yet experience hath resolved us, that these reports are fabulous; and *Pliny* himself (who was not sparing in the report of wonders) avoweth the contrary. But were it granted, yet the height of these mountains is far under the supposed place of *Paradise*; and on these self hills the air is so thin (saith *St. Augustine*, whom herein I mistrust) that it is not sufficient to bear up the body of a bird, having therein no feeling of her wings, or any sensible resistance of air to mount her self by.

S E C T. VIII.

Of their opinion that seat Paradise under the Equinoctial: and of the pleasant habitation under those climates.

THOSE which come nearer unto reason find *Paradise* under the *Equinoctial line*, as *Tertullian*, *Bonaventure*, and *Durandus*; judging, that thereunder might be found most pleasure, and the greatest fertility of soil: but against it *Thomas Aquinas* objecteth the distemperate heat, which he supposeth to be in all places so directly under the sun; but this is *non causa pro causa*; for although *Paradise* could not be under the line, because *Eden* is far from it, in which *Paradise* was; and because there is no part of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, or *Ganges* under it (*Ganges* being one of the four rivers, as they suppose) yet this conceit of distemper (being but an old opinion) is found to be very untrue, though for the conjecture not to be condemned, considering the age, when those fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas it appeared, that every country, as it lay by degrees nearer the tropick, and so toward the *Equinoctial*, did so

much the more exceed in heat; it was therefore a reasonable conjecture, that those countries which were situated directly under it, were of a distemper uninhabitable: but it seemeth that *Tertullian* conceived better and so did *Avicenne*, for they both thought them habitable enough: and though (perchance) in those days it might be thought a fantastical opinion (as all are which go against the vulgar;) yet we now find, that if there be any place upon the earth of that nature, beauty, and delight, that *Paradise* had, the same must be found within that supposed uninhabitable burnt zone, or within the tropicks, and nearest to the line it self. For hereof experience hath informed reason, and time hath made those things apparent, which were hidden, and could not by any contemplation be discovered. Indeed it hath so pleased God to provide for all living creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that such inconveniences which we contemplate afar off, are found by trial and the witness of mens travels, to be so qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vain, or as a fruitless lump to fashion out the rest. For *God himself* (saith *Isaiah*) *that formed the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he created it not in vain, he formed it to be inhabited*. Now we find that these hottest regions of the world seated under the *Equinoctial* line, or near it, are so refreshed with a daily gale of easterly wind (which the *Spaniards* call the *Brize*) that doth evermore blow strongest in the heat of the day, as the downright beams of the sun cannot so much master it, that there is any inconvenience or distemperate heat found thereby. Secondly, the nights are so cold, fresh and equal, by reason of the entire interposition of the earth, as (for those places which my self have seen, near the line and under it) I know no other part of the world of better, or equal temper, only there are some tracts, which by accident of high mountains are barr'd from this air and fresh wind, and some few sandy parts without trees, which are not therefore so well inhabited as the rest; and such difference of soils we find also in all other parts of the world. But (for the greatest part) those regions have so many goodly rivers, fountains and little brooks, abundance of high cedars, and other stately trees casting shade, so many sorts of delicate fruits, ever bearing, and at all times beautified with blossom and fruit, both green and ripe, as it may of all other parts be best compared to the *Paradise* of *Eden*: the boughs and branches are never unclothed and left naked, their sap creepeth not under ground into the root, fearing the injury of the frost: neither doth *Pomona* at any times despise her withered husband *Vertumnus*, in his winter quarters and old age. Therefore are these countries called *Terræ vitiosæ*, vicious countries: for nature being liberal to all without labour, necessity imposing no industry or travel, idleness bringeth forth no other fruits than vain thoughts, and licentious pleasures. So that to conclude this part, *Tertullian* and those of his opinion were not deceived in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas*, who disliked this opinion, and followed a worse. And (to say the truth) all the school-men were gross in this particular.

S E C T. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that besides that Eden in Coelestria, there is a country in Babylon, once of this name, as is proved out of Isaiah xxxvii, and Ezek. xxvii.

THESE opinions answered, and the region of *Eden* not found in any of those imaginary worlds, nor under *Torrida Zona*; it followeth that

^a Gen. 7. 19. ^b Exod. 14. 21. ^c Isaiah 45. 18.

now we discover and find out the seat thereof, for in it was *Paradise* by God planted. The difficulty of which search resteth chiefly in this, that as all nations have often changed names with their masters, so are most of these places, by *Moses* remembered, forgotten by those names of all historians and geographers as well ancient as modern.

Besides, we find that the *Affyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Persians* (*Cyrus* only and few others excepted) fought to extinguish the *Hebrews*. The *Grecians* hated both their nation and their religion; and the *Romans* despised once to remember them in any of their stories. And as those three monarchies succeeded each other; so did they transform the names of all those principal places and cities in the east: and after them, the *Turk* hath fought (what he could) to extinguish in all things the ancient memory of those people, which he hath subjected and intralled.

Now besides those notable marks, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, the better to find the way which leadeth to the country of *Eden*, we are to take for guides these two considerations (to wit) that it lay eastward from *Canaan* and *Judea*; and that it was of all others the most beautiful and fertile. First in respect of situation, the next country to *Judea* eastward was *Arabia Petraea*; but in this region was *Moses* himself when he wrote: and the next unto it eastward also was *Arabia the Desert*, both which in respect of the infertility could not be *Eden*, neither have any of the *Arabians* any such rivers, as are express'd to run out of it: so as it followeth of necessity, that *Eden* must be eastward, and beyond both *Arabia Petraea*, and *Deserta*. But because *Eden* is by *Moses* named by it self, and by the fertility and the rivers only described, we must seek it in other scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour nations better described. In the prophet *Isaiab* I find it coupled and accompanied with other adjacent countries, in these words spoken in the person of *Senacherib* by *Rabsakeb*. "Have the Gods of the nations delivered them, which my fathers have destroyed, as *Gosan* and *Haran* and *Reseph*, and the children of *Eden*, which were at *Telaassar*? and in *Ezekiel*, where he prophesieth against the *Tyrians*: "They of *Haran* and *Canneh*, and *Eden*, the merchants of *Sheba*, *Asbur*, and *Chilmad*, were thy merchants, &c.

But to avoid confusion, we must understand that there were two *Edens*, one of which the prophet *Amos* remembereth, where he divideth *Syria* into three provinces, whereof the first he maketh *Syria Damascene*, or *Decapolitan*: the second part is that valley called *Avenis*, otherwise *Convallis*, or the tract of *Chamatb*, where *Affyria* is joyned to *Arabia the Desert*, and where *Ptolemy* placeth the city of *Averia*: and the third is known by the name of *Domus Edenis*, or *Calesyria*, otherwise *vallis cava*, or the hollow valley, because the mountains of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, take all the length of it on both sides, and border it: for *Coile* in *Greek* is *cava* in *Latin*. But this is not that *Eden*, which we seek: neither doth this province lie east from *Canaan*, but north, and so joyneth unto it as it could not be unknown to the *Hebrews*. Yet, because there is a little city therein called *Paradise*, the *Jews* believed this *Calesyria* to be the same which *Moses* describeth. For the same cause doth *Hopkins* in his treatise of *Paradise* reprehend *Beroaldus*, in that he confoundeth this *Eden* with the other *Eden* of *Paradise*: tho' to give *Beroaldus* his right, I conceive that he led the way to *Hopkins*, and to all other later writers, saving that he failed in dis-

tinguishing these two regions, both called *Eden*: and that, he altogether misunderstood two of the four rivers, to wit, *Pison* and *Gehon*, as shall appear hereafter. Now, to find out *Eden*, which (as *Moses* teacheth us) lay eastward from the *Deserts*, where he wrote after he had passed the red sea; we must consider where those other countries are found, which the prophet *Isaiab* and *Ezekiel* joine with it. For (saith *Isaiab*) *Gosan*, *Haran*, and *Reseph*, and the children of *Eden*, which were at *Telaassar*. Also *Ezekiel* joine with *Eden*, who, together with those of *Sheba*, *Asbur* and *Chilmad*, were the merchants that traded with the city of *Tyre*, which was then (saith *Ezekiel*) the mart of the people for many isles. And it hath ever been the custom, that the *Persians* conveyed their merchandise to *Babylon*, and to those cities upon *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, and from thence transported them into *Syria*, now *Soria*, and to the port of the *Mediterranean* sea: as in ancient times to the city of *Tyre*, afterwards to *Tripoly*, and now to *Aleppo*, from whence they imbarck them at the port of *Alexandretta*, in the bay of *Issicus*, now *Laiazza*. *Ezekiel*, in the description of the magnificence of *Tyre*, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the nations of the east, as the only mart town of that part of the world, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and also what commodities every country yielded: and having counted the several people and countries, he addeth the particular trade, which each of them exercised. "They were thy merchants (saith the prophet) in all sorts of things, in rayments of blue silk, and of brodered works, fine linen, coral and pearl: and afterwards speaking of the merchants of *Sheba* and *Raamah*, and in what kinds they traded, he hath these words. The merchants of *Sheba* and *Raamah* were thy merchants, they occupied in thy fairs, with the chief of all spices, and with all precious stones and gold. Now these be indeed the riches which *Persia* and *Arabia felix* yield: and because *Sheba* and *Raamah* are those parts of *Arabia*, which border the sea, called the *Persian gulf*, therefore did those nations both vent such spice, sweet gums, and pearls, as their own countries yielded, and withal having trade with their neighbours of *India*, had from them also all sorts of spices, and plenty of gold. The better to convey these commodities to that great mart of *Tyre*, the *Shebans* or *Arabians* entered by the mouth of *Tigris*, and from the city of *Terredon* (built or enlarged by *Nabuchodonozor*, now called *Balsara*) thence sent up all these rich merchandises by boat to *Babylon*, from whence by the body of *Euphrates*, as far as it bended westward, and afterwards by a branch thereof, which reacheth within three days journey of *Aleppo*, and then over land they pass'd to *Tyre*, as they did afterwards to *Tripoly* (formerly *Hieropolis*) and thence to *Alexandretta*, as aforesaid. Now the merchants of *Canneh*, which *Ezekiel* joine with *Eden*, inhabited far up the river, and received this trade from *Arabia* and *India*, besides those proper commodities which themselves had, also which they received out of *Persia*, which bordered them. St. *Jerome* understandeth by *Canneh*, *Selencia*, which is seated upon *Euphrates*, where it breaketh into four heads, and which took that name from *Selencus*, who made thereof a magnificent city. *Hierosolymitanus* thinks it to be *Ctesiphon*, but *Ctesiphon* is seated down low upon *Tigris*, and *Canneh* cannot be on that side, I mean on the east side of *Tigris*, for then were it out of the valley of *Shinar*. *Pliny* placeth the *Schenite* upon *Euphrates*, where

^a Isa. 37. 12. ^b Ezek. 27. 23. ^c Amos 1. 1. ^d Strabo

^e Ezek. 27. 23. ^f Ezek. 27. 24. ^g Plin. l. 6. c. 26.

the same beginneth to be fordable, which is toward the border of *Syria*, after it leaveth to be the bound of *Arabia* the *Desart*, and where the river of *Euphrates* reflecteth from the *Desart* of *Palmirena*: for these people of *Canneh* (afterwards *Schenitæ*) inhabited both borders of *Euphrates*, stretching themselves from their own city of *Canneh* in *Shinar* westward along the banks of *Euphrates*, as far as the city of *Thapsacus*, where *Ptolemy* appointed the fords of *Euphrates*: which also agreeth with the description of the *Schenitæ* by *Strabo*, whose words are these; ^a *Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam & Babyloniam euntibus iter est per Schenitas*; The merchants which travel from *Syria* to *Seleucia* and *Babylon*, take their way by the *Schenites*. Therefore those which take *Canneh* for *Charran* do much mistake it. For *Charran*, to which *Abraham* came from ^b *Ur* in *Chaldea* (called by God) standeth also in *Mesopotamia*, not upon *Euphrates* itself, but upon the river of *Chabonias*, which falleth into *Euphrates*: and the merchants of *Charran* are distinctly named with those of *Canneh* in *Ezekiel*, as *they of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Ashur, and Chilmad were thy merchants*. Wherefore *Charran*, which is sometimes called *Charre*, and *Haran*, and *Aran*, is but the same *Charran* of *Mesopotamia*; and when it is written *Aran*, then it is taken for the region of *Mesopotamia*: or *Aran fluviorum*, the Greek word *Mesopotamia* importing a country between rivers: for *Mesos* in Greek is *medius* in Latin, and *Potamos* fluvius. And when it is written *Haran* or *Aran*, it is then taken for the city itself, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* (as aforesaid.) For *Strabo*, in the description of *Arabia*, giveth that tract of land from the borders of *Cæle Syria* to the edge of *Mesopotamia*, to the *Schenitæ*, who also inhabited on both sides of *Euphrates*, and were in after-ages accounted of these *Arabians* which inhabit *Bactanea* and the north part of the *Desarts*, stretching themselves towards the uninhabited solitude of *Palmirena*, which lyeth between *Syria* and *Arabia* the *Desart*. So as these of *Canneh* lay in the very high-way from *Babylon* to *Tyre*, and were neighbours (indifferent) to *Charran* and to *Eden*: and therefore they are by the prophet *Ezekiel* coupled together, *They of Haran, and Canneth, and Eden, &c.* But *St. Jerome* made a good interpretation of *Canneth*, or *Chalne*, by *Seleucia*, for *Seleucia* was anciently called *Chalanne* (witness *Appian*;) and so *Rabanus Maurus* calleth it in his commentaries upon *Genesis*; the name by time and mixture of languages being changed from *Chalne* or *Canne*, to *Chalanne*: of which name there are two other cities, standing in triangle with *Seleucia*, and almost the next unto it, as *Thelbe-canne* and *Mann-canne*, the one a little to the west of *Seleucia*, and the other opposite unto it, where these rivers of *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are ready to join. Therefore which of these the ancient *Canne* was (being all three within the bound of the valley *Shinar*) it is uncertain: but it is a note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certain seat thereof, that so many other cities did retain a part of the name in so many ages after. Neither is it unlikely, that these additions of *Thelbe* and *Mann* to the word *Canne*, were but to make difference between the east and the west, or the greater and the less *Canne*, or between *Canne* the old and the new: which additions to distinguish cities by, are ordinary in all the regions of the world.

Now of the other city joyned with *Eden*, as *Ila-*

ran, or *Charran*, *St. Jerome* on the *Judges* speaking thereof in these words: *‘Cumque reverterentur, pervenerunt ad Charran, quæ est in medio itinere contra Ninevem, undecimo die*; When they returned, they came to *Charran* (which is the midway against *Nineveh*) the eleventh day.

This city is by the martyr *Stephen*, named *Charran* (speaking to the high-priest:) *‘Ye men, brethren, and fathers, hearken: the God of glory appeared to our father Abraham, while he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran*. But the seat of this city is not doubted of: for it is not only remembred in many scriptures, but withal exceeding famous for the death and overthrow of *Craffus* the Roman, who, for his unsatiabable greediness, was called *Gurges avaritiæ*; the gulf of avarice. Whereof *Lucan*:

‘Affrias Latio maculavit sanguine carras.

With Roman blood th’ *Affryan* car he defil’d.

But this city *Canne*, or *Chalne*, is made manifest by *Moses* himself, where it is written of *Nimrod*: *‘And the beginning of his kingdoms was Babel, and Erech, and Acad, and Chalæ, in the land of Sinaar, or Shinar*: where *Moses* sheweth the first composition of the *Babylonian* empire, and what cities and people were subject unto *Nimrod*; all which lay in the said valley of *Shinar*, or near it; and this valley of *Shinar* is that tract afterwards called *Babylonia* and *Chaldea*, into which also *Eden* stretcheth it self, *Chaldea, Babylonia, Sinar, idem sunt* (saith *Comestor*.) Three names of one country: which region of *Babylonia*, took name of the tower *Babel*; and the tower, of the confusion of tongues. And that *Shinar* was *Babylonia*, it is proved in these words: *‘And as they went from the east, they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and there they abode*: in which plain *Babylon* was built (as aforesaid.)

Now *Shinar* being *Babylonia*, and *Canneh*, in the first beginning of *Nimrod*’s greatness, and before he had subdued any strange, or far-off nations, being one part of his dominion, and also named by *Moses* to be in *Shinar*, it proveth that *Canneh* joyneth to *Babylonia*; which also *Ezekiel* coupleth with *Eden*, and (further) affirmeth that those of *Eden* were also the merchants which traded with the *Tyrians*: and *Isaiah* in the threats of *Senacherib* against *Jerusalem* (with other nations that *Senacherib* vaunted that his fathers had destroyed) nameth the children of *Eden* which were at *Telaassar*. But before I conclude where *Eden* it self lyeth, it is necessary to describe those other countries which *Ezekiel* joyneth therewith, in the places before remembred, as those of *Sheba* and *Raamah*. It is written in *Genesis*: *‘Moreover the sons of Ham were Cush, &c. And the sons of Cush were Seba, and Havila, and Sabtab, and Raamah, &c. And the sons of Raamah were Sheba, &c.* And anon after; *Cush begat Nimrod*: so as *Sheba* was the grandchild of *Cush*, and *Nimrod* the son of *Cush*, whose elder brother was *Sebah*: though some there are that conceive to the contrary, that *Nimrod* was the elder in valour and understanding, though not in time and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of *Shinar*, where *Babel* was built, afterwards *Babylonia*. His brother *Raamah* or *Regma* took that part adjoining to *Shinar*, toward the sea side and *Persian* gulf (called afterwards *Raama* and *Sheba*, by the father, and his sons, which possessed it.) For (saith *Ezekiel*) *the merchants of Raamah and Sheba were thy merchants, they occupied in thy fairs with the chief of all spices and all*

^a *Strabo*, l. 16.

^b *Gen.* 11. 31.

^c *Jud.* 1.

^d *Acts* 7. 1.

^e *Lucan.* l. 1. 105.

^f *Gen.* 10. 10.

^g *Gen.* 11. 2.

^h *Gen.* 10. 7.

precious stones, and gold. So as *Sheba* was that tract of country, which parteth *Arabia Deserta* from *Arabia Felix*, and which joyneth to the sea, where *Tigris* and *Euphrates* fall out, and render themselves to the ocean. This part and the confining country, *Strabo* calleth *Catabria*, where the best myrrh and frankincense is gathered: which people have an interchange or trade with *Elana*, lying on the east side of the *Persian* gulf. By this it appears who were the *Shebeans*, spoken of by *Ezekiel*, and said to have been the merchants of *Tyre*, for gold, spices, and precious stones: of which they had not only plenty of their own, but were also furnished from that part of *India* (called *Elana*, according to *Strabo*) for exchange of their aromatics, and other proper commodities. For, as *Strabo* reporteth out of *Eratosthenes*, *In Persicæ oræ initio insula est, in qua multi & pretiosi uniones gignantur: in aliis vero, clari & perlucidi lapilli. Eratosthenes* (saith *Strabo*) affirmeth, that, In the beginning of the *Persian* gulf, there is an island, in which there are many precious pearls bred: and in other, very clear and shining stones. Now, the difference between *Sheba* the son of *Raamah*, and *Seba* the son of *Cush*, is in this, that *Seba* is written with the *Hebrew* (*Samech*;) and *Sheba* with (*Schin*;) but whatsoever the difference may be in the *Hebrew* orthography, their countries and habitations are diverse. For *Sheba* is that which bordereth the *Persian* sea, and *Saba* (whence the queen of *Saba*) neighboured the red sea; and so that place of the 72d *Psalms* expounded *Reges Arabum & Sabæ*, hath in the *Hebrew* this sense, *Reges Shebæ & Sabæ*.

The *Shebans*, *Ezekiel* nameth together with the *Edenites*, because they inhabited upon the out-let of the same river, upon which the *Edenites* were seated: and so those of *Sheba*, towards the sea-coast and upon it, pass'd up the country, by *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, being joyned in one main stream, and so through the region of *Eden*, which *Tigris* boundeth, thereby the better to convey their merchandize toward *Tyre*. And as the cities of *Charran*, and *Canneb*, border *Eden* on the west and north-west: so doth *Sheba* on the south, and *Chilmad* on the north-east: *Chilmad* being a region of the higher *Media*, as appeareth in the *Chaldean* paraphrast: which country, by the geographers is called *Coromitenæ* (L) placed by exchange for (R) which change the *Hebrews* also often use.

Thus much of those countries which border *Eden*, and who altogether traded with the *Tyrians*: of which, the chief were the *Edenites*, inhabiting *Telassar*: for these *Senacherib* vaunted, that his fathers had destroyed; and this place of *Telassar* lay most convenient, both to receive the trade from *Sheba* and *Arabia*, and also to convey it over into *Syria* and to *Tyrus*. Now, to make these things the more plain, we must remember, that before the death of *Senacherib*, many parts of the *Babylonian* empire fell from his obedience, and after his death these monarchies were utterly disjoyned.

For it appeareth both in *Esay* the 37th, and in the 2d of *Kings*, by the threats of *Rabsache*, the while the army of *Affyria* lay before *Jerusalem*, that the cities of *Gosan*, *Haran*, *Reseph*, and the *Edenites* at *Telassar*, had resisted the *Affyrians*: tho' by them (in a sort) mastered and recovered. *I have the Gods of the nations delivered them whom my fathers have destroyed, as Gosan, and Haran, Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telassar?* But it appeared manifestly after *Senacherib*'s death, that these nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others subjection: for *Esar-Haddon* held *Affyria*;

and *Merodach Baladan*, *Babylonia*. And after that the army of *Senacherib*, commanded by *Rabsache* which lay before *Jerusalem* (*Hezekiah* then reigning) while *Senacherib* was in *Egypt*, was by the angel of God destroyed; the king of *Babel* sent to *Hezekiah*, both to congratulate the recovery of his health, and his victory obtained over the *Affyrians*. After which overthrow, *Senacherib* himself was slain by his own sons in the temple of his idols, *Esar-Haddon* succeeding him in *Affyria*. To the *Babylonian* ambassadors sent by *Merodach*, *Hezekiah* shewed all his treasures as well proper as consecrate, which invited the kings of *Babylon* afterward to undertake their conquest and subversion. So as, the suspicion of war encreasing between *Babylon* and *Affyria*, the *Edenites* which inhabited the borders of *Sbinar* towards the north, and towards *Affyria*, were employ'd to bear off the incursions of the *Affyrians*; and their garrison-place was at *Telassar*: and the very word (*Telassar*) saith *Junius*, signifying as much as a bulwark against the *Affyrians*. This place *Hierosolymitanus* takes for *Resem*, others for *Seleucia*: but this *Telassar* is the same, which *Am. Marcellinus* in the history of *Julian* (whom he followed in the enterprise of *Persia*) calleth *Thilutha* instead of *Telassar*, who describeth the exceeding strength thereof in his 24th book: it is seated in an island of *Euphrates* upon a steep and unassailable rock, insomuch as the emperor *Julian* durst not attempt it; and therefore it was a convenient place for a garrison against the *Affyrians*, being also a passage out of *Mesopotamia* into *Babylonia*, and in which the *Edenites* of the country adjoyning were lodged to defend the same. This place *Ptolemy* calleth *Teridata*, having *Reseph* (which he calleth *Resepha*) on the left hand; and *Canneb* (which he calleth *Thelbe-Canne*) on the right hand; not far from whence, is also found the city of *Mann-Canne*, upon *Tigris*; and all these seated together, as *Esay* and *Ezekiel* have sorted them. But the understanding of these places is the more difficult, because *Affyria* (which the *Chaldeans* call *Atturia*) and *Mesopotamia*, were so often confounded; the one taken for the other by interchange of dominion. *Affyria & Mesopotamia in Babyloniæ nomen transferunt* (saith *Niger*;) *Affyria* and *Mesopotamia* took the name of *Babylonia*. Lastly, It appeareth, by those adjacent regions by the prophets named, in what part of the world *Eden* is seated, as, by *Charran* or *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*: also by *Canneb* and *Reseph*, according to the opinion of *Vatablus*, who in these words translateth this place: *Plantaverat autem Jehovah Deus hortum in Eden, ab oriente*; The Lord God planted a garden in *Eden* eastward: that is (saith he in his annotations) *Jusserat nasci arbores in Eden, regione orientali, in finibus Arabiæ & Mesopotamiæ*; He commanded trees to grow in *Eden*, an eastern region in the borders of *Arabia* and *Mesopotamia*.

SECT. X.

Of divers other testimonies of the land of Eden; and that this is the Eden of Paradise.

AND for a more particular pointing out of this *Eden*, it seems by the two epistles of the *Nestorian* Christians, that inhabit *Mesopotamia*: which epistles in the year 1552, they sent to the pope about the confirming of their patriarch, and *Andreas Masius* hath published them, translated out of *Syriac* into *Latin*. By these epistles (I say) it seems we may have some farther light for the proof of that, which we have said about the region of *Eden*

^a *Strabo*, l. 16. ^b *Esay* 37. 12. ^c 2 *Kings* 19. 35. 20. 12. ^d *Esay* 39. 1. ^e *Esay* 37. 38. ^f *Esay* 39. 2. ^g *Asia* Tab. 4. ^h *Cosmog.* *Asia*.

in those parts. For in them both, there is mention of the island of *Eden* in the river *Tigris*, or at least, *Tigris* in both these epistles is called the river of *Eden*. This island, as *Masius* in his preface to these epistles saith, is commonly called *Gozoria* (as it were, the island, by an eminency.) It hath (saith he) ten miles in circuit, and was sometimes walled round about, which name of the island *Eden* may (doubtless) remain to this day; tho' in the rest of the region so called, this name be swallowed up with the fame of those flourishing kingdoms of *Mesopotamia*, *Affyria*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*. This island of *Eden* hath up the river, and not far beyond it, the city of *Hasan-Cepha*, otherwise *Fortis Petra*: below it, it hath *Mosal* or *Mosel*, from which (as in that which followeth it shall appear out of *Masius*) it is not above twelve miles distant. Neither is it to trouble us, that *Mosal* or *Mosel* by *Marius Niger* is remembered among the cities higher up *Tigris*, in these words, "*Juxta autem Tigrim, civitates sunt Dorbeta prope Taurum montem, quæ nunc Mosel dicitur; magna sane, &c.*" (that is) By *Tigris* are these cities, *Dorbeta* near unto mount *Taurus* (which is now called *Mosel*) which is a great one, &c. This opinion of *Niger*, displacing *Mosel*, and making it to be *Dorbeta* (I say) needs not here to trouble us: seeing for this matter, the testimony of *Masius*, informed by the Christians that dwelt there (the seat of whose patriarch it is) ought to be of credit, avowing that this *Mosal* (or *Mosel*) is in the confines of *Mesopotamia* and *Affyria*, seated upon *Tigris*, and in the neighbourhood of *Nineve*; and that it is the famous *Seleucia Parthorum*. The *Nestorian* Christians in their former epistle, call it *Attur* in these words: "*Ex omnibus civitatibus & pagis quæ sunt circum civitatem Mosal (hoc est) Attur, in vicinia Nineve;*" Of all the cities and towns which are about the city of *Mosal* (that is) *Attur* in the neighbourhood of *Nineve*. As also *Niger* acknowledgeth *Ctesiphon* a city thereabout to be called *Affur* (which is the same as *Attur*, alter the dialect of those nations, which change *sb* into *t*.) Neither is it much that he should mistake *Ctesiphon* (which is not far off *Seleucia*) for *Seleucia*, to be *Affur*. By this then we may come somewhat near the end of our purpose. For the isle of *Eden*, which lieth in the breast of *Tigris*, is but twelve miles from *Mosal* and that ancient city, which *Ptolemy* and *Tacitus* call *Nilus*, and the scriptures *Nineve*; *Philostratus*, and *Simon Sethi*, *Mosula*, and *John Lean*, *Mosal*, others *Mosse* (tho' it be not the same with *Mosal*) is set but a little higher upon the same river of *Tigris*, near *Mosal*: so that we are like to find this isle of *Eden* hereabout. For the same *Andreas Masius*, which placeth it above *Mosal*, makes it to be below *Hasan-Cepha*, which is upon the same river of *Tigris*.

The only difficulty is this, that some perhaps may think, that the words of the *Nestorians* in both their epistles, speak not of any isle in *Tigris*, called the isle of *Eden*, but of an isle in *Tigris*, a river of *Eden*. But this sense of their words in my opinion seemeth the more improbable. And yet, if this were the meaning here, we have a testimony from the learned of those parts, that not only *Euphrates*, but also *Tigris*, was a river of *Eden*, and that the name of *Eden* in those parts is not yet quite worn out, tho' the region hath been subject to the same change that all other kingdoms of the world have been, and hath by conquest and corruption of other languages, received new and differing names. For the fourth part of *Eden*, which stretcheth over *Euphrates*, was after the flood called *Shinar*, and then, of the tower of *Babel*, *Babylonia*, and the north part of *Eden* is

that tract of *Mesopotamia*, *Affyria*, and *Armenia*, which embraceth both the banks of *Tigris* between mount *Taurus* and *Seleucia*. And of this region of *Eden* that ancient *Ethicus* maketh mention (not that latter *Ethicus*, disciple of *Gallinus*, otherwise by *Plutarch* and *Athenæus* called *Ystris*, who lived in *Egypt* in the reign of *Philadelphus*; but another of a far higher and remote time) the same being made *Latin* out of the *Greek* by *St. Jerome*. And tho' by corruption of the ancient copy it be written, in *Ethicus*, *Adonis* for *Edenis*: yet *Adonis*, being a river of *Phenicia*, cannot be understood to be the region named by *Ethicus*. For *Ethicus* makes it a country, and not a river, and joyneth it with *Mesopotamia* and *Ethiopia*, calling the land of *Chus* *Ethiopia*, after the vulgar, and septuagint. And lastly, the river which watereth the regions (saith *Ethicus*) falleth into the gulf of *Persia*: which river he calleth *Armodius* for *Tigris*; *Tigris* being but a name imposed for the swiftness thereof. And out of *Armenia* both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* have their original: for out of *Eden* came a river, or rivers, to water the garden, both which rivers (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, come out of *Armenia*, and both of them traverse *Mesopotamia*, regions first of all known by the name of *Eden*, for their beauty and fertility. And it is very probable, that *Eden* contained also some part of *Armenia*; and the excellent fertility thereof in divers places is not unworthy the name of *Eden*. For in some part thereof (saith *Strabo*) the leaves are always green, and therefore therein a perpetual spring. Also *Stephanus, de Urbibus*, mentioneth the city of *Adana* upon *Euphrates*: and the name of *Eden* was in use in *Amos's* time, tho' he spake not of *Eden* in the east, but of *Eden* in *Cælessyria*. But to the end I may not burthen the readers patience with too long a discourse, it may suffice to know, that *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (once joined together, and afterwards separate) are two of those four heads, into which these rivers which are said to water the garden of *Paradise*, were divided: whose courses being known, *Eden* (out of which they are said to come) cannot be unknown. Now that *Hiddekel* and *Perath* were *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, it is agreed by all. For the *Seventy* and all others convert *Perath* by *Euphrates*: & *Hiddekel*, *Tigris* omnes exponunt; and all men understand *Hiddekel* by *Tigris* (saith *Varathus*.) And because that which I have said of the isle of *Eden* shall not be subject to the censure of self-invention, I have hereunder set down the words out of the two general epistles of the *Nestorians*, as *Masius* (*ad verbum*) hath converted them into *Latin*. The occasion of those letters and supplications to the pope, were, that the *Nestorian* Christians, which inhabit *Mesopotamia*, *Affyria*, *Persia*, *Babylonia*, and have to this day (at least in queen *Mary's* time) they had fifty churches in one city called *Seleucia Parthorum*, or *Mosel* upon the river *Tigris*; having no sufficient authority to choose themselves a patriarch (which cannot be done without four or three metropolitan bishops at the least) sent to the bishop of *Rome*, in the year of Christ 1352 (as aforesaid) a petition to obtain allowance unto such an election as themselves had made: having three hundred years before that, upon the like defect, sent one *Marius* thither to be constituted; and in this negotiation they made known to the bishop of *Rome* the state of the Christian church in those parts, for upon the death of their patriarch (who of a covetous desire to enrich himself, had laboured to influence metropolitan bishops, which the places fell worthy they all assembled themselves together to consult

of the church-government. And because all the patriarchs for an hundred years had been of one house and family to the prejudice of the church, and that there yet remained one bishop of the same stock and kindred, who aspired to the same dignity which his predecessors had held, the rest of the professors refused to allow him. Upon which occasion, and for the choice of a governour more sufficient, the teachers in all the churches assembled themselves. The words of the general epistle to the pope were these, about the middle of the said epistle; *Verum nos non acceptavimus, neque proclamavimus ipsum; sed subito convenimus ex omnibus locis orientalibus, & ex omnibus civitatibus & pagis quæ sunt circum civitatem Mosel (hoc est, Attur) in vicinia Nineves, ex Babylonia, ex Charra, ex Arbella, ex Insula quæ est in medio Tigris, fluminis Eden, &c. i. e.* But we did neither accept of this man, neither pronounced him: but suddenly we assembled our selves out of all parts of the east, and out of all the cities and villages which are about *Mosel* (or *Attur*) neighbouring upon *Nineve*; and out of *Babylon*, *Charra*, *Arbella*; and out of the island which lieth in the middle of *Tigris*, a river, of *Eden*, or rather out of the isle of *Eden*, which lieth in the river *Tigris*. And in a second epistle at the same time sent, they used these words: *Neque supersunt apud nos metropolitæ, quorum est ordinare catholicum; sed soli pauci episcopi, episcopus Arbela, episcopus Salmasi, episcopus Adurbeigan; en e vestigio convenimus in insulam, quæ est intra Tigrim flumen, Eden; fecimusque compactum inter nos, &c.* (which is) Neither are there remaining among us any metropolitan bishops, to whom it belongs to ordain a patriarch, but only a few bishops, as the bishop of *Arbela*, the bishop of *Salmasus*, and the bishop of *Adurbeigan*: but lo, we assembled speedily in the island of *Eden*, which is in *Tigris*, and agreed between our selves, &c.

Now this island of *Eden*, *Masius* describeth with other places; which being well conceived, the *Nestorian* epistles, and the state of the church may be in those parts (saith he) the better understood. And after he hath distinguished the four sorts of Christians in those parts of the world, and in the south part of *Africa*, which he calleth *Nestorians*, *Jacobites*, *Maronitæ*, and *Cophti*, he goeth on in these words: *Mox, audita illius morte, concurrisse aiebant tumultuario in illam quam modo dixi Tigris insulam, quæ duodecim circiter passuum millibus supra Mosal posita, decem fere millia passuum suo ambitu continet, muris undique cincta, & a paucis aliis quam Christianis hominibus habitata*: which is, Now hearing of the death of the patriarch (as those that came to *Rome* reported) they ran tumultuously together into that island of *Tigris* or *Eden* before spoken of, which island is situated about twelve miles above *Mosal*, containing very near ten miles in compass, and every where invironed with a wall, inhabited by few other men than Christians. And afterward, he maketh a recapitulation of the Christian churches; among the rest he addeth the isle of *Eden* by the name of *Geserta*, *insula Tigris, sive Geserta*. Furthermore, describing the city of *Mosan-Cepha*, or *Fortis Petra*, he placeth it *supra prædictam Tigris insulam, rupi asperæ impositam*; Above the aforesaid island of *Tigris*, being seated on a steep rock. Of this island of *Geserta*, *Andrew Thevet* maketh mention in his 10th book of his general cosmography, in these words: *Geserta ou Gesire est au milieu de la riviere du Tigre, & pense quæ c'est une terre des plus fertiles de toute l'Asie*; *Geserta* or *Gesire* is in the middle of *Tigris*, the soil the most fertile of all *Asia*.

By this we may see that the ancient name of *Eden* liveth; and of that *Eden* which lieth eastward from

Arabia Petraea, and the desert where *Moses* wrote, and that *Eden* which bordereth *Charran* according to *Ezekiel*, and that *Eden* which is seated according to the assertion of the said prophet, and joined with those nations of *Reseph*, *Canneth*, and *Charran*, and the rest which traded with the *Tyrians*, and is found at this day in the parting of the two regions of *Affyria*, and *Babylonia*, where the *Edenites* in *Telasar* were garrisoned to resist the *Affyrians*, whose displantation *Senacherib* vaunted of (as above-written;) and lastly, the same *Eden*, which embraceth *Tygris*, and looketh on *Euphrates*, two of the known rivers of those four, which are by all men ascribed to *Paradise*.

S E C T. XI.

Of the difficulty in the text, which seemeth to make the four rivers to rise from one stream.

BUT it may be objected, that it is written in the text, *That a river went out of Eden*, and not rivers in the plural: which scruple *Matthew Beroaldus* hath thus answered in his chronology: The *Latin* translation, saith he, hath these words: *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum, qui inde dividebatur in quatuor capita: quæ verba melius consentiunt cum rei narratione, & ejusdem explicatione, si ita reddantur; & fluvius erat egrediens ex Edene (hoc est) fluvii procedebant ex Edene regione ad rigandum pomarium; & inde dividebatur, & erat in quatuor capita*: which is, And a river went out of the place of pleasure to water *Paradise*, and thence was divided into four heads; which words (saith *Beroaldus*) do better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus translated; And a river was going forth of *Eden* (that is) rivers went forth, and ran out of the region of *Eden* to water the orchard; and from thence it was divided, and they became four heads. The *Tigurine* differs from the vulgar or *Latin*; for it converts it thus, *Et fluvius egrediebatur de deliciis*; And a river went out of pleasure, instead of *Eden*; and the *Latin* addeth the word *locus*, or place, *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis*; And a river went out of the place of pleasure: and so the word (place) may rightly be referred to *Eden*, which was (of all other) a region most delightful and fertile; and so also the word (*inde*) and *thence*, was divided, hath reference to the country of *Eden*, and not to the garden it self.

And for the word (*river*) for rivers, it is usual among the *Hebrews*: for it is written: *Gen. i. 11. Let the earth bud forth the bud of the herb that seedeth seed, the fruitful tree, &c.* Here the *Hebrew* useth the singular for the plural, *herb* and *tree*, for *herbs* and *trees*; and again, *Gen. iii. 2. We eat of the fruit of the tree*, instead of (*trees*;) And thirdly, *Gen. iii. 8. The man and his wife bid themselves from the presence of God; In medio ligni Paradisi*; In the middle of the tree of the garden, for (*trees*;) And of this opinion is *David Kimchi* and *Vatablus*, who upon this place of *Genesis* say, that the *Hebrews* do often put the singular for the plural, as *illud*, for *unumquodque illorum*; and he giveth an instance in this question it self, as, *A river* (for rivers) *went out of Eden*.

And this answer out of divers of the learned, may, not without good reason, be given to the objection, that *Moses* speaketh but of one river, from which the heads should divide themselves. Howbeit I deny not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reason, we may expound the four heads, to be four notable passages into famous countries. And so we may take the word (*river*) verse the 10th for one river (to wit) *Euphrates*, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this river

(after he is past the place, where we suppose *Paradise* to have been) divides it self, and ere long yielded four notable passages into several countries, tho' not all the way down stream (for this is no where in the text) where it is noted, that following the river downward, there is conveyance into the countries named in the text, tho' part of the way to one of the countries (to wit, to *Affyria*) were up *Tigris*.

To this end the text speaking of *Hiddekel*, as it riseth from the river of *Eden*, doth not say, it compasseth or washeth the whole region of *Affyria* (as it had used this phrase of *Pison* and *Gehon*) but that it runneth towards *Affyria*. The first branch *Pison*, is *Nabar-malcha* (by interpretation) *Basilus*, or *flumen regium*, which runneth into *Tigris* under *Apamia*; whence ariseth the name of *Pasi-Tigris*, as it were *Piso-Tigris*. This leadeth to the land of *Havila* or *Susana*. The second branch *Gehon*, is that which in historians is *Nabarsares* or *Narragas*, for *Nabar-ragas*: both which names signify *flumen derivatum* (a river derived) also *Acracanus*, *quasi Ranosus*, by reason of the froggy fens which it maketh: this *Gehon* leadeth to the first seat of *Chus*, about the borders of *Chaldea* and *Arabia*, and it is lost at length in the lakes of *Chaldea*. The third branch *Hiddekel*, may be expounded the upper stream of *Pison*, or *Basilus*, which runneth into *Hiddekel*, properly so called (that is, into *Tigris*) above *Seleucia*, where it sheweth a passage up *Tigris* into *Affyria*: where, because at length it is called *Hiddekel* or *Tigris*, having before no known proper name, the text in this place calleth it *Hiddekel* from the beginning. The fourth *Perath*, or *Euphrates*, so called *per excellentiam*, being the body of the river *Euphrates*, which runneth thro' *Babylon* and *Otris*. But be it a river or rivers, that come out of *Eden*, seeing that *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are noted in the text, there can be no doubt, but that *Paradise* was not far from these rivers: for that *Perath* in *Moses* is *Euphrates*, there can be no question; and (indeed) as plain it is that *Hiddekel* is *Tigris*. For *Hiddekel* goeth (saith *Moses* eastward towards *Affur*, as we find, that *Tigris* is the river of *Affyria* proprie dicta, whose chief city was *Niveveh*, as in *Genesis* the 10th it is written: That out of that land (to wit) *Babylonia*, *Nimrod* went into *Affur*, and builded *Niveveh*, which was the chief city of *Affyria*.

And as for the kind of speech here used in the text, speaking of four heads; tho' the heads of rivers be (properly) their fountains, yet here are they to be understood, to be spoken of the beginning of their division from the first stream. *Caput aquæ* (saith *Ulpianus*) *illud est, unde aqua nascitur; si ex fonte nascatur fons; si ex flumine, vel ex lacu, prima initia*, &c. If the beginning of the water be out of a fountain, then is the fountain taken for the head: if out of a lake, then the lake; and if from a main river any branch be separate and divided, then where that branch doth first bound it self with new banks, there is that part of the river, where the branch forsaketh the main stream, called the head of the river.

S E C T. XII.

Of the strange fertility and happiness of the Babylonian soil, as it is certain that Eden was such.

IT may also be demanded, whether this region of *Eden*, by us described, be of such fertility and beauty, as *Eden* the seat of *Paradise* was: which if it be denied, then must we also consider, that there was no part of the earth, that retained that fertility and pleasure, that it had before the curse: neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulness to any part of the earth, nor the same virtue to any plant thereon

growing, that they had before the flood; and therefore this region of *Eden* may be now no such flourishing country, as it was when it was first created in his perfection. Yet this I find written of it: First in *Herodotus*, *Clia. lib. 1.* who was an eye-witness, and speaketh of the very place it self, for the isle of *Eden* is but twelve miles or thereabout from *Niveveh*, and so from *Mosal*. *Ex Euphrate exiens in Tigrim, alterum flumen, juxta quod urbs Ninus sita erat, hæc regio, omnium quas nos vidimus, optima est, &c.* Where *Euphrates* runneth out into *Tigris*, not far from the place where *Ninus* is seated; this region, of all that we have seen, is most excellent. And he addeth afterward, *Cereris autem fructu procreando adeo ferax est, ut nunquam non seve ducenta reddat, &c.* (that is) It is so fruitful in bringing forth corn, that it yieldeth two hundred fold: the leaves of wheat and barley being almost four fingers broad: as for the height of millet and sesam, they are even in length like unto trees, which altho' I know to be true, yet I forbear to speak hereof, well knowing, that those things which are reported of this fruitfulness, will seem very incredible to those, which never were in the country of *Babylon*. They have commonly in all the country palm-trees growing of their own accord, the most of them bearing fruit; out of which they make both meats, and wine, and honey, ordering them as the fig-trees. Thus far *Herodotus*.

To this palm-tree, so much admired in the *East-India*, *Strabo* and *Niger* add a fourth excellency, which is, that it yieldeth bread; *Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum conficiunt*; of which these people make bread, wine, honey, and vinegar. But *Antonius* the eremite findeth a fifth commodity, not inferiour to any of those four, which is, that from this self-same tree there is drawn a kind of fine flax, of which people make their garments, and with which in *East-India* they prepare the cordage for their ships; and that this is true, *Athanasius* in the life of *Antonius* the eremite confesseth, saying, *That he received a garment made thereof from the eremite himself, which he brought with him out of this region*. So therefore those trees, which the *East-Indies* so highly esteem and so much admire (as indeed the earth yieldeth no plant comparable to this) those trees (I say) are in this upper *Babylon*, or region of *Eden*, as common as any trees of the field. *Sunt etiam* (saith *Strabo*) *passim per omnem regionem palmæ sua sponte nascentes*; there are of palms over all the whole region, growing of their own accord. Of this place *Quintus Curtius* maketh this report, *Euntibus a parte læva Arabiæ odorum fertilitate nobilis, regio campestris interest inter Tigrim & Euphratem, jacens tam ubere & pingui solo, ut a pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat* (that is) As you travel on the left hand of *Arabia* (famous for plenty of sweet odours) there lieth a champaign country placed between *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and so fruitful and fat a soil, that they are said to drive their cattle from pasture, lest they should perish by satiety. *Ris in anno segetes Babylonii secant*; The *Babylonians* cut their corn twice a year (saith *Niger*.) And as countries generally are more fruitful to the southward, than in the northern parts: so we may judge the excellency of this by that report which *Strabo* maketh of the south part of *Armonia*, which is the north border of *Eden*, or a part thereof; his words be these in the *Latin*, *Tota enim hæc regio frugibus & arboribus abundat mansuetis, itemque semper virentibus*; This region aboundeth with pleasant fruits, and trees always green: which witnesseth a perpetual spring, not found elsewhere but in the *Indies* only, by reason of the sun's neighbourhood, the life and stirrer up of nature in a per-

a perpetual activity. In brief, so great is the fertility of the ground, that the people are constrained twice to mow down their corn-fields, and a third time to eat them up with sheep : which husbandry the *Spaniards* wanting in the valley of *Mexico*, for the first forty years, could not make our kind of wheat bear seed, but it grew up as high as the trees, and was fruitless. Besides, those fields are altogether without weeds (saith ^a *Pliny*) who addeth this singularity to that soil, That the second year the very stubble (or rather falling down of the feeds again) yieldeth them a harvest of corn without any further labour : his words are these : *Uben-tatis tantæ sunt, ut sequenti anno sponte restibilis fiat seges.*

SECT. XIII.

Of the river Pison, and the land of Havilah.

AFTER the discovery of *Eden*, and the testimonies of the fertility thereof, it resteth to prove that *Pison* and *Gehon* are branches of *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. For that the knowledge and certainty of these two rivers should trouble so many wise men, it is strange to me, seeing necessity itself (*Tigris* and *Euphrates* being known) findeth them out : for *Euphrates* or *Tigris*, or both, be that river or rivers of *Eden*, which water *Paradise*, which river or rivers *Moses* witnesseth afterward ; divided into four heads, whereof the one is called *Pison*, the other *Gehon*, &c. Could there be a stranger fancy in the world, than when we find both these, namely, *Tigris* and *Euphrates* in *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*, to seek the other two in *India* and *Egypt*, making the one *Ganges*, and the other *Nilus* ? Two rivers as far distant, as any of fame known or discovered in the world : the scriptures making it so plain, that these rivers were divided into four branches ; and with the scriptures, nature, reason and experience bearing witness. There is no error, which hath not some slippery and bad foundation, or some appearance of probability resembling truth, which when men (who study to be singular) find out (straining reason according to their fancies) they then publish to the world matter of contention and jangling : not doubting but in the variable deformity of mens minds to find some partakers or sectators, the better by their help to nurse and cherish such weak babes, as their own inventions have begotten.

But this mistaking (and first for the river of *Pison*) seemeth to have grown out of the not distinguishing of that region in *India*, called *Havilah*, from *Havilah*, which adjoineth to *Babylonia*, afterwards known by the name of *Susiana*. For *Havilah* upon *Tigris* took name from *Havilah* the son of *Cush* ; and *Havilah* in *India* from *Havilah* the son of *Jottan* ; the one remembered by *Moses* in the description of *Paradise*, the other where ^b *Moses* setteth down the generations of *Noah* and his sons after the flood. For the sons of *Cush* were *Seba*, *Havila*, *Sabtab*, and *Raamah* ; and the sons of *Jottan* were *Ophir* and *Havilah*, &c. of which latter, to wit, of *Ophir* and *Havilah*, the sons of *Jottan*, that island of *Ophir* (whence *Solomon* had gold) and *Havilah* adjoining had their names. Now because *Ganges* is a great and a famous river of the *East-India*, and *Havilah* a country of the same, and is situated upon *Ganges*, hence it came, that *Ganges* is taken for ^c *Pison*, which river is said by *Moses* to water the land of *Havilah*. Or perhaps it was supposed that those four rivers, named by *Moses*, must of necessity be four of the greatest in the world ; whence (supposing that *Ganges* was the next

great and famous river after *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, they chose out this river to make one of the four. And yet certainly there is another river, whom in these respects they should rather have chosen than *Ganges* ; for the river *Indus* on this side *India*, for beauty, for nearness, and for ability, giveth no way place to *Ganges* ; but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reasonable man conceive, that *Ganges* can be one of the four heads : seeing *Indus* cometh between it and *Tigris* ; and between *Tigris* and *Indus* is all that large empire of *Persia*, consisting of many kingdoms. And again, farther towards the east, and beyond *Indus*, are all those ample dominions of *India* intra *Gangem*, which lie between those two proud rivers of *Indus* and *Ganges*, now called the kingdom of *Mogor*. So as if *Indus* be not accounted for any of the four, because it is removed from *Tigris* by all the breadth of *Persia*, then how much less *Ganges*, which falleth into the ocean, little less than forty degrees to the eastward of *Indus* ? Surely whosoever readeth the story of *Alexander* shall find, that there is no river in *Asia*, that can exceed *Indus*. For *Hydaspis* was of that breadth and depth, as *Alexander* thereon in great Gallies transported himself and the greatest part of his army, and in sailing down that branch of *Indus*, found it so large and deep, and by reason thereof so great a billow, as it endangered his whole fleet, which was ready to be swallowed up therein : *Hydaspis* (as aforesaid) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it, and as great as it, having besides this, the rivers of *Coas*, of *Suastus*, *Acesines*, *Adris* (otherwise *Hirodis*) *Hispalis* and *Zaradus*, all which make but one *Indus*, and by it are swallowed up with all their children and companions, which being all incorporated and made one stream, it crosseth athwart *Asia*, and then at *Cambaia* visiteth the ocean sea.

But because *Pison*, which compasseth *Havilah*, as also ^d *Gehon*, which watereth *Cush*, must somewhere be joined with the rest in one body, or at least be found to proceed out of the same country of *Eden*, out of which the other two heads do proceed, out of doubt they cannot, either the one or the other, be *Ganges*, or *Nilus* : for *Nilus* riseth in the uttermost of the south, and runneth northward into the *Mediterranean* sea ; and the river *Ganges* riseth out of the mountain *Imaus*, or (as others will have it) *Caucasus*, which divides the northern *Scythia* from *India*, and runneth from north to south into the *Indian* ocean. And as for *Porath* and *Hiddekal* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*) the one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, near *Georgiana* or *Iberia*, the other not far off in the same *Armenia*, by the *Gordiean* mountains, so as *Ganges* who only travellet in her own *India*, and *Nilus* thro' *Ethiopia* and *Egypt*, never saw the land of *Eden*, or joined themselves in one channel, either with themselves, or with either of the other ; and therefore could not at any time from thence be separated or divided into four heads or branches, according to *Moses*.

Therefore the river *Pison*, which enricheth *Havilah*, is the same which by joining itself with *Tigris*, was therefore called *Pisi-tigris*, or *Piso-tigris*, of *Pison* and *Tigris*, which river watereth that *Havilah*, which *Havilah* the son of *Cush* gave name unto, and not *Havilah* of *India*, so called of *Havilah* the son of *Jottan*, who inhabited with his brother *Ophir* in the east. And this *Havilah* of the *Cushites* hath also ^e gold, bdellium, and the onyx-stone. This bdellium is a tree, of the bigness of an olive, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yieldeth a certain gum, sweet to smell to, but bitter

^a *Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 18. c. 17.*

^b *Gen. 10. 1. to 10.*

Gen. 2. 11.

^d *Gen. 2. 13.*

^e *Gen. 2. 12.*

in taste, called also bdellium. The *Hebrews* take the loadstone for bdellium. *Beroaldus* affirmeth; that *Bdela* in *Hebrew* signifieth pearl: so doth *Eugubinus*; and *Jerome* calls it *Oleaster*: be it what it will, a tree bearing gum or pearl: *Havilah* or *Susiana* hath plenty of both. Now this country of *Susiana* or *Havilah* stretcheth itself towards the north, as far as the altars of *Hercules*, and from thence embraceth all the tract of land southward, as far as the *Persian* gulf, on the east side thereof: from which east-side had the *Shebans* (which traded with the city of *Tyre* according to *Ezekiel*) their great plenty of gold, which *Strabo* also witnesseth, as was shewed before.

The ^a *Greeks* had a conceit, that *Pison* was *Danubius*: the *Rabbins* take it for *Nilus*. *Aben-ezra* (saith ^b *Hopkins*) out of *Rabbi Saadia*, translateth *Pison* into *Nilus*: but *Nilus* findeth the same impossibility that *Ganges* doth: and *Danubius* hath the sea of *Hellepont* and all *Asia* the less, between it and *Tigris*. Now *Pison*, which runneth through *Havilah* or *Susiana*, doth to this day retain some sign of this name; for where it and *Tigris* embraceth each other under the city of *Apamia*, there do they agree of a joynt and compounded name, and are called *Piso-tigris*. And it is strange unto me, that from so great antiquity there should be found remaining any resembling sound of the first name: for *Babylon* itself, which dwelleth so near these rivers, is by some writers known by the name of *Bandas*, as, by ^c *Postellus*, by *Castaldus*, of *Baldach*: by *Barius*, of *Bagdad*; and of *Boughedor*, by ^d *Andrew Theuet*; and yet all those that have lately seen it, call it *Bagdet*. To this river of *Pison*, ^e *Ptolemy* indeed, with many others, give the name of *Basilus* or *Regius*, and *Gehon* they term *Maharsares* and *Marfias*, and *Baarsares*. So is *Euphrates*, near the spring and fountain, by *Strabo* and ^f *Pliny* called *Pixirates*: by *Junius*, *Puckperab*, out of the *Hebrew*, that is, the profusion or coming forth of *Euphrates*: where it breaketh thro' the mountain *Taurus*, it takes the name of *Omyra*. *Plutarch* calls it *Medus* and *Zaranda*: the *Hebrews* *Parath* (saith *Ar. Montanus*;) *Pagninus*, *Perath*: *Josephus*, *Phorab*: *Eusebius*, *Zozinus*: *Ammianus*, *Chalymicus*: *Gislilanus* and *Colinutius* term it *Cobar*: which *Ezekiel* calleth *Chebar*; but this is but a branch of *Euphrates*. The *Affyrians* know it by the name of *Armalchar*, or *Nabor Malcha*: but now commonly it is called *Frat*.

The same confusion of names hath *Tigris*, as, *Diglito*, and *Diglatb*, *Seilax*, and *Sollax*: of the *Hebrews* it was called *Hiddekel*: now of the inhabitants *Tegil*.

But *Mercer* upon *Genesis* conceiveth rightly of these rivers: for *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (saith he) stream into four branches, two of which keep their ancient names, and the other two are called *Pison* and *Gehon*. The reason why these two rivers joynted in one (below *Apamia*) lose their names, and are called *Pisi-tigris*, and the memory of *Euphrates* extinguished, is, because the best part of *Euphrates* running through the channel of *Gehon*, sinketh into the lakes of *Chaldea*, not far from *Ur*, the city of *Abraham*, and fall not intirely into the *Persian* sea, as *Tigris* accompanied with *Pison* doth.

This error, that *Pison* was *Ganges*, was first broached by *Josephus* (whose fields, tho' they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weeds) and other men (who take his authority to be sufficient in matter of description, whereupon depended no other important consequence) were not curious in the

examination thereof. For *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, and *Jerome*, take this for current; whereof it followed, that as *Pison* was transported into the *East India*, to find out *Havilah*: so was *Gehon* drawn into *Africa*, to compass *Ethiopia*. But if *Havilah*, whereof *Moses* speaketh in the description of *Paradise*, be found to be a region, adjoyning to *Babylon* on the one side, and *Cush* (which is falsely interpreted *Ethiopia*) fastned to it on the other side, we shall not need then to work wonders (that is) to impose upon men the transportation of rivers, from one end of the world to the other, which (among other uses) were made to transport men. Now it was in the valley of *Shinar*, where *Cush* the son of *Ilam* first sat down with his sons, *Sheba*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, *Nimrod*, &c. and of *Havilah*, the son of *Cush*, did that region take name, which *Pison* compasseth; and the land (called *Cush*) which *Gehon* watereth, took name of *Cush* himself. For as the sons of *Jostan*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*, seated themselves as near together as they could in *India*, so did the sons of *Cush* in *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, where *Nimrod* built *Babel*: for *Havilah* or *Chavilah* was first *Chusea* of *Cush*; then *Chusa*, *Susa*, and *Susiana*.

From this *Havilah* unto the desarts of *Sur*, did the *Israelites* and *Amalekites* possess all the interjacent countries: for ^g *Saul* smote the *Amalekites* from *Havilah* to *Sur*: which *Sur* the *Chaldean* paraphrast converteth *Hagra*, and *Hagra* bordereth the red sea; but this was not meant from *Sur* upon the red sea, to *Havilah* in the *East India*; for *Saul* was no such traveller or conqueror, and therefore *Havilah* must be found nearer home, where the sons of *Ismael* inhabited, and which country *Saul* wasted: for *Amalek* and the *Amalekites* possess that neck of country, between the *Persian* sea, and the red sea; *Havilah* being the extreme of the one towards the east, and *Sur* of the other, towards *Egypt* and the west, leaving that great body of *Arabia Felix* towards the south; and they spread themselves with the *Midianites* and *Edumeans*, from the east part, or back-side of the holy land, to the banks of *Euphrates*, comprising the best parts of *Arabia Petraea* and *Deserta*.

SECT. XIV.

Of the river *Gehon* and the land of *Cush*: and of the ill translating of the *Ethiopia* for *Cush*, 2 Chron. xxi. 16.

NOW, as *Havilah* in the *East India* drew *Pison* so far out of his way thither, so I say did *Cush* (being by the Seventy translated *Ethiopia*) force *Gehon* into *Africa*. For *Cush* being taken for *Ethiopia* by the *Greeks*, whom the *Latins* followed, *Gehon* consequently was esteemed for *Nilus*. But ^h *Ethiopians* are, as much, as *black* or *burnt faces*, whose proper country is called *Thebaides*, lying to the southward of all *Egypt*. And altho' there be many other regions of *Ethiopians*, and far south in *Africa*, yet those of *Thebaides* are those so often remembered in the *Egyptian* stories, and out of which nation they had many times their kings of *Egypt*: all which *Ethiopians* are very near, or else directly under the *Equinottial line*, which is very far from that land inhabited by the *Chusites*; who are neither black of colour, nor in any sort neighbouring *Torrída Zona*. But this translation of the *Septuagint*, *Pererius* doth qualify in this manner. There are (saith he) two *Ethiopia's*, the east, and the west: and this division he findeth in *Strabo*, out of *Ho-*

^a Struch ^b Hopk. de Par. ^c Post. Cosmog. ^d Theuet Cosmog.

^e Afr. tab. 4 ^f Plin. lib. 5 c. 24 ^g 1 Sam.

^h See more of this point, c. 7. §. 10.

mer. Now because there is no colour to make *Cbus Ethiopia* in *Africa*, *Pererius* will make *Cush* and the land of the *Chusites* (which is *Arabia Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the happy, with the region of *Midian*) to be the east *Ethiopia*.

Now if it be granted, that *Cush* and the land of the *Chusites*, be that tract from *Sur* to *Havilah*, according to the scriptures: ^a *Habitavit Ismael ab Havilah usque Sur, quæ respicit Ægyptum introcun-ibus Assyrios*; *Ismael* dwelt from *Havilah* unto *Sur*, that is, towards *Egypt*, as thou goest towards *Assyria*: The same sufficeth to prove that *Gebon* cannot be *Nilus*, but a river which watereth *Cush*, and not *Ethiopia*. But this place of scripture *Habitavit Ismael*, &c. hath this sense: *Ismael* dwelt from *Havilah*, which is the way of *Assyria*, or the country bordering *Assyria*; and *Sur*, which lyeth towards *Egypt*, which is as much to say, as, the issues of *Ismael* (whereof there were twelve princes) whom God had promised to make a great people, inhabited all those regions between the border of *Egypt* and *Assyria*. And that they were (according to the word God) so increased and multiplied, it well appeared, when ^c *Zerah* the *Chusite*, which others call *Tharantba*, brought an army of ten hundred thousand against *Afa* king of *Juda*. Which army came not out of *Ethiopia* beyond *Egypt*; for that had been a strange progress for such a multitude, as ten hundred thousand, having so mighty a king as the king of *Egypt*, between *Palestina* and *Ethiopia*. But these were the *Chusites*, *Amalekites*, *Midianites*, *Ismaelites*, and *Arabians*. For it is written, that after *Afa* (strengthened by God) had defeated this world of an army, he in following his victory took some of the cities of king *Zerah* round about, as *Gerar*. Now that *Gerar* is a city of the *Ethiopians*, it cannot be suspected: for these be the words of the scripture disproving it: ^d *And Abraham departed thence towards the south country, and dwelt between Cadesh and Sur, and sojourned in Gerar*; Now *Sur* is that part, upon which *Moses* and the *Israelites* first set their feet after they passed the red sea, where the ^e *Amalekites* in *Rephidim* set on them, supposing that they had been weary, and unable to resist. Again, in the story of *Isaac* it is written, ^f *Wherefore Isaac went to Abimelech, and the Philistines unto Gerar*: and I am sure *Abimelech* and the *Philistines* were no *Ethiopians*. And lastly, *Moses* himself, where he describeth the bounds of *Canaan*, hath these words: ^g *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Sydon, as thou comest to Gerar*: for *Sydon* was the frontier of *Canaan* towards the north, and *Gerar* by *Gazah* towards the south. But indeed, howsoever *Pererius* cloth with an honest excuse save his translation of *Cbus* for *Ethiopia*, yet it appeareth plainly, that the *Septuagint*, and *Josephus* did altogether misunderstand this place. And first, for *Homer's* east and west *Ethiopia*, they are both found elsewhere. For *Pliny* in his fifth book and eighth chapter, citeth *Homer* for an author, of these two *Ethiopia's*. But the east *Ethiopia* is that which compasseth *Nilus* to the south of *Egypt*, and is the south border thereof; now a part of the empire of the *Abyssines*, under *Prester John*; and the west *Ethiopia* is that, which joyneth it self with the river *Niger*, which we call *Senega* and *Gambra*: for thereabouts are these *Ethiopians*, called *Perorsi*, *Daratites*, with divers other names, which ^h *Pliny* numbereth. But all these are in *Africa*, and beyond the deserts thereof, saith *Pliny* out of *Homer*, *Agrippa*, and *Juba*, which regions indeed (I mean that of *Niger*, and that of *Prester John*, and the

Troglodites) lie due east and west. But as for *Cush*, and the region of the *Ismaelites*, &c. they are extended directly north from that *Ethiopia*, which is beyond *Egypt*. Now, that *Josephus* was exceeding gross herein, it appeareth by that fiction, which he hath of *Moses* when he served *Pharaoh*, in the wars against the *Ethiopians*: for in that (to make *Cbus, Ethiopia*) he transporteth *Midian* by miracle over the red sea, and beyond all *Egypt*, and setteth it in *Ethiopia*, as shall be shewed more at large in the chapter of the world's plantation. Again, that *Gebon* was improperly translated *Nilus*, *Pererius* confesseth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the Greek copy, than otherwise. And whereas the *Septuagint* have converted this place of the prophet *Jeremy*. ⁱ *And what hast thou now to do in the way of Egypt, to drink the water of Nilus? Quid tibi vis in via Ægypti, ut bibas aquam Gebon?* To this faith *Pererius*, *profecto Hebraice ibi non est vox Gebon sed Sichor, quæ significat nigrum & turbidum*; Truly (saith *Pererius*) the word *Gebon* in this place, is not found in the *Hebrew*, but *Sichor*, which signifieth black and troubled water.

Furthermore, this is a manifest and unanswerable argument, that *Cbus* was ill taken for *Ethiopia*. ^k *Moses* married the daughter of *Jethro*, prince and priest of *Midian*, whom both the *Greek* and *Latin* call a *Midianite*, and not ^l *Ethiopissam*, as (with *Josephus*) the *Geneva* converts it, though it helps it a little with a marginal note. Now it is without dispute, that *Zipporah* was of the country of *Midian*, which is that part of *Arabia Petræa*, bordering the red sea; for it is written in *Exodus*, that *Moses* ^m *fled from Pharaoh into the land of Midian, and sat down by a well, &c.* and again, ⁿ *When Moses kept the sheep of Jethro his father-in-law, priest of Midian, &c.* Indeed, these four nations are every where mixt in the scriptures, because they dwell confusedly with one another (to wit) the *Midianites*, the *Ismaelites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Chusites*, which were all in one general word, *Arabians*, and in the scriptures sometimes called by one of those names, and sometimes by another, as in *Gen. xxxvii. 25, 27, 28*, that *Joseph* was sold to the *Ismaelites*; and again, *v. 36.* it is written, that the *Midianites* sold *Joseph* to *Potiphar*, *Pharaoh's* steward. The *Genevians*, in a marginal note (to avoid this confounding of the nations) say, that *Moses* wrote according to their opinion, who took the *Midianites* and *Ismaelites* to be all one. But *Moses* wrote not after any man's opinion, he wrote the truth, and these were all *Arabians*, and so in this very place it appeareth by their merchandise, which they brought with them, when they bought *Joseph*: for their ^o camels were laden with spicery, and balm, and myrrh, which are the trades of *Arabia Felix*, from whence chiefly, and from the *East India*, all the world is served with myrrh and frankincense; and their spices they received from the east side of the *Arabian Gulf*, as aforesaid. And in chap. 39. ver. 1. it is said: That *Potiphar* bought *Joseph* of the *Ismaelites*, which the *Chaldean* paraphrast in the same place calleth *Arabians*. Now, to make this the more manifest, it is written, in *Judges* vi. 3. That when *Israel* had sown, then came up the *Midianites*, and the *Amalekites*, and they of the east, and came upon them: they of the east, were *Arabians* of the *Desart*; so as where before, in the buying of *Joseph*, the *Midianites* and the *Ismaelites* were confused, here the *Midianites* and *Amalekites*, are made one nation. For in the prosecution of the story of *Gideon*, the ^p *Midianites*

^a Gen. 25. 18. ^b Gen. 25. 16. ^c 2 Chron. 14. 9. ^d Gen. 10. 11. ^e Exod. 17. 8. ^f Gen. 26. 1. ^g Gen. 10. 19.
^h Plin. l. 5. 8. ⁱ Jer. 2. 18. ^k Exod. 2. 21. 3. 1. ^l Numb. 12. 1. ^m Exod. 2. 15. ⁿ Exod. 3. 1. ^o Gen. 37. 25.
^p Judges chap. 6.
No. 3. K only

only are named; as comprehending both nations; and these nations are all called ^a *Ismaelites*, and neither *Midianites* nor *Amalekites*. As when *Gideon* desired, that every man would give him the golden ear-rings, which they had taken, after the victory against *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, kings of *Arabia*, amounting to seventeen hundred sheckles of gold, it is written: ^a *For they had gold ear-rings, because they were Ismaelites*. And these *Ismaelites* were a great and valiant nation, and ever in action of war. ^b *Manus ejus contra omnes, & manus omnium contra eum; His hand* (saith God of *Ismael*) *shall be against all men, and every mans hand against him*. Of these *Ismaelites* came the *Mahometan Arabians*, though some writers think *Mahomet* to be of the *Schenite*. And these *Ismaelites*, which inhabit chiefly in *Cedar*, and the *Desarts* of *Sur* and *Pharan* (saith *Josephus*) use poison upon their arrows, as the *Indians* do. Towards the south-east are the *Midianites*, and *Chusites*: and beyond them, towards the *Desarts* of *Arabia*, the *Amalekites*; and all are one nation, and all *Arabians*.

Lastly, the ill translation of *Ethiopia* for *Chus*, is, amongst other places, made most apparent, in *Chronicles*, in these words: ^c *So the Lord stirred up against Jehoram, the spirit of the Philistines and the Arabians, which confine the Ethiopians*; so *Jerome* reads it; the *Geneva* translation hath it, *which were besides the Ethiopians*. Now, how far it is off, between the *Philistines*, and the *Negroes*, or *Ethiopians*, every man that looketh in a map may judge. For the *Philistines* and *Arabians* do mix and join with the land of the *Chusites*, and are distant from *Ethiopia* about 32 or 33 degrees, and therefore not their next neighbours; but all *Egypt*, and the *Desarts* of *Sur*, and *Pharan*, are between them. So as this place of the second of *Chronicles*, should have been translated in these words: *So the Lord stirred up against Jehoram, the spirits of the Philistines, and Arabians, which confine and border upon the Chusites*, who indeed are their next neighbours. ^d *Nulla superest dubitatio, quin Æthiopia in sacris literis sit Arabic propinqua*; There remaineth no doubt (saith *Steuchius*) but *Ethiopia* in the scriptures is taken for that country, which joineth to *Arabia*.

Now may we think it is probable, or possible, that *Moses* could be ignorant of *Nilus*? No; he knew it, no living man so well, and therefore would never have named *Gebon* for *Nilus*, or *Nilus* for *Gebon*. Surely if *Moses* had meant *Nilus*, when he named *Gebon*, he would have called the river (into which he was cast upon reeds, and preserved by God, working compassion in the ^e daughter of *Pharaoh*) a river of *Egypt*, wherein he was born and bred, and wrought so many miracles. Besides, the river of *Nilus* is often named in the scriptures, but never by the name of *Gebon*. And if *Moses* had told the *Israelites*, that *Nilus* had been a river of *Paradise*, they might justly have thought that he had derided them: for they had lived there all the days of their lives, and found no such *Paradise* at all, nor any memory, or speech thereof; except we shall believe the *Paradise* of *Hesperides*, where (saith ^f *Pliny*) there was nothing found in his time, but wild olives instead of golden apples. But *Nilus* is twice called *Sichor*, once in ^g *Isaiah*, and once in the prophet ^h *Jeremy*; and yet in those places it is not said to be a river of *Ethiopia*, but of *Egypt*. For in a word, the *Israelites* had never any communion or affairs with the *Ethiopians*, nor

any intelligence, or trade, beyond *Egypt*, to the south; but the enemies, which they had on the south, and east parts, were these nations of the *Chusites*, *Philistines*, *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*: who being often governed by many little kings, or *reguli*, were distinguished in names, according to the fathers and heads of those nations; but in one general name were all *Arabians*. On the north-side of *Canaan*, they were afflicted with the *Cœlesyrians*, with the *Magogians*, *Tubalines*, and others their adherents; and thirdly within themselves, the nations, which remained of the ancient *Canaanites*, held the strongest cities upon the sea-coast, as *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Acon*, *Gaza*, and many others: yea, *Jerusalem* itself was with-held from *Israel* (from the days of *Moses* even unto the time of *David*) by the *Jebusites*.

That which now remaineth of most difficulty is, that it doth not appear, that any part of *Gebon* watereth that part of *Arabia the stony*, which the *Chusites* inhabited in the times of the kings of *Israel*: and in this *Desart* it was, that *Matt. Beroaldus* lost himself in seeking out *Paradise*: for he was driven (to my understanding) to create two rivers, and call them *Gebon*, and *Pison*; to the end that the one might water *Chus*, and the other *Havilah*, for I find none such in *rerum natura*, as he hath described: by which rivers he also includeth within *Paradise*, even *Arabia the Desart*.

And as he well proved that *Pison* was not *Ganges*, nor *Gebon Nilus*: so where to find them elsewhere, it seemeth he knew not. Certainly this river of *Gebon*, which he maketh to fall into the *Mediterranean* at *Gaza*, and whose springs he findeth far east in *Arabia*, is but imaginary: for the current by *Gaza* is but a small stream, rising between it and the red sea, whose head from *Gaza* itself is little more than twenty *English* miles, as shall appear hereafter. But questionless hence it comes that many were mistaken. They all considered of the habitations of the *Chusites*, as they were planted when the state of *Israel* stood, and when it flourished, being then their near neighbours, and never looked back to the first seats and plantation of *Chus*. For after the flood, *Chus* and his children never rested, till they found the valley of *Shinar*, in which, and near which himself with his sons first inhabited. *Havilah* took the river-side of *Tigris* chiefly on the east, which after his own name he called *Havilah* (now *Sustiana*;) *Ramath* and *Sheba* farther down the river, in the entrance of *Arabia Felix*. *Nimrod* seated himself in the best of the valley, where he built *Babel*, whereof that region had afterwards the name of *Babylonia*. *Chus* himself and his brother *Mizraim* first kept upon *Gebon*, which falleth into the lakes of *Chaldea*, and in process of time, and as their people increased, they drew themselves more westerly towards the red or *Arabian* sea: from whence *Mizraim* pass'd over into *Egypt*, in which tract the *Chusites* remained for many years after. Now because there could be no such river found in *Arabia the stony*, which they might entitle *Gebon*, they translated *Chus Ethiopia*, and *Gebon Nilus*. And if we do examine this mistaking by example, we shall the better perceive it as it was. For let us suppose that *Brute*, or whosoever else that first peopled this island, had arrived upon the river *Thames*, and calling the island after his name *Britannia*, it might be said that *Thames* or *Tems* was a river that watered *Britannia*: and when afterwards, in process of time, the same *Brute* had also discovered and con-

^a Judges 8. 24. ^b Gen. 16. 12. ^c 2 Chron. 21. 16. ^d Steuch. Eugub. in Gen. 2. ^e Exod. 2. ^f Plin. lib. 5. c. 1.
^g Isaiah 23. 3. ^h Jer. 2. 18.

SECT. XV.

A conclusion by way of repetition of some things spoken of before.

quered *Scotland*, which he also entituled by the same name of *Britannia*, after-ages might conclude that *Scotland* was no part thereof, because the river *Tems* is not found therein. Or let us suppose that *Europa*, the daughter of the king of *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, gave the name to *Europe*, according to *Herodotus*, lib. 1. § 4. and that the first discoverers thereof arrived in the mouth of some river in *Thrace*, which then watereth as much of *Europe*, as he first discovered, shall we in like sort resolve, that *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, &c. are no part of *Europe*, because that river is not found in them, or any of them? In like manner was it said by *Moses*, in his description of *Gebon*, that it watered the whole land of *Chus*; but not the whole land which the *Chusites* should or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabit, seeing in after-ages they became lords of many nations, and they might (perchance) have been masters in time (as the *Saracens* which came of them were) of a great part of the world. For tho' the *Babylonian* empire, which took beginning in *Nimrod* the son of *Chus*, consisted at the first but of four cities (to wit) *Babel*, *Erech*, *Acad*, and *Chalne*, yet we find, that his successors within a few years after commanded all the whole world in effect: and the fame of *Babel* consumed the memory of *Chusea*. For of this tower of confusion did all that land take the name of *Babylonia*: and the greatness of that empire, founded by *Nimrod* a younger son, obscured the name and nation of his father *Cush* in those parts, until they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther from the *Babylonian* empire, where the *Chusites* retained their names, which also they fastened to the soil and territory by themselves afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not think that *Chus* or any of his could in haste creep thro' those desert regions, which the length of 130 years after the flood had (as it were) fortified with thickets, and permitted every bush and briar, reed and tree, to join themselves (as it were) into one main body and Forrest. For if we look with judgment and reason into the world's plantation, we shall find, that every family seated themselves as near together as possibly they could; and tho' necessity enforced them, after they grew full of people, to spread themselves, and creep out of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, yet did they it with this advice, as that they might at all times resort, and succour one another by river, the fields being then (without all doubt) impassable. So *Nimrod*, who out of wit and strength usurped dominion over the rest, sat down in the very confluence of all those rivers, which watered *Paradise*: for thither it was to which the greatest troops of *Noah's* children repaired; and from the same place whence mankind had his beginning, from thence had they again their increase. The first father of men *Adam*, had therein his former habitation. The second father of mankind *Noah*, began from thence his dispersion.

Now as *Nimrod* the youngest, yet strongest, made his choice of *Babel* (as aforesaid) which both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* cleansed and enriched; so did *Havilah* place himself upon *Piso-Tigris*: *Raamah* and his son *Sheba* farther down upon the same river, on the sea coast of *Arabia*: *Chus* himself upon *Gebon*, the fairest branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to spread themselves farther off, yet they always fastened themselves to the rivers sides: for *Nineveh*, *Charran*, *Reseph*, *Canneh*, *Ur* in *Chaldea*, and the other first peopled cities, were all founded upon these navigable rivers, or their branches, by which the one might give succour and assistance to the other, as is already often remembered.

BUT now to conclude this dispute, it appeareth to me by the testimonies of the scriptures, that *Paradise* was a place created by God, and a part of this our earth and habitable world, seated in the lower part of the region of *Eden*, afterwards called *Aram fluviorum*, or *Mesopotamia*, which taketh into it also a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia*: this region standing in the most excellent temper of all others (to wit) 35 degrees from the *Equinoctial*, and 55 from the north pole: in which climate the most excellent wines, fruits, oil, grain of all sorts, are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proveth the excellency of this said soil and temper, than the abundant growing of the palm-trees, without the care and labour of man. For wherein soever the earth, nature, and the sun can most vaunt, that they have excelled, yet shall this plant be the greatest wonder of all their works: this tree alone giveth unto man whatsoever his life beggeth at nature's hand. And tho' it may be said, that these trees are found both in the *East* and *West-Indies*, which countries are also blessed with a perpetual spring and summer, yet lay down by those pleasures and benefits the fearful and dangerous thunders and lightnings, the horrible and frequent earthquakes, the dangerous diseases, the multitude of venomous beasts and worms, with other inconveniences, and then there will be found no comparison between the one and the other.

What other excellences this garden of *Paradise* had, before God (for mans ingratitude and cruelty) cursed the earth, we cannot judge; but I may safely think that by how much *Adam* exceeded all living men in perfection, by being the immediate workmanship of God, by so much did that chosen and particular garden exceed all parts of the universal world, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow the trees of life, of knowledge; plants only proper, and becoming the *Paradise* and garden of so great a lord.

The sum of all this is, that whereas the eyes of men in this scripture have been dim-sighted (some of them finding *Paradise* beyond our known world: some, above the middle region of the air: some, elevated near the moon: others, as far south as the line, or as far north, as the pole, &c.) I hope that the reader will be sufficiently satisfied, that these were but like castles in the air, and in mens fancies vainly imagined. For it was eastward in *Eden* (saith *Moses*;) eastward, in respect of *Judea*, that God planted this garden, which *Eden* we find in the prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in some part) remaineth to this day. A river went out of *Eden* to water this garden, and from thence divided it self into four branches; and we find that both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* swimming thro' *Eden* do join in one, and afterward taking ways apart, do water *Chus* and *Havilah*, according to *Moses*: the true seats of *Chus* and his sons then being in the valley of *Shinar*, in which *Nimrod* built *Babel*. That *Pison* was *Ganges*, the scripture, reason, and experience teach the contrary: for that which was never joined cannot be divided. *Ganges*, which inhabiteth *India*, cannot be a branch of the rivers of *Eden*; that *Gebon* was *Nilus*, the same distance maketh the same impossibility, and this river is a greater stranger to *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, than *Ganges* is: for altho' there are between *Tigris* and *Ganges* above four thousand miles, yet they both rise in the same quarter of the world; but *Nilus* is begotten in the mountains of the moon, almost as far off as the *Cape of Good Hope*,

Hope, and falleth into the *Mediterranean* sea: and *Euphrates* distilleth out of the mountains of *Armenia*, and falleth into the gulf of *Persia*: the one riseth in the south, and travelleth north: the other riseth in the north, and runneth south, threescore and three degrees the one from the other. In this leaf following, I have added a chorographical description of this terrestrial *Paradise*, that the reader may thereby the better conceive the preceding discourse; and this is the reward I look for, that my labours may but receive an allowance suspended, until such time as this description of mine be reproved by a better.

C H A P. IV.

Of the two chief trees in the garden of
P A R A D I S E.

S E C T. I.

That the tree of life was a material tree: and in what sense it is to be taken, that man by his eating the forbidden fruit, is made subject to death.

FOR eating the forbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge was *Adam* driven out of *Paradise*, in *exilium vitæ temporalis*, into the banishment of temporal life, saith *Beda*. That these trees of life and knowledge were material trees (tho' figures of the law and of the gospel) it is not doubted by the most religious and learned writers: altho' the wits of men, which are so volatile, as nothing can fix them, and so slippery as nothing can fasten them, have in this also delivered to the world an imaginary doctrine.

The tree of life (say the *Hebrews*) hath a plural construction, and is to be understood, *Lignum vitarum*, the tree of lives, because the fruit thereof had a property, to preserve both the growing, sensitive, and rational life of man; and not only (but for *Adam's* transgression) had prolonged his own days, but also given a durable continuance to all posterity; and that, so long as a body compounded of elements could last.

And altho' it is hard to think, that flesh and blood could be immortal, but that it must once perish and rot, by the unchanged law of God imposed on his creatures, man (notwithstanding) should have enjoyed thereby a long, healthful, and ungrieved life: after which (according to the opinion of most divines) he should have been translated, as *Enoch* was. And as before the flood, the days of men had the long measure of eight hundred or nine hundred years; and soon after the flood, of two hundred years and upwards even to five hundred: so if *Adam* had not disobey'd God's first and easy commandment, the lives of men on earth might have continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first age, as many learned men have conceived. *Chrysostom*, *Rupertus*, *Tostatus*, and others were of belief, that (but for *Adam's* fall and transgression) *Adam* and his posterity had been immortal. But such is the infinite wisdom of God, as he foresaw that the earth could not have contained mankind; or else, that millions of souls must have been ungenerated, and have had no being, if the first number, wherewith the earth was replenished, had abode thereon for ever: and therefore that of *Chrysostom* must be understood of immortality of bodies, which should have been translated and glorified.

But of what kind or species this tree of life was, no man hath taken on him to teach: in which re-

spect many have conceived, that the same was not material, but a mere *allegory*, taking their strength out of *Solomon*, where wisdom is compared to the tree of life, and from other places, where also *Christ* is called the tree of life, and out of the *Apocalypsis*, *I will give to him that overcometh, to eat of the tree of life, which is in the Paradise of God*. But to this place *St. Augustine's* answer may suffice (which is) that the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a terrestrial *Paradise*, so there was a celestial. For altho' *Agar* and *Sara* were figures of the *Old* and *New Testament*, yet to think that they were not women, and the maid and wife of *Abraham*, were mere foolishness. And so in this place the sense of the scripture is manifest. *For God brought out of the earth every tree fair to sight, and sweet to taste; the tree also of life in the midst of the garden:* which sheweth, that among the trees, which the earth by God's commandment produced, the tree of life was one, and that the fruit thereof was also to be eaten. The report of this tree was also brought to the ancient poets: for as from the indigested matter or *chaos*, *Hesiodus*, *Homer*, *Ovid*, and others, steal the invention of the created world; so from the garden of *Paradise*, they took the platform of the orchard of *Alcinous*, and another of the *Hesperides*: and from the tree of life, their *Nectar*, and *Ambrosia*; for *Nectar*, according to *Suidas*, signifieth making young, and *Ambrosia*, immortality; and therefore said to be the meat and drink of the Gods.

S E C T. II.

Of Becanus's opinion, that the tree of knowledge was Ficus Indica.

NOW for the tree of knowledge of good and evil, some men have presumed farther, especially *Goropius Becanus*, who giveth himself the honour to have found out the kind of this tree, which none of the writers of former times could ever guess at, whereat *Goropius* much marvelleth. But as he had an inventive brain, so there never lived any man, that believed better thereof, and of himself. Surely howsoever his opinion may be valued, yet he usurpeth the praise due to others, at least if the invention be at that price at which he setteth it. For *Moses Bar-Cephas* fastened on this conjecture above six hundred years before *Becanus* was born: and *Bar-Cephas* himself referreth the invention to an antiquity more remote, citing for his author *Philoxenus Maburgensis*, and others, whose very words *Goropius* useth, both concerning the tree, and the reasons wherewith he would induce other men to that belief. For *Moses Bar-Cephas* in his treatise of *Paradise* (the first part, and fol. 48.) saith, that the tree of knowledge was *ficus Indica*, the *Indian* fig-tree, of which the greatest plenty (saith *Becanus*) are found upon the banks of *Acesines*, one of the rivers which falleth into *Indus*, where *Alexander* built his fleet of gallies in, or near the kingdom of *Porus*.

This tree beareth a fruit of the bigness of a great pea, or (as *Pliny* reporteth) somewhat bigger, and that it is a tree *se semper serens*, always planting it self; that it spreadeth it self so far abroad, as that a troop of horsemen may hide themselves under it. *Strabo* saith, that it hath branches bending downwards, and leaves no less than a shield. *Aristobulus* affirmeth that fifty horsemen may shadow themselves under one of these trees. *Onesicritus* raiseth this number to four hundred. This tree (saith *Theophrastus*) exceedeth all other in bigness, which also *Pliny* and *Onesicritus* confirm: to the trunk of which these authors give such a magnitude, as I

^a Part. sept. 2. l. 1. 174. ^b Apocal. 2. 7. ^c Plin. l. 11. c. 1. ^d Idem l. 16. c. 1.

shame to repeat. But it may be, they all speak by an ill-understood report. For this *Indian* fig-tree is not so rare a plant, as *Becanus* conceiveth, who, because he found it no where else, would needs draw the garden of *Paradise* to the tree, and set it by the river *Acesines*. But many parts of the world have them, and I my self have seen twenty thousand of them in one valley, not far from *Paria* in *America*. They grow in moist grounds, and in this manner. After they are first shot up some twenty or thirty foot in length (some more, some less, according to the soil) they spread a very large top, having no bough nor twig in the trunk or stem: for from the utmost end of the head-branches there issueth out a gummy juice, which hangeth downward like a cord or sinew, and within a few months reacheth the ground; which it no sooner toucheth but it taketh root, and then being filled both from the top-boughs, and from his own proper root, this cord maketh it self a tree exceeding hastily. From the utmost boughs of these young trees there fall again the like cords, which in one year and less (in that world of a perpetual spring) become also trees of the bigness of the nether part of a lance, and as strait as art or nature can make any thing, casting such a shade, and making such a kind of grove, as no other tree in the world can do. Now one of these trees considered, with all his young ones, may (indeed) shroud four hundred or four thousand horsemen, if they please; for they cover whole vallies of ground where these trees grow near the sea-bank, as they do by thousands in the inner part of *Trinidado*. The cords which fall down over the banks into the sea, shooting always downward to find root under water, are in those seas of the *Indies*, where oysters breed, intangled in their beds, so as by pulling up one of these cords out of the sea, I have seen five hundred oysters hanging in a heap thereon; whereof the report came, that oysters grew on trees in *India*. But that they bear any such huge leaves, or any such delicate fruit, I could never find, and yet I have travelled a dozen miles together under them. But to return to *Goropius Becanus*. This tree (saith he) was good for meat and pleasing to the sight, as the tree of knowledge of good and evil is described to be.

Secondly, This tree having so huge a trunk (as the former authors report, and *Becanus* believeth) it was in this tree that *Adam* and *Eve* hid themselves from the presence of God, for no other tree (saith he) could contain them. But first it is certain, that this tree hath no extraordinary magnitude, as touching the trunk or stem, for among ten thousand of them it is hard to find any one bigger than the rest, and these are all of a mean size. Secondly, the words of *Moses* translated *in medio ligni*, are by all the interpreters understood in the plural number (that is) *in the midst of the trees*. But his third argument (or rather the argument of *Moses Bar-Cephas*, word for word) is, that when *Adam* and *Eve* found themselves naked, they made them breeches of fig-leaves; which proveth (indeed) that either the tree it self was a fig-tree, or that a fig-tree grew near it: because *Adam* being possess'd with shame, did not run up and down the garden to seek out leaves to cover him, but found them in the place it self; and these leaves of all others were most commodious, by reason of their largeness, which *Pliny* avoweth in these words; *Latitudo foliorum peltæ effigiem Amazoniæ habet*, the breadth of the leaves hath the shape of an *Amazonian* shield: which also *Theophrast* confirmeth; the form of which target *Virgil* touches:

*⁠Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
Penthesilæa furens.*

The *Amazon* with crescent-formed shield
Penthesilea leads into the field.

Here *Becanus* desireth to be believed, or rather threatneth us all that read him, to give credit to this his borrowed discovery, using this confident (or rather cholerick) speech. *Quis erit tam impudenter obstinatus, si hæc a nobis de ficu hac ex antiquis scriptoribus cum Mosis narratione comparet, ut audeat dicere aliam arborem inveniri posse, quæ cum illa magis quadret;* Who will be so impudently obstinate, if he compare these things, which we have reported of this fig-tree, and out of ancient writers delivered, with the narration of *Moses*, as to dare to avow, that any other tree can be found, which doth more properly answer, or agree therewith. But for my self, because I neither find this tree, sorting in body, in largeness of leaves, nor in fruit to this report, I rather incline to the opinion of *Philo*: that the earth never brought forth any of these trees neither before nor after; but I leave every man to his own belief, for the matter is of no great weight as touching his kind: only thereby, and by the easy commandment by God given to *Adam*, to forbear to feed thereon, it pleased God to make trial of his obedience: *⁠Prohibita, non propter aliud, quam ad commendandum puræ ac simplicis obedientiæ bonum;* Being forbidden, not for any other respect, than thereby to commend the goodness of pure and simple obedience.

SECT. III.

Of *Becanus's* not unwitty allegorizing of the story of his *Ficus Indica*.

BUT in this I must do *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this tree, allowing his supposition of the tree it self to be true. The effects whereof, because his discourses are exceeding ample, I have gathered in these few words. As this tree (saith he) so did man grow straight and upright towards God, until such time as he had transgressed and broken the commandment of his Creator; and then like unto the boughs of this tree, he began to bend downward, and stooped toward the earth, which all the rest of *Adam's* posterity after him have done, rooting themselves therein, and fastening themselves to this corrupt world. The exceeding umbragiousness of this tree he compareth to the dark and shadowed life of man, thro' which the sun of justice being not able to pierce, we have all remained in the shadow of death, till it pleased *Christ* to climb the tree of the cross for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to find among so many large leaves, may be compared (saith he) to the little virtue, and unperceived knowledge among so large vanities, which obscure and shadow it over. And as this fruit is exceeding sweet, and delicate to the taste and palate; so are the delights and pleasures of the world most pleasing while they dure. But as all those things which are most mellifluous, are soonest changed into choler and bitterness: so are our vanities and pleasures converted into the bitterest sorrows and repentances. That the leaves are so exceeding large, the fruit (for such leaves) exceeding little, in this, by comparison we behold (saith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their sollicitude, their outward shews and publick ostentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we seek for the fruit, which ought to be their vir-

^a Gen. 3. 7. ^b Pl. l. 12. c. 5. ^c Virg. *Æn.* l. 1. 494. ^d Augull. de Civit. Dei, l. 13. c. 20.

tuous and pious actions, we find it of the bigness of the smallest pea; glory, to all the world apparent; goodness, to all the world invisible. And furthermore, as the leaves, body, and boughs of this tree, by so much exceed all other plants, as the greatest men of power and worldly ability surpass the meanest: so is the little fruit of such men, and such trees, rather fitting and becoming the unworthiest shrub, and humblest briar, or the poorest and basest man, than such a flourishing stateliness and magnitude. Lastly, whereas *Adam*, after he had disobey'd God, and beheld his own nakedness and shame, sought for leaves to cover himself withal, this may serve to put us in mind of his and our sins, as often as we put on our garments, to cover and adorn our rotten and mortal bodies: to pamper and maintain which we use so many uncharitable and cruel practices in this world.

S E C T. IV.

Of the name of the tree of knowledge of good and evil: with some other notes touching the story of Adam's sin.

NOW, as touching the sense of this tree of knowledge of good and evil, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the property of the tree itself, *Moses Bar-Cephas*, an ancient Syrian doctor (translated by *Masius*) giveth this judgment, that the fruit of this tree had no such virtue or quality, as that by the tasting thereof, there was any such knowledge created in *Adam*, as if he had been ignorant before; but as *Junius* also noteth, *Arbor scientiæ boni & mali (id est) experientiæ boni & mali ab eventu*; The tree of knowledge of good and evil (that is) the experience of good and evil by the event. For thus much we may conceive, that *Adam* being made (according to the Hebrew phrase) by the workmanship of God's own hand, in greater perfection than ever any man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created plant, out of whose seed all men living have grown up; and having received immortality from the breath or spirit of God, he could not (for these respects) be ignorant, that the disobeying of God's commandment was the fearfullest evil, and the observation of his precepts the happiest good. But as men in perfect health do (notwithstanding) conceive, that sickness is grievous, and yet in no such degree of torment, as by the suffering and experience in themselves they afterwards witness: so was it with *Adam*, who could not be ignorant of the punishments due to neglect and disobedience; and yet felt by the proof thereof in himself another terror than he had forethought, or could image. For looking into the glass of his own guilty soul, he beheld therein the horror of God's judgments, so as he then knew, he feelingly knew, and had trial of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchased evil, which could not be express'd. He then saw himself naked both in body and mind; that is, deprived of God's grace and former felicity: and therefore was this tree called the tree of knowledge, and not because the fruit thereof had any such operation, by any self-quality or effect: for the same phrase is used in many places of the scriptures, and names are given to signs and sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In such sort as this tree was called the tree of knowledge, because of the event (as is aforesaid) so was the well of contention therefore called *Esek*, and the well of hatred *Sitnath*, because the herdsmen of *Isaac* and *Gerar* contended for them; and the

heap of stones, called the *heap of witness*, between *Jacob* and *Laban*, not that the stones bare witness, but for a memory of the covenant. So *Jacob* called the house of God *Bethel*: and *Hagar*, the well in the desert, *viventis & videntis*.

But *Adam* being both betray'd and mastered by his affections, ambitious of a farther knowledge than he had perceived in himself, and looking but slightly (as all his issues do) into the miseries and sorrows incident, and greatly affecting the supposed glory which he might obtain by tasting the fruit forbidden, he was transported and blown forward by the gentle wind of pleasing persuasions unawares; his progression being strengthened by the subtile arguments of *Satan*, who laboured to poison mankind in the very root, which he moistened with the liquor of the same ambition, by which himself perished for ever.

But what means did the devil find out, or what instruments did his own subtilty present him, as fittest and aptest to work this mischief by? even the unquiet vanity of the woman; so as by *Adam's* hearkening to the voice of his wife, contrary to the express commandment of the living God, mankind by that her incantation became the subject of labour, sorrow, and death: the woman being given to man for a comforter and companion, but not for a counsellor. *But because thou hast obeyed the voice of thy wife, &c.* (saith God himself) *Cursed is the earth for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all thy life.* It is also to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted; even by the most ugly and unworthy of all beasts, into whom the devil entred and persuaded.

Secondly, What was the motive of her disobedience: even a desire to know what was most unfitting her knowledge, an affection which hath ever since remained in all the posterity of her sex. Thirdly, What was it that moved the man to yield to her persuasions? even the same cause which hath moved all men since to the like consent, namely, an unwillingness to grieve her and make her sad, lest she should pine and be overcome with sorrow. But if *Adam* in the state of perfection, and *Solomon* the son of *David*, God's chosen servant, and himself a man endued with the greatest wisdom, did both of them disobey their Creator, by the persuasion and for the love they bare to a woman, it is not so wonderful as lamentable, that other men in succeeding ages have been allured to so many inconvenient and wicked practices by the persuasions of their wives, or other beloved darlings, who cover over and shadow many malicious purposes with a counterfeit passion of dissimulate sorrow and unquietness.

C H A P. V.

Of divers memorable things between the fall of Adam, and the flood of Noah.

S E C T. I.

Of the cause and the revenge of Cain's sin: and of his going out from God.

THE same pride and ambition which began in angels, and afterwards possess'd *Adam*, *Cain* also inherited: for *Cain* (envious of the acceptance of his brother's prayer and sacrifice) slew him, making himself the first man-slayer, and his brother the first martyr: the revenge of which

^a Numb. 20. 13. ^b Gen. 26. 20. ^c Gen. 26. 21. ^d Gen. 31. 48. ^e Gen. 28. 19. ^f Gen. 16. 13. ^g But sem

unnatural murder, although it pleased God to mitigate, when *Cain* cried out that his punishment was greater than he could bear. For the same offence chiefly (wherewith the sons of *Adam*, as it were, urged and provoked God) he destroyed all mankind, but *Noah* and his family: for it is written, ^a *The earth also was corrupt before God*: of which in the same place *Moses* giveth a reason; for, saith he, *The earth was filled with cruelty*: and anon, after God himself made the cause known unto *Noah*, saying, *An end of all flesh is come before me, for the earth is filled with cruelty through them, and behold, I will destroy them with the earth, or from the earth*: Neither was this cruelty meant to have been in taking away the lives of men only, but in all sorts of injustice and oppression. After this murder of *Abel*, ^b *Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, towards the east-side of Eden*: in which words, the going out of *Cain* from the presence of the Lord, is not to be understood after the literal sense; God being wholly in all parts of the world. ^c *Totus in celo est, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus, sed utrumque simul*; God (saith *S. Augustine*) is wholly in heaven, and wholly in earth, and not by interchanged times, but all at once: and that this is true, *David* witnesseth. ^d *If I be in heaven* (saith *David*) *thou art there; if in hell, thou art there also*: but what is meant thereby? ^e *Exiit a facie Dei* (saith *Chrysostom*) *Cain* went out from the presence of the Lord, that is, he was left of God, disfavoured and bereaved of his protection.

SECT. II.

Of *Cain's dwelling in the land of Nod*: and of his city *Enoch*.

THIS word *Nod*, or *Naid*, ^f *St. Jerome* and many others understand to signify wandering, or uncertain habitation: vexation or agitation, saith ^g *Junius*: but the *Seventy* convert it otherwise, and take *Nod* for the proper name of a country, and so doth ^h *Josephus*. But it seemeth to me, that *Cain* was rather a vagabond or wanderer in his cogitations, than any thing else, and that his thoughts and conscience had no quiet or rest, in regard of the murder committed, justly fearing (by his own words) the like violence: ⁱ *And whosoever findeth me* (saith *Cain*) *shall slay me*. Now that *Nod*, or *Naid*, was a region wherein *Cain* inhabited, appeareth by the word [*dwelt*] for dwelling signifieth an abiding: and we call those people wanderers and vagabonds that have no dwelling-place. And to make this dwelling and abiding more manifest, ^j *Moses* teacheth in what part of the earth this his habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the east-side of *Eden*. Secondly, It is said by *Moses*, that after *Cain* departed from the presence or favour of God, he built a city, and called it by the name of his first-born, *Enoch*; which sheweth that he feared to wander, and rather sought to fortify himself against revenge. *Cyrillus* saith, that *Cain* and *Abel* were figures of *Christ* and of the *Jews*; and that as *Cain*, after that he had slain *Abel* unjustly, had thenceforth no certain abiding in the world: so the *Jews*, after they had crucified the Son of God, became runnegates: and it is true, that the *Jews* had never since any certain estate, commonweal, or prince of their own upon the earth. Now this land of *Nod*, *Junius* taketh to be in *Arabia Deserta*, a region of *Nomades*; but *Arabia the Desert* is not

eastward, or on the east-part of *Eden*, neither are these *Nomades* any particular people or nation. For all these, in what part of the world soever, which in old time lived by pastorage, and fed (as we call it in *Ireland*) upon white-meat without tilling of the ground, are called by the *Greeks* *Nomades*, and by the *Latins* *Pastores vagi*, as the northern *Tartarians*, the *Getulians*, and *Numidians* in *Africa*, the ancient *Britons*, and the northern *Irish*: yea, such were the inhabitants of *Italy* itself, till such time as *Italus* (who gave them that name) taught them the husbandry of tillage used at this day. But the region eastward from *Eden* is that part of *Affyria*, called by *Ptolemy*, *Calena*, which also might be derived of *Carena*, the county of *Cain*. And that *Cain* inhabited in those parts it may be gathered by the first possession of his father *Adam*; for thus it is written, ^k *Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden to till the earth whence he was taken*: and in the verse following, *Thus he cast out man, &c. and at the east-side of the garden of Eden he set the Cherubins*: which sheweth that the entry into *Paradise* was from the east, by which entrance *Adam* was cast out, and therefore inhabiting on that side of *Paradise* which was eastward, according to the text: *Cain* also in the same region sought his dwelling-place. Now, if the word *Nod*, or *Naid*, do signify *profugus*, that is, a fugitive, we can give no longer time to this uncertain habitation of *Cain*, than till he built the city of *Enoch*, the first of the world, which he inclosed either for his own defence, or (as *Josephus* writeth) to oppress others thereby. So as for my own opinion, I am resolved with the *Septuagint*, that *Nod* was the proper name of a region; and for the word [*vagabond*] which *Cain* useth of himself, it seemeth by the perclose of the same verse, that [*vagabond*] is therein understood for such an one as travelleth in fear of revengement: *for whosoever findeth me* (saith *Cain*) *shall slay me*; or else [*vagabond*] is taken for a man without protection, and cast out from the favour of God.

And because these *Henochians*, so called of the city *Henoch*, were the first society and civil assembly of all other, it is likely that the fame of these people (either for cruelty, strength, or other actions) lived in the memory of *Noah* and his sons; so that after the flood (as there were of all sorts of natures, some virtuously, some impiously, disposed, and every active mind setting before it whom to follow or imitate) those people, which delighted in cruelty and oppression, took on them their names whose natures they most liked and allowed; of whom these *Enochians* were not the least. Perchance the place it self where *Enoch* stood before the flood, and whereof the monuments might remain (as the pillars or the foundation of *Joppe* did) gave occasion to the planters of that place to call themselves by the same names: for of those *Enochians* there were many nations in the borders of *Pontus*, and *Colchis* in *Iberia*, *Segdiana*, and *Bactria*, and of the same name many mountains, as those which are otherwise called *Coraxici*. And seeing that it is hard to find out the truth of these things, which the most aged time hath covered over or defaced, we may (according to the counsel of ^l *Plato*) exceedingly rejoyce, and therewith satisfy our selves, if of so great and almost worn-out antiquity, if of the eldest people's names and nations, there remain any print or footsteps to posterity.

^a Gen. 6. 11, 13. ^b Gen. 4. 16. ^c Aug. de civitate Dei, l. 12. c. 10. ^d Psal. 139. 8. ^e Chrysost. in Gen. Homil. 2. ^f Jerom. rad. Heb. ^g Joseph. l. 1. c. 3. ^h Gen. 4. 14. ⁱ Gen. 4. 16, 17. ^j Gen. 3. 23, 24. ^k Quotidie aliquid in hoc mundo orbe mutatur, nova ubi fundamenta jaciuntur, nova gentium nomina (extinctis nominibus prioribus) oriantur. Seneca ad Albiuum.

In ^a *Pliny*, *P. Mela*, *Strabo*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Lucan*, *Stephanus*, we find those *Henochi* described, though diversly written, as in *Pliny* sometimes *Heniochi*, in *Mela* *Eniochi*, in *Flaccus*, *Heniochi*, in *Lucan* *Enochii*, all which inhabit upon the sea *Euxinus*, but yet none of these are on the east side of *Eden*, or (according to *Moses's* words) eastward from *Eden*. For *Moses*, in all places where he describeth any region, was so exceeding precise, as sometimes he useth the word east or south without borrowing, or addition, at other times with a borrowing, as eastward or southward, or towards the east or south. In the place of *Genesis* xi. ver. 2. he writeth the word [east] simply and directly. And as they went from the east, they found a plain in the land of *Shinar*, but this of *Cain* he addeth the word [towards] as, in the land of *Nod* towards the east side of *Eden*; which may be taken, as inclining some one point or two either to the north or to the south of the east.

But as we may conjecture that these nations took name of *Enoch*, the city of *Cain*, or of the region wherein it stood, when the same was repeopled after the flood: so it is probable that these *Henochii* of *Colchis*, and other parts adjoyning, were not the first of that name, after the sons of *Noah* began to fill the world again: because, had this *Enoch* the city of *Cain* stood in any of these parts, it had then been seated north, and not east or eastward from *Eden*. But as ^b *Pliny* findeth their habitation towards *Pontus*, so afterwards he goeth on eastward, till he track them or trace them out to their original. For he calleth these of *Colchis* (now *Mengrelia*) *Sanni Heniochi*; ^c *Ptolemy* *Zani*; beyond which, an hundred and fifty miles eastward, he findeth another nation of them about *Iberia* and *Albania*; and beyond these again he discovereth a third nation, from whence all the rest took beginning, which inhabited on the west side of the mountains of *Paro-panisus*, between them and the great river of *Oxus*, which bordereth *Bactria* on the north side; and these *Henochii* are due east from the region of *Eden*, and eastward from the very garden it fell.

And altho' we cannot be assured, that these *Henochii* took name from the memory of the city of *Enoch* directly, yet because they inhabited due east from *Paradise*, and afterwards spread themselves westward (as all *Noah's* sons did that came into *Shinar*) the conjecture is far more probable, than that of *Amnius* the frier, who sets *Enoch* in *Phenicia*, quite contrary to *Moses's* word: *Phenicia* from all parts of *Eden* being directly west.

And besides these several nations of the *Henochii*, ^d *Stephanus* findeth a region called *Henochia*, and the same also in the east, with divers mountains about *Bactria* and *Sogdiana* of the same name. Only the *Grecians* (according to their fabulous inventions of all things else) out of the word [*Heniochi*] which signifieth carts or coach-men, make these nations to have sprung from the waggoners of *Castor* and *Pollux* (to wit) ^e *Amphipes* and *Telebius*, who attended them in the enterprise of *Jason* into *Colchis*. And tho' I do not deny, but that *Jason* with other *Greeks* ranged the coasts of *Asia* the less, in an open boat or kind of small galley, ^f of whom I shall speak in his own time: yet no man doubteth but that the tale of the golden fleece was for the most part poetical; and withal that in such an open boat, which could hardly carry their own rowers, being fifty-four, there was no place, and less use of coach-horses or waggoners.

S E C T. III.

Of *Moses's* omitting sundry things concerning *Cain's* generation.

BUT of the remembrance and testimonies of the name of the city of *Enoch* in prophane story, thus much may suffice; now it followeth to answer some few objections against certain particulars in the fourth and fifth chapter of *Genesis*: against which for the first it is demanded, how it was possible for *Cain* (having no other assistance than his son *Enoch*) to perform such a work as the building of a city, seeing there is thereto required so many hands, and so great a mass of all sorts of materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to consider, that of *Cain* (because he was the parent of an impious race) *Moses* useth no ample declaration; and so it best agreeth with his divine reason, seeing that he containeth the whole story of the first race, which wast-ed by the least account 1656 years, in five short chapters. Yet thus much may every man borrow of his own weakest reason, that seeing it pleased God to bestow on the first generations of mens lives, so long a measure, as 800 and 900 years, that in such a space *Cain* had not want of leisure and means to build many such cities as *Enoch*, be the capacity answering to what other of the world soever: for in what age of *Cain's* life he built it, the scriptures are silent: as of those times, and the times of his issues *Moses* had the least care. And as it was said of *Cain*, that he built a city: so was it said of *Noah*, that his three sons peopled all the world: but in both, the process of time required to be understood: which advice seeing *Moses* useth where the space less requireth it, as knowing that he writ the scriptures to reasonable men, we may easily understand, that such was his meaning also in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference between the birth of *Abel*, and oblation of *Cain*, he spake it in this sort, *Fuit autem post dies multos, or a fine dierum* (that is) in process of time it came to pass that *Cain* brought an oblation. And therefore it is in like sort to be understood of *Cain*, that many years fore-gone, and when his people were increased he built the city of *Enoch* or *Enoch*.

And where it is written, as of *Cain*, that he built *Enoch*, so of ^g *Solomon*, that he built the temple of *Jerusalem*; yet it is well known of *Solomon*, that he employed in that work 150000 labourers: for this phrase or speech is common with our selves to say, the king invaded; when he caused an invasion to be made: and he built, when he commanded such a building. And therefore seeing we find, that *Moses* had no regard to the ages, to the birth, or to the death of any of *Cain's* issues, it is not to be marvelled at, why he also passeth over in a word the building of *Enoch*, without addition of any circumstance: for of *Cain*, *Moses* writeth in this manner: ^h *Cain* also knew his wife, who conceived and bare *Enoch*, and he built a city, and called the name of the city after the name of his son *Enoch*. And to *Enoch* was born *Iradd*, and *Iradd* begat *Mebujael*, and *Mebujael* begat *Methusael*, and *Methusael* *Lamech*.

Now of *Seth*, *Moses* writeth far otherwise, and in this manner. ⁱ *And Seth lived 105 years, and begat Enoch, and Seth lived after he begat Enoch 807 years, and begat sons and daughters: so as all the days of Seth were 912 years, and he died*, as for the years and times of the wicked they were not numbered in *libro viventium*, saith *Cyril*. But in *Seth*

^a *Plin.* l. 6. c. 9, 11, & 16. *Mel.* l. 1. c. ult. *Strabo*, lib. 11. *Val. Flac.* l. 6. *Lucan.* l. 3. v. 37. ^b *Plin.* l. 6. c. 4, 5. ^c *Ptol.* tab. Asia 3. ^d *Steph.* de urb. ^e *Nat. Comes* calleth them *Rheers*. *Nat. Com.* l. 8. c. 9. *Strabo*, l. 11. ^f *In the* *end* *of* *the* *part*, cap. 13. §. 5. ^g *2 Kings* 6. ^h *Gen.* 4. 17, 18. ⁱ *Gen.* 5. 6.

was the church of God established, from whom *Christ* descended, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and work *Moses* walked in, and finished it with care, passing over the reprobate generation (as aforesaid.) Of the line of *Adam* by *Cain*, *Moses* remembreth but eight generations, reckoning *Adam* for one, and of the line of *Adam* by *Seth* ten, counting *Adam* also therein, as followeth:

I. A D A M.

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|--|------------------------|
| 2. <i>Cain</i> . | 2. <i>Seth</i> . |
| 3. <i>Enoch</i> . | 3. <i>Enos</i> . |
| 4. <i>Irad</i> . | 4. <i>Cainan</i> . |
| 5. <i>Mahusael</i> . | 5. <i>Mahaleel</i> . |
| 6. <i>Mathusael</i> . | 6. <i>Jarad</i> . |
| 7. <i>Lamech</i> , who by <i>Ada</i> had | 7. <i>Enoch</i> . |
| 8. <i>Jubal</i> and <i>Tubal</i> , and by <i>Silla</i> | 8. <i>Mathusalem</i> . |
| <i>Tubalcain</i> and <i>Noëma</i> . | 9. <i>Lamech</i> , and |
| | 10. <i>Noah</i> . |

These be the generations of *Adam* by *Cain*, which the scriptures mention: but *Josephus* giveth unto *Lamech* threescore and seventeen sons and daughters, by his two wives *Ada*, and *Silla*: and to these three sons of *Lamech*, *Moses* ascribeth the invention of pastorage, of musick, and the working in metal; for it seemeth that ^a *Jubal* first gathered together, and made familiar those beasts which formerly were untamed, and brought them into herds and droves: ^a *Tubal* invented musick, and ^a *Tubalcain* the working in brasse and iron: the one being addicted to husbandry, the other was mechanical, the third given to idleness and pleasure. In whom began these three meaner degrees of shepherds, handy-crafts men, and musicians. And in the issues of *Seth* began the services of God, divinity, prophecy, and astronomy: the children of the one beheld the heavens, the other the earth.

SECT. IV.

Of the diversities in the ages of the patriarchs when they begat their children.

A Second scruple hath been made, how it came to pass that the patriarchs begat their children at so divers ages as *Cainan* or *Kenan* at seventy years, *Mahaleel* and *Enoch* at threescore and five years, whereas *Jarad* begat not any of his until he was 162 years old: *Mathusalem* begat at 187; *Lamech* at 182, and *Noah* at 500 years. Now this difference hath been the more enforced, because it cannot be conjectured, that either *Jarad*, *Mathusalem*, or *Lamech* abstained from marriage out of the religion of abstinence, seeing that *Enoch*, who was translated by God for his singular sanctities, begat children before he was threescore and ten years old.

The apparent difference hereof ariseth in this, that *Moses* did not number the generations before the flood precisely, according to the first-begotten and eldest sons of the patriarchs; but he drew down the line of *Noah* from *Seth*, and afterwards from *Noah* to *Abraham*, by their true ancestors, were they elder or younger, as he found them: for it is likely that *Enoch* was not the eldest of *Jarad*, nor *Lamech* the first-born of *Mathusalem*, nor *Noah* of *Lamech*; neither is there any thing known to the contrary, but that *Noah* might have had many sons before *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, though these three were only named, and surviving, and which by God were reserved to be the fathers of mankind after the flood; and therefore when we find *Mahaleel* to be begotten by *Kenan* at threescore and ten

years who was the first son of *Kenan*, and then reckon that *Mathusalem* begat *Lamech* in the 187th year of his life, the difference seemeth strange, where *Lamech* is taken for the eldest. But *Moses* rejecteth all the other sons of *Mathusalem* but *Lamech* only, because he was the father of *Noah* as aforesaid. Of this St. *Augustine* hath somewhat else in his 20th and 21st chapters *de civitate Dei*.

But as *Moses* counted the generations of the first age, and so to *Abraham*, and the children of the promise after him; so doth St. *Matthew* recite the genealogy of *Christ*, not by the eldest sons, but from those whom God had chosen and blessed, without respect of the first-born, who have hereby the prerogative in estates, worldly and transitory only; and therefore the ^b *Evangelist* nameth *Isaac* and not *Ismael*, tho' *Ismael* were first in time: so doth he take *Jacob* the younger, and not *Esau* the elder; neither is *Christ* derived from any of the three eldest patriarchs, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, or *Levi*, but from *Juda* a fourth brother, and so from *David* a younger son of *Jessai*; and lastly we find, that the kingdom it self of *Juda* was not given to the heir in nature, but to the heir of grace, namely ^c *Solomon*.

SECT. V.

Of the long lives of the patriarchs: and some of late memory.

THE third objection is, that the great difference of years between those of the first age, whereof some of them had well near seen a thousand years, makes it disputed, whether the account of times were of the same measure is in after-ages, seeing that soon after the flood men lived not a third part of that time, and in succeeding ages and to this day not the tenth.

^d They that have hereon resolved that those years were but Lunary years (to wit) of a month or thereabouts, or *Egyptian* years, are easily confuted. For whereas *Seth* begat *Enos* in the year of his life one hundred and five, if those years be taken but for months, then had *Seth* lived but eight years and one month when he begat *Enos*: and if the time of *Enos* have the same allowance, when he begat *Cainan*, then could *Enos* at that time have been but six years and forty-eight weeks old; and so it may be gathered of the rest excepting only *Adam*, who was created perfect in his kind, as were the trees in their kind, bearing fruit and seed. But this were too ridiculous to imagine. For to give an ability of generation at six, seven or eight years, agreeth with the short lives of the pigmies, and not with the constitutions of our first fathers, who being descended from *Adam*, the workmanship of God's hands, and begotten and born in the strong youth of the world, had length of days and ability of body agreeable. Again, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunary years, then there would follow this extremity, that those which lived longest, and upwards of nine hundred years, had by that account but the time of fourscore and ten and odd years; which were not only less by far than the patriarchs lived after the flood, but short of many mens lives in this decrepit age of the world, wherein many exceed fourscore, and some an hundred years. Further (if need be) to disprove this reckoning, whereas it is written, *Gen. xxv.* that *Abraham* died in a good age, an old man, and of great years: all which (if the former account were of Lunary years) makes but seventeen and an half of our years.

^a Gen. i. 2. 22. ^b Mat. i. 2. ^c 1 King. 2. ^d Solm. Pol. lib. 6. 3. ^e Microb. Saturn. l. 1. c. 8. Plin. l. 7. c. 48.

And if we seek for a cause of this long life in nature, then is it reasonable, that the first man, created in highest perfection, should also beget children of equal strength or little differing: for of the first and purest seed there must of necessity spring up the fairest and fruitfulest plants. Secondly, the earth it self was then much less corrupt, which yielded her increase, and brought forth fruit and food for man, without any such mixture of harmful quality, as since that time the curse of God for the cruelty of man's heart brought on it and mankind: neither had the waters of the flood infused such an impurity, as thereby the natural and powerful operation of all plants, herbs, and fruits upon the earth received a qualification and harmful change. And as all things under the sun have one time of strength, and another of weakness, a youth and beauty, and then age and deformity: so time it self (under the deathful shade of whole wings all things decay and wither) hath wasted and worn out that lively virtue of nature in man, and beasts, and plants, yea the heavens themselves being of a most pure and cleansed matter shall wax old as a garment; and then much more the power generative in inferiour creatures, who by the ordinance of God receive operative virtue from the superiour.

But besides the old age of the world, how far doth our education and simplicity of living differ from that old time? the tender bringing up of children, first led and nourished with the milk of a strange dug; an unnatural curiosity having taught all women (but the begger) to find out nurses, which necessity only ought to commend unto them: the hasty marriages in tender years, wherein, nature being but yet green and growing, we rent from her, and replant her branches, while her self hath not yet any root sufficient to maintain her own top; and such half-ripe seeds (for the most part) in their growing up wither in the bud, and wax old even in their infancy. But above all things the exceeding luxuriousness of this gluttonous age, wherein we press nature with overweighty burdens, and finding her strength defective, we take the work out of her hands, and commit it to the artificial help of strong waters, hot spices, and provoking sauces; of which *Lucan* hath these elegant verses:

^b ——— *O prodiga rerum*

Luxuries, nunquam parvo contenta paratu:

Et quæstorum terra pelagoque ciborum

Ambitiosa fames, & lautæ gloria mensæ,

Discite quam parvo liceat producere vitam:

Et quantum natura petat.

Non auro myrrhaque bibunt: sed gurgite puro

Vita redit: satis est populis fluviusque coresque.

O wastful riot, never well content

With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious

Of cates by land and sea far fetcht and sent:

Vain glory of a table sumptuous,

Learn with how little life may be preserved.

In gold and myrrh they need not to carouse,

But with the brook the people's thirst is served:

Who fed with bread and water are not starved.

The *Ægyptians* affirm, that the longest time of man's life is an hundred years, because the heart in a perfect body waxeth and groweth to strength fifty years, and afterwards by the same degree decayeth and withereth. *Epigenos* findeth in his philosophy, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twenty years, and *Berosus* to a hundred and seventeen years. These opinions *Pliny* repeateth and reproveth, producing many examples

to the contrary. In the last taxation, number and review of the eighth region of *Italy*, there were found in the roll (saith *Pliny*) fifty-four persons of an hundred years of age: fifty-seven of an hundred and ten: two, of an hundred twenty-five: four, of an hundred and thirty: as many that were an hundred and thirty-five, or an hundred and thirty-seven years old: and last of all, three men of an hundred and forty: and this search was made in the times of *Vespasian* the father and the son.

The simple diet and temperate life of the *Æffæans* gave them long account of many years: so did it to the secretaries of *Egyptian* ceremonies, to the *Perfian* Magicians and *Indian* Brachmans. The *Greeks* affirm out of *Homer*, that *Nestor* lived three ages, and *Tiresias* six, *Sybilla* three hundred years, *Endymion* of the less *Asia*, little less: also *Masinissa* of *Numidia* lived very long, and *Dando* of *Illyria*. Among the kings of *Arcadia* many lived three hundred years (saith *Ephorus*) *Hellanicus* affirmeth of the *Epeians*, that some of them live full two hundred years: and so doth *Diodorus Siculus* of the *Egyptians*: and that these reports are not fabulous, *Josephus* bringeth many witnesses with himself, as *Marethon*, *Berosus*, *Mochus*, *Esius*, *Hieronymus Ægyptius*, *Hecateus*, *Ephorus*, and others. And *Anthony Fume*, an historian of good reputation reporteth, that in the year 1570. there was an *Indian* presented to *Solyman*, general of the *Turks* army, who had out-lived three hundred years. I my self knew the old countess of *Desmond* of *Inchiquin* in *Munster*, who lived in the year 1589, and many years since, who was married in *Edward* the fourth's time, and held her jointure from all the earls of *Desmond* since then; and that this is true, all the noblemen and gentlemen of *Munster* can witness. *Strozzius Cicogna*, out of *Torquemada Maffæus*, and the like authors, telleth of some that have not only far exceeded the term prescribed by *Epigenes*; but been repaired from the withered estate of decrepit age to fresh youth. But for length of life, if we note but the difference between the ability of men in those days wherein *Galen* the physician lived, it may easily prove unto us what reeds we are in respect of those cedars of the first age. For *Galen* did ordinarily let blood six pound weight, whereas we (for the most part) stop at six ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting constellations) which are the natural causes of a long and healthful life (to wit) strong parents, a pure and thin air, and temperate use of diet, pleasure, and rest: for those which are built of rotten timber, or mouldering stone, cannot stand long upright; on air we feed always and in every instant, and on meats but at times: and yet the heavy load of abundance, wherewith we oppress and overcharge nature, maketh her to sink unawares in the midway; and therefore with a good constitution, a pure air, and a temperate use of those things which nature wanteth, are the only friends and companions of a long life.

SECT. VI.

Of the patriarchs delivering their knowledge by tradition: and that Enoch writ before the flood.

A fourth scruple hath been made, how the certain knowledge of the creation came to *Moses*, seeing there was no story thereof written, and if any such had been, yet it is conceived, that all memory of antiquity perished in the universal flood.

But if we consider the curiosity and policy of elder ages, we shall find that knowledge was the great-

^a Plin. 102. 26. ^b Pharsal. l. 4. ^c Pier. Hierog. l. 2. ^d Plin. l. 7. c. 29. ^e Joseph. antiq. l. 13. c. 3. ^f Plin. l. 7. c. 48.

est treasure that men sought for, and which they also covered and hid from the vulgar sort, as jewels of inestimable price, fearing the irreverent construction of the ignorant and irreligious: so as whatsoever was attained unto concerning God, and his working in nature, the same was not left to publick dispute, but delivered over by heart and tradition from wise men to posterity equally zealous, *Ex animo in animum sine literis, medio intercedente verbo*; From mind to mind without letters, by way of tradition or word of mouth. And it was thought by *Esdra*, *Origen*, and *Hilarius* (as *Mirandula* conceiveth) that *Moses* did not only upon the mount receive the law from God, but withal *secretiorem* & *veram legis enarrationem*, a more secret and true explanation of the law, which (saith he out of the same authors) he delivered by mouth to *Joshua*, and *Joshua* to the elders: for to teach these mysteries, which he called *secretiora*, to the rude multitude, were no other *quam dare sanctum canibus, & inter porcos spargere margaritas*, than to give holy things to dogs, and to cast pearls before swine. In succeeding times this understanding and wisdom began to be written in ciphers, and characters, and letters bearing the form of beasts, birds, and other creatures; and to be taught only to such, as served in their temples, and to their kings and priests. Of the first the *Cabala* of the *Jews* was an imitation: the invention of the other is inscribed to *Zoroaster*, *Mercurius*, *Cadmus*, and others; but falsely.

This *Cabala* importeth a law received by tradition and unwritten. *Cabala* in *Hebrew* is *receptio* in *Latin*, and a *receiving* in *English*. And this custom was also held by the *Druids* and *Bards* of our ancient *Britons*, and of later times by the *Irish* *chroniclers* called *rymers*. If then such as would seem wisest in the use of reason, will not acknowledge, that the story of the creation or beginning of all things was written by inspiration, the Holy Ghost guiding the hand of *Moses*; yet it is manifest, that the knowledge thereof might by tradition (then used) be delivered unto him by a more certain presumption, than any or all the testimonies which prophane antiquity had preserved and left to their successors: which their wise men (as they term them) did lay up and defend from the injury of the time and other hazards. For, leaving to remember that *Adam* instructed *Seth*, and *Seth* his children and successors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifest, that *Methusalem* lived together with *Adam* himself two hundred forty and three years, and *Noah* with *Methusalem* no less than five hundred years: and before *Noah* died *Abraham* was fifty and eight years old; from whence this knowledge, by an easy and ordinary way, might come to *Israel*, and so to *Moses*.

But besides this tradition, it is questionless, that the use of letters was found out in the very infancy of the world, proved by those prophecies written on pillars of stone and brick by *Enoch*: of which *Josephus* affirmeth, that one of them remained even in his time (meaning belike some ruin or foundation thereof) which pillars by others are ascribed to *Seth*. But of these prophecies of *Enoch* *St. Jude* testifieth; and some part of his books (which contained the course of the stars, their names and motions) were afterward found in *Arabia felix* in the dominion of the queen *Saba* (saith *Origen*) of which *Tertullian* affirmeth that he had seen and read some whole pages. It is not therefore strange, that *Moses* came to the knowledge of the creation and story of the first age, seeing he might receive it both by tradition and letters, had not the spirit of God instructed

ed and inspired him as he did: which also his many and strange miracles (performed before he wrote the scriptures) make more manifest.

Now for the books of *Enoch*, howsoever some men make question of them, sure I am that *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Augustine*, *Beda*, *Procopius*, *Gazeus*, (with others) cite them in their writings: although *Medina*, for an argument to prove them unwritten traditions, alledgeth that *pope Gelasius* among other the *Apocryphal* scriptures (which he rejecteth) named not these of *Enoch*; but that whatsoever was remembered out of them, the same was delivered by tradition from the *Jews*. But I rather think with *Pererius* that such a book there was, and that the same was corrupted after the death of the apostles, and many things added thereunto by hereticks, who took occasion upon the antiquity thereof, and out of that place of *Michael* contending with the devil about the body of *Moses*, to frame and add thereunto many inventions of their own. One of the greatest arguments against these books, is that neither *Philo*, nor *Josephus* (the most diligent searchers of antiquity) make mention thereof. But against it I will set this opinion of *St. Augustine*, *Scriptisse quidem nonnulla divina Enoch illum septimum ab Adam negare non possumus*; That *Enoch* the seventh from *Adam* did write divers divine things we cannot deny. Now his writings, which came afterwards to light, were suspected because of the antiquity, and of fables of giants supposed to be begotten of angels, and others; and by so much the more, because no such book was found among those canonical scriptures, kept by the diligence of the *Hebrew* priests in *Armario Judaico* (saith *Tertullian*) who yet affirmeth that this might be preserved by *Noah*. Surely that *Enoch* wrote the prophecies remembered by *Jude*, no man can deny; how they were delivered to posterity I know not, whether by the *Jews Cabala*, or by what other means, the same is but man's conjecture. And (certainly) by the knowledge ascribed to *Noah* of the motions of the heavens, and of the natures and conjunctions of the stars; and afterwards to some of his sons, to *Zoroaster*, and then to *Abraham*, it is very probable that *Noah* had seen and might preserve this book. For it is not likely, that so exquisite knowledge therein (as these men had) was suddenly invented and found out, but left by *Seth* to *Enoch*, and by *Enoch* to *Noah*, as hath been said before. And therefore if letters and arts were known from the time of *Seth* to *Enoch*, and that *Noah* lived with *Methusalem*, who lived with *Adam*, and *Abraham* lived with *Noah*: it is not strange (I say) to conceive how *Moses* came to the knowledge of the first age, be it by letters, or by *Cabala* and tradition, had the undoubted word of God need of any other proof than self-authority.

SECT. VII.

Of the men of renown before the flood.

NOW let us consider the relation of *Moses*, who named seven descents of *Cain's* children, and of *Adam* by *Seth* ten: *Seth* being given by God instead of *Abel*; and of *Seth* was *Enoch* begotten, in whose time men began to profess religion, and to offer sacrifice in publick. For altho' *Adam* instructed his children in the knowledge of God their Creator, as appeared by the sacrifice offered by *Cain* and *Abel*; yet it seemeth that after the birth of *Enoch*, men began publickly to call on the name of the Lord, that is, they served and praised God by communion and in publick manner, or calling up-

^a Dion. Areop. ^b Eccl. 18. ^c Cabala est scientia Theologicæ non revelata. P. M. & Mirand. l. 110. fol. 11. ^d Jos. l. 1. ^e Jud. l. 1. ^f Origen. Homil. 1. in Num. ^g Orig. Homil. 28. in Num. & Comment. in Evang. Johan. Gelas. dist. 15. ^h Tertul. de balat. noherem.

on the name of the Lord, and thereby were the sons of God or the godly distinguished from the wicked. From the birth of *Enos* the son of *Seth*, to the time of *Enoch* the son of *Jarad*, there is nothing remembered by *Moses*, but their own births, the births of their sons, the length of their lives, and deaths. But of *Enoch* it is written, *that he walked with God, and he was no more seen*: for Good took him away. By that, *that he walked with God*, was meant, that he was a just and upright man, and that he feared, loved, and obey'd God. For the same phrase *Moses* useth of *Noah*. *Noah was a just and upright man in his time, and Noah walked with God*. The *Seventy* convert it, *Enoch placuit Deo*; *Enoch* pleased God. And altho' *Aben-Ezra* and others understand this place [*tulit eum Deus*] *scilicet, mortuus est*, God took him away (that is) he died, which (indeed) agreeth both with the phrase of the scripture, and with our manner of speech to this day, to say, God took him away, when he died; yet the difference which *Moses* maketh between the piety of *Enoch* and the rest of the *patriarchs*, and by omitting the word [death] which he useth to all else, makes it manifest, that *Enoch* was not dissolved as the rest. For to all the rest of the *patriarchs*, *Moses* useth these words, *and he died*; but of *Enoch* he spake otherwise, saying only, *he was missing, or he was not seen*. *Et non inveniebatur* (saith the apostle to the *Hebrews*) *quia Deus eum transtulit*; And he was not found, for the Lord took him away. In the same place it is expressly added, *that he saw not death*.

But whether this taking away of *Enoch* were not with the same kind of changing, which *St. Paul* promisseth when he saith, that *when the end shall come, we shall not all die, but all shall be changed*, I leave it to the learned divines.

After *Enoch*, *Moses* passeth over to *Methusalem* and *Lamech*, remembring (as of the rest) the times of their birth and death: saying that *Lamech* prophesied of his son *Noah*, saying, *This same shall comfort us concerning our work, and sorrow of our hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath cursed*. Of *Noah*, *Moses* writeth more amply, than of any of the rest of *Adam's* children by *Seth*, being the last of the ten generations of the first age, whom God (with his family) preserved, because he was an upright man in his time, and feared God.

But of the war, peace, government, and policy of these strong and mighty men, so able both in body and wit, there is no memory remaining, whose stories if they had been preserved, and what else was then performed in that newness of the world, there could nothing of more delight have been left to posterity. For the exceeding long lives of men (who to their strength of body and natural wits had the experience added of eight hundred and nine hundred years) how much of necessity must the same add of wisdom and undertakings? Likely it is, that their works excelled all whatsoever can be told of after-times, especially in respect of this old age of the world, when we no sooner begin to know, but we begin to die; according to *Hippocrates*, *Vita brevis, ars longa, tempus praeceps* (which is) life is short, art is long, and time is headlong. And that those people of the first age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of *Moses*, *These were mighty men, which in old time were men of renown*. But these men of renown (whom the scripture afterwards calleth giants, both for strength of body and cruelty of mind) trusted so much to their own abilities, as they for-

got altogether the piety of *Seth*, and the ways wherein *Enoch* walked: *for all the imaginations of their hearts were evil, only evil, and continually evil*. And this wickedness was not only found in the issues of *Cain*, but it was then universal, when the children and sons of God (or of the godly) were corrupted and misled by their idolatrous wives, the daughters of *Cain*, or of those other men loving themselves and the world only.

That these *sons of God* were angels, which being taken with the beauty of women accompanied them and begat giants, some of the fathers supposed, namely, *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* misled by *Josephus*: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterwards changed their former opinions. And of this mistaking many writers have taken great advantage, and have troubled themselves with large answers and very needful: the question being incapable of dispute, especially since *St. Chrysostom* and *St. Augustine* have answered it largely long ago. For, that good and godly men were honoured with the title of God's children, it doth every where appear in the scripture; and on the contrary, to think that angels, who (as *Christ* witnesseth) behold the face of God (that is) always attend his commandments, should, after a separation from the rest which fell with *Lucifer*, forsake the glorious presence of their Creator, and become *Incubi*, or *Succubi*, contrary both to nature and grace, were more than madness to imagine.

SECT. VIII.

That the giants, by Moses so called, were indeed men of huge bodies: as also divers in latter times.

OF these giants which *Moses* calleth mighty men, *Goropius Becanus* an *Antwerpian* (who thought his own wit more gigantical than the bodies of *Nimrod* and *Hercules*) hath written a large discourse, intituled *Gigantomachia*, and strained his brains to prove, that there were never any such men: his reasons (whosoever desires to lose time) he may find them in the treatises before named. It is true, that *Cyrillus* reproves the *Grecian* poets for their monstrous fictions: who affirm shamelessly, that the giants have in elder times not only cast up mountains upon mountains, but removed islands out of the sea, with like fooleries. And for that invention of casting up hills, and making war with the gods, no doubt but that the same was borrowed out of the story of *Nimrod*, as before remembred; and even out of this scripture, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men, of whom the first giants were begotten, was that conceit taken of *Orpheus* and *Hesiodus*, that giants were the sons of the heaven and the earth; meaning by the heavens the sons of God, and by the earth the daughters of men: which verses of *Orpheus* are by *John Cassian* (who hath written a witty discourse of this subject) thus changed into *Latin*:

*Nomine caelestes illos dixere gigantes,
Orti quod terra fuerint & sanguine caeli.*

From the earth, and from thy blood, O heaven
they came,

Whom thereupon the gods did giants name.

But what will not opiniators and self-believing men dispute of, and make doubt of, if they cannot conceive that there were in the first age such kind of men; and of which there have been in all times since? seeing the scriptures avow the one manifestly, and common experience the other?

^a Gen. 5. 24. ^b Gen. 6. 9. ^c 1 Cor. 15. 51. ^d Gen. 5. 29. ^e Gen. 6. 9. ^f Aphor. 1. ^g Gen. 6. 4. ^h Gen. 6. 5.

And for that superlative straining of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of giants was given to oppressors and tyrants, and not to strength of body and eminent stature: such men might with better reason call them oppressors because they were giants, and therefore had ability to oppress, than say, that they were called giants only because oppressors. For first *Moses* himself calleth them *mighty men*; which sheweth a strength surpassing others: and afterwards, men of renown (that is) of great undertaking and adventurous action. And if the same stature of body, and ability had not been found among divers nations after the general flood, then might this place of *Moses* have more willingly bearkened to a dispute, and yielded to interpretation.

But besides all these famous giants found in prophane histories (which I will reserve to accompany the giants of *Abion* in the story of *Britany*) the scriptures do clearly and without all allegorical construction avow, that, besides *Nimrod*, there were found of these giants in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moses*, of *Joshua*, and of *David*; namely, the *Rephaims* in *Asteroth*; the *Zuzai* or *Zanzummims* in *Ham*, and the *Emims*, which dwelt anciently in the land of *Moab*: whom *Moses* (for stature) compareth with the *Anakims*, which dwelt in *Hebron*; for they also were taken for giants as the *Anakims*: likewise where *Moses* speaketh of the land of *Ammon*, he useth these words, *That also was taken for a land of giants, for giants dwell therein aforesimes: and whom the Ammonites call Zanzummims: a people that was great, and many, and tall as the Anakims.* And these giants called *Rephaims* in *Asteroth* and *Kernaim*, and the *Zuzai* or *Zanzummims*, *Chedorlaomer* King of *Elam* overthrew, assisted by other kings his associates. Also the prophet *Amos* found among the *Ammonites* men of giant-like stature, whom he compareth to the cedar, and whose strength to the oaks; and the prophet *Baruch*, *These were the giants famous from the beginning, that were of so great stature, and so expert in war.* Particularly it is written of *Og*, king of *Basan*, that his bed of iron was nine cubits long, and four cubits broad: for only *Og* king of *Basan* remained of the remnant of the giants, who commanded the kingdom of *Basan*, four hundred years after the expedition of *Chedorlaomer*. Moreover those discoverers and searchers of the land of promise (sent by *Moses* from *Cadesbarne* in *Paran*) made report at their return of the great stature of those people in general, and especially of the sons of *Anak*, in these words. *All the people which we saw in it are men of great stature: for there we saw giants, the sons of Anak which come of the giants, so that we seemed in our fights like grass-hoppers, and so we were in their fight* (that is) the searchers found in their own judgments a marvellous difference between the *Anakims* and themselves: insomuch that the *Israelites* were so stricken with fear, as they rather fought and desired to return again into *Egypt*, and were more willing to endure their former slavery, than to fall by the strokes of those fearful nations. Furthermore the scriptures put us out of doubt, that *Goliath* the *Philistine* of *Gath* was a giant of six cubits and a span long: the armour which he wore weighed five thousand sheekles of brass: the shaft of his spear was like a weavers beam, and his spear-head weighed six hundred sheekles of iron. Also in *Samuel* there is mention of another *Goliath* surnamed *Gethens*, because he was of *Gath*: and of three other giants; of which the first was slain by *Jehonathan*,

David's nephew, who had twelve fingers, and as many toes: a man of great stature, and his fingers were by fives, even four and twenty.

Also that *Sampson* was of surpassing strength no man doubteth, who tore a lion as it had been a kid, and after ^m slew thirty of the *Philistines*, and (after that) a thousand more of them with a jaw-bone of an ass; and lastly he took the ⁿ gates of *Azzah*, and the two posts, and lifted them away with the bars, and put them upon his shoulders, and carried them to the top of the mountain before *Ebron*. If then it be approved by every judgment, that both nature and the heavens wax old, and that the great age of time hath (with it self) infeebled and almost worn out the virtue of all things; then I say, that as in all other kinds the earth (before that sin had increased the curse and corruption) brought forth her young ones more strong and beautiful than it did in after-ages: so also those giants, those mighty men, and men of renown, as far exceeded the proportion, nature and strength of those giants remembered by *Moses* of his own time, and after him their successors, as the ordinary proportion of all men in general, soon after the flood and in times far off, exceeded the bulks and bodies of men which are now born in the withered quarter and winter of the world: If therefore giants were common in the third and fourth age, much more in the first flourishing youth and newness of the world.

But the wickedness (especially in cruelty and oppression) of these men was such, as God therefore by the flood gave end to all flesh, but to the just *Noah* and his family. ^o *And God repented him that he had made man*; which *St. Augustine* thus expoundeth: *Neque enim sicut hominem, ita Deum facili sui poenitet, cujus est de omnibus omnino rebus tam fixa sententia, quam certa praescientia. Sed si non utatur scriptura talibus verbis, non se quodammodo familiaris insinuat omni generi hominum, quibus vult esse consultum: ut & perterreat superbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat quærentes, & alat intelligentes.* God (saith he) doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done (as men use to do:) but if the scripture did not use those words, or the like, it should not (in a sort) insinuate it self familiarly to all sorts of men, for whom it would provide: that it might terrify the proud, stir up the negligent, exercise the searchers of truth, and nourish those that understand.

CHAP. VI.

Of idolatrous corruptions, quickly rising, and hardly at length vanishing in the world: and of the reliques of truth touching these ancient times, obscurely appearing in fables and old legends.

SECT. I.

That in old corruptions we may find some signs of more ancient truth.

HERE before we proceed any further, the occasion offereth it self for us to consider, how the *Greeks* and other more ancient nations, by fabulous inventions, and by breaking into parts the story of the creation, and by delivering it over in a myssical sense, wrapping it up mixed with

^a Gen. 14. 5. ^b Deut. 2. 20, 21. ^c Amos c. 1. ^d Bar. 3. 26. ^e Deut. 3. 11. ^f Numb. 13. 34. ^g Numb. 14. 4.
^h 1 Sam. 17. 4. ⁱ 2 Sam. 21. 19. ^k 1 Chron. 20. 7. ^l Judg. 14. 6. ^m Judg. 14. 19. ⁿ Judg. 16. 3. ^o Gen. 6. 6.
^p De Civitate Dei, l. 15. c. 15.

other their own trumpery, have sought to obscure the truth thereof; and have hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receive those intermix'd discourses of God and nature for the inventions of poets and philosophers, and not as any thing borrowed or stolen out of the books of God. But as a skilful and learned *Chymist* can as well by separation of visible elements draw helpful medicines out of poison, as poison of the most healthful herbs and plants (all things having in themselves both life and death) so, contrary to the purposes and hopes of the heathen, may those which seek after God and truth find out every where, and in all the ancient poets and philosophers, the story of the first age, with all the works and marvels thereof, amply and lively express'd.

SECT. II.

That the corruptions themselves were very ancient: as in the family of Noah, and in the old Egyptians.

BUT this defection and falling away from God, which was first found in angels, and afterwards in men (the one having erred but once, the other ever) as concerning mankind it took such effect, that thereby (the liberal grace of God being withdrawn) all the posterity of our first parents were afterwards born and bred in the world, suffering a perpetual eclipse of spiritual light. Hence it was that it produced plants of such imperfection and harmful quality, as the waters of the general flood could not so wash out or depure, but that the same defection hath had continuance in the very generation and nature of mankind. Yea, even among the few sons of *Noah* there were found strong effects of the former poison. For as the children of *Shem* did inherit the virtues of *Seth*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*; so the sons of *Cham* did possess the vices of the sons of *Cain*, and of those wicked giants of the first age. Whence the *Chaldeans* began soon after the flood to ascribe divine power and honour to the creature, which was only due to the Creator. First, they worshipped the sun, and then the fire. So the *Egyptians* and *Phenicians* did not only learn to leave the true God, but created twelve several gods, and divine powers, whom they worshipped; and unto whom they built altars and temples. For *Herodotus* saith, *“Duodecim Deorum nomina primos Egyptios in usu habuisse, atque Græcos ab illis cepisse mutuatos, eosque prius aras, & imagines & templa Diis sibi crexisse.”* The *Egyptians* (saith he) first devised the names of the twelve gods, which the *Greeks* received from them, who first erected unto themselves altars, images, and temples for the gods.

SECT. III.

That in process of time these lesser errors drew on greater: as appeareth in the gross superstitions of the Egyptians.

BUT as men once fallen away from undoubted truth, do then after wander for evermore in vices unknown, and daily travel towards their eternal perdition: so did these gross and blind idolaters every age after other descend lower and lower, and shrink and slide downwards from the knowledge of one true and very God; and did not thereby err in worshipping mortal men only, but they gave divine reverence, and had the same respect to beasts, birds, fishes, fowls, winds, earth, water, air, fire, to the morning, to the evening, to the plants, trees

and roots, to passions and affections of the mind, to paleness, sickness, sorrows, yea to the most unworthy and basest of all these. Which barbarous blasphemy *Rhodius Anaxandrides* derideth in this manner.

*“Bovem colis, ego Deis mæsto bovem.
Tu maximum anguillam Deum putas: ego
Obsoniorum credidi suavissimum,
Carnes suillas tu caves, at gaudeo
Hijs maxime: canens colis, quem verbero
Edentem ubi deprehendo forte obsonium.”*

I sacrifice to God the beef, which you adore:
I broil the *Egyptian* eels, which you (as God) implore:
You fear to eat the flesh of swine, I find it sweet.
You worship dogs, to beat them I think meet,
When they my store devour.

And in this manner *Juvenal*.

*“Porrum aut caepe nefas violare aut frangere morsu:
O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Numina!”*

The *Egyptians* think it sin to root up, or to bite
Their leeks or onions, which they serve with
holy rite:

O happy nations, which of their own sowing
Have store of gods in every garden growing.

SECT. IV.

That from the reliques of ancient records among the Egyptians and others, the first idols and fables were invented: and that the first Jupiter was Cain, Vulcan, Tubalcain, &c.

BUT in so great a confusion of vanities, where among the heathens themselves there is no agreement or certainty, it were hard to find out from what example the beginnings of these inventions were borrowed, or after what ancient pattern they erected their building, were it not certain, that the *Egyptians* had knowledge of the first age, and of whatsoever was done therein; partly from some inscriptions upon stone or metal remaining after the flood; and partly from *Mizraim* the son of *Cham*, who had learnt the same of *Cham*, and *Cham* of his father *Noah*. For all that the *Egyptians* write of their ancient kings and date of times cannot be feigned. And tho' other nations after them had by imitation their *Jupiters* also, their *Saturns*, *Vulcans*, and *Mercuries*, with the rest which *St. Augustine* out of *Varro*; *Eusebius* out of many prophane histories; *Cicero*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arnobius*, and many more have observed, to wit, the *Phenicians*, *Phrygians*, *Cretans*, *Greeks*, and other nations; yet was *Cain* the son of *Adam* (as some very learned men conceive) called and reputed for the first and ancient *Jupiter*; and *Adam* for the first *Saturn*: for *Jupiter* was said to have invented the founding of cities; and the first city of the world was built by *Cain*, which he called *Enoch*, of whom were the *Enochii* before remembered. And so much may be gathered out of *Plato* in *Protagoras*, which also *Higinius* in his 275th chapter confirmeth. For besides that many cities were founded by divers men, *Tamen primam latissimam a primo & antiquissimo Jove ædificatam*; yet the first and largest was built by the first and most ancient *Jupiter*, seated in the east parts, or in *India*, according to that of *Moses*: *“And Cain dwelt towards the east side of Eden, &c.* where also the *Enochii* were found after the flood. And

^a Herod. in Batepe. ^b Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 7. ^c Sat. 15. 2. 9. ^d Aug. l. 19. c. 22. De Civit. Dei. Euseb. l. 1. Præp. l. 1. c. 2. ^e A. l. 2. c. 23. Cic. l. 3. de Nat. Deorum. Arnob. 4. cont. Gent. ^f Gen. 4. 16.

therefore

therefore was *Jupiter* by the *Athenians* called *Polieus*, a founder of cities, and *Herceios*, an incloser or strengthner of cities; (say ^a*Phornutus* and *Pausanias*;) and that to *Jupiter Herceios* there were in very many places altars and temples erected. And that there were cities built before the flood, *Plato* also witnesseth, as may be gathered in this his affirming, that soon after mankind began to increase, they built many cities; which as his meaning he delivereth in plain terms, in his third book of laws: for he saith, that cities were built an exceeding space of time before the destruction by the great flood.

This *Jupiter* of the *Ethnicks* was then the same *Cain*, the son of *Adam*, who marrying his own sister (as also *Jupiter* is said to have done) inhabited the east, where *Stephanus de urbibus* placeth the city *Henochia*. And besides this city of *Henoch*, *Philo Judeus* conceiveth that *Cain* built six others, as *Maich*, *Jared*, *Tebe*, *Jesca*, *Selet* and *Gebat*: but where *Philo* had this I know not. Now as *Cain* was the first *Jupiter*, and from whom also the *Ethnicks* had the invention of sacrifice: so were ^b*Jubal*, *Tubal* and *Tubalcain* (inventors of pastorage, smiths craft, and musick) the same, which were called by the ancient prophane writers ^c*Mercurius*, *Vulcan* and *Apollo*: and as there is a likelihood of name between *Tubalcain* and *Vulcan*; so doth *Augustine* expound the name of *Noema* or *Naamah*, the sister of *Tubalcain*, to signify *Venuſta*, or beautiful, *voluptas*, or pleasure: as the wife of *Vulcan* is said to be *Venus*, the lady of pleasure and beauty. And as *Adam* was the ancient and first *Saturn*, *Cain* the eldest *Jupiter*, *Eva*, *Rhea*, and *Noema* or *Naamah* the first *Venus*: so did the fable of the dividing of the world between the three brethren the sons of *Saturn* arise, from the true story of the dividing of the earth between the three brethren the sons of *Noah*: so also was the fiction of those golden apples kept by a dragon taken from the serpent, which tempted *Eva*: so was *Paradise* it self transported out of *Asia* into *Africa*, and made the garden of the *Hesperides*: the prophecies, that *Christ* should break the serpent's head, and conquer the power of hell, occasioned the fables of *Hercules* killing the serpent of *Hesperides*, and descending into hell, and captivating *Cerberus*: so out of the taking up of *Enoch* by God was borrowed the conversion of their *Heroes* (the inventors of religion and such arts as the life of man had profit by) into stars and heavenly signs, and (withal) that leaving of the world, and ascension of *Astrea*; of which *Ovid*.

^a *Ultima coelestium terras Astrea reliquit.*

Astrea last of heavenly wights the earth did leave.

For altho' thereby the ^c*Ethnicks* would understand justice it self to have failed, as it is a virtue abstract, and may be considered without a person; yet as it is usual among the ancient poets to describe virtues and vices by the persons of men and women, as desire by *Cupid*, valour by *Mars*, beauty or lust by *Venus*, so do they also the persons of men by like virtues and vices; and therefore by justice and *Astrea*, *Enoch*: the justice and piety of *Enoch* being in the same manner exprest, as that of *Noah* was by *Moses*, for *Noah* was said to be a just man; ^d*And Noah walked with God*. And of *Enoch* it is written, ^e*that he walked with God, and he was no more seen: for God took him away*.

From this story also of the first age, and from that part where *Moses* remembreth the giants be-

gotten by the sons of good men upon the daughters of the wicked (whom *Moses* calleth mighty men, and men of renown) did they steal those wondrous great acts of their ancient kings, and powerful giants and again their war undertaken against the Gods, from the building of the tower of *Babel* by the giant *Nimrod*, as ^f*St. Augustine* termeth him. Which war of their giants *Cornelius Severus* thus describeth:

*Tentavere (nefas) olim detrudere mundo
Sydera, captivique Jovis transferre gigantes:
Imperium, & victo leges imponere caelo.*

The giants did advance their wicked hand
Against the stars, to thrust them headling down;
And robbing *Jove* of his impartial crown,
On conquered heavens to lay their proud command.

Whereby was meant that *Nimrod* purposed to raise the building of *Babel* to that height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deep, nor by any conjunction of the stars, should bury them under the moisture of a second flood, but that by this building (if they had been herein victorious) they would have given the law to heaven it self. Also the making of leagues, peace and covenants among heathen nations and kings, confirmed by sacrifice, whereof *Virgil* both in the eighth and twelfth of his *Aeneids* hath a touch, was as it seemeth borrowed from *Moses*, *Exod.* 24. Who, when he read the book of the covenant, sprinkled the people with blood.

^gWe find also many remembrances of *Seth*, the paternal ancestor of *Enoch* and *Noah*: for *Amenophis*, the same king of *Egypt*, which reigned at such time as *Moses* carried thence the children of *Israel* (as of late some learned men, mistaking his time, supposed) called his son and successor *Setho*, of *Seth*, and of the same *Seth* (as many men of good judgment have granted) were the princes of *Thrace* called *Seuthes*, whereof there were many very famous. ^hBut herein was the memory of *Seth* most manifestly preserved, that the *Egyptians* worshipped *Seth*, as their most ancient parent, and of the first tradition, in honour of whom they called a principal province *Setheica*. ⁱWe also find in *Bithynia* the city of *Sethia*, and others of the same name elsewhere. And sure from the *Egyptians* did the *Grecians* borrow this kind of theology, tho' they scorned to acknowledge any antiquity preceding their own; and that they might not seem to learn elsewhere, they gave the same names to their own idols which the *Egyptians* did to theirs.

SECT. V.

Of the three chiefest Jupiters; and the strange story of the third.

BUT of all those armies of *Jupiters* remembred by the ancients, *Cicero* maketh but three, because those were of most fame: which other writers have also done, who sought out, and laboured in their originals.

The first was *Jupiter*, the son of *Aether* and *Dies*, so called, because the one had reference to his celestial conditions (for *Aether* is as much as shining or pure fire) the other discovered his natural virtues, which days and times make more perfect, and are the witnesses of mens actions.

The second was said to be the son of *Caelum* or heaven, for the same former respect; and this *Jupiter* was an *Arcadian*, and king of *Athens*.

^a *Phorn.* l. de natura Deorum. *Pausan.* l. 4, 5, & 10. in *Protag.* l. 1. ^c *Nat. Com.* l. 2 c. 2. ^d *Gen.* 7. ^e *Gen.* 5. 22, 24. ^f *Lib. de Civitate Dei* ^g *Joseph.* l. 1. contra *Appian* ^h *Plut.* in *Isid.* ⁱ *Strabo*, l. 17.

The third, of whom all the *Grecian* fables were devised, was of *Crete* (now *Candie*) the son of *Saturn* and *Ops*. The name derived from the *Latin* is taken of *Juvans Pater*, from the *Greek* word *Zeus*, it signifieth life, but somewhat strained. *Boccas* in his genealogy of the Gods conceiveth, that his name was borrowed from *Jupiter* the planet; but whether that star had such a name, before the same was given to men, I know not. *Jupiter* is hot and moist, temperate, modest, honest, adventurous, liberal, merciful, loving, and faithful (that is) giving these inclinations. And therefore those ancient kings beautified with these conditions, might be called there after *Jupiter*; but howsoever they were, or were not with those virtues enriched, yet, by imitation, all kings in the eldest times assumed those titles and surnames: great princes affecting as high titles of honour and reputation of the world (howsoever deserved) as the worthiest, that ever were, acquired by their well-deservings. *Joves omnes reges vocarunt antiqui*; The ancients called all kings *Jupiters*, as *Tzetzes* in his *varia historia* confirmeth: *Reges olim Joves vocarunt omnes*: In old time all nations called their kings *Jupiters*. But where this last and most remembred *Jupiter* was born it is uncertain. Some there are that make him of *Crete*: others, that he was but sent thither by his mother *Ops* or *Opis*, to be fostered and hidden from the fury of *Titan* his uncle: because it was conditioned between *Saturn* and *Titan*, that *Saturn* being a younger brother, and reigning (for his own life) by *Titan*'s permission, he should put to death all his male children, lest the *Titans* might be interrupted by any of them in their succession; which agreement because *Saturn* performed in his first born, it is feigned that *Saturn* devoured his own children. Hereof *Lycophron*, thus turned into *Latin*.

*Haud sit pinguior,
Crudis sepulchrum quod sit ipse filius.*

Saturn to be the fatter is not known,
By being the grave and burial of his own.

This composition between *Titan* and *Saturn*, *Sylla* also witnesseth in these:

*Conceptis verbis; Titan jurare coegit
Saturnum, de se natum ne nutriat ullum,
Quo possint regnare senis post fata nepotes.*

Things thus agreed: *Titan* made *Saturn* swear,
No son to nourish; which by reigning might
Usurp the right of *Titan*'s lawful heir.

But *Opis*, the mother of *Jupiter*, being delivered at once both of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, conveyed *Jupiter* (first called *Iysanias*) into *Crete*, as she did afterwards his two brothers, *Neptune* and *Pluto*: where he was brought up in *Gnossus*, the chief city of that island, by *Cressa* the king, or by the *Curetes*, a people and nation thereof.

Others challenge him to be of *Thebes*, and a *Theban*: others call him an *Arcadian*: others make him of *Messena*. The like contention is found among the *Greeks* touching his education and first fostering. Some affirm, that he was fed by honey-bees: in recompence whereof he changed their black coats and skins into yellow; a reward well fitting such a God: others, that he was nourished by bears: others, by goats: and of all these the idle *Greeks* have many pretty tales. But in the end when *Titan* had knowledge, that *Saturn* had broken his faith, he set on him, and took him and his wife prisoners, whom *Jupiter* again rescued and delivered.

But lastly, the father and the son equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. *Saturn* being the less powerful fled into *Italy*, and left his kingdoms in *Greece* to his son. And altho' this prince at the first purchased great honour, and for his many virtues the name of *Jupiter* was given him; yet, after he was once settled and became potent, he gave himself over wholly to palliardise and adultery, without all respect of honour, law, or religion. And it is reported by such, as do ascribe the actions of many to one *Jupiter*, that not therewith satisfied, he was afterwards known to offend in the sin of *Sodom* with *Ganymedes* and others; and did not only begin with incest, marrying his own sister *Juno*, but he ravished, betrayed, stole away, and took by strong hand all the beautiful women born in his time, within the limits of his own kingdoms, or bordering them. Among whom these hereafter written were of greatest fame, *Niobe*, *Laodemia* and *Alcmena* the wife of *Amphitryon*, by whom he had *Pelaeus*, *Sarpedon*, *Argus* and *Hercules*: by *Taygete* he had *Taygetus*, of whom the mountain *Taygetus* took name, with another son called *Saxo*, of whom *Saxona*: by *Antiope* he had *Amphion* and *Zetus*: by *Leda*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Helen* and *Clytemnestra*: by *Danae* *Perseus*: by *Jordana* *Deucalion*: by *Charme* (the daughter of *Eubulus*) *Britomartis*: by *Protogenia* he had *Atblus* the father of *Eudymion*; and by *Io* (the daughter of *Inachus*) *Epaphus*, the founder of *Memphis* in *Egypt*: which *Epaphus* married *Libya*, of whom that country took name, for so the *Greeks* afterwards called *Africa*. He ravished *Aegina*, the daughter of *Aisopus*, and carried her into the island *Oenopia* or *Oenotria*, afterwards called *Aegina*, on whom he begat *Aiacus*: by *Torhebia* he had *Archebius* and *Carbius*: by *Ora Colaxes*: he had also *Dardanus* by *Electra*, who built *Dardanium*, afterwards *Ilium* and *Troy*. He begat the brothers *Talici*, on *Tbalia*, and on *Garamantis* *Iliarhas*. He had besides these (if they belie not their chief God) *Phileus* and *Pilumnus*, inventors of bakers craft, and I know not how many more; but I know well that he could not be father to all these, who were born in ages so far differing. And of these his several ravishments, betrayings, stealing away of mens wives, daughters and sons, buying of virgins, and the like, came in all those ancient fables of his transformations into showers of gold, eagles, bulls, birds, and beasts, and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of *Grecian* forgeries. And yet did not the *Greeks* and *Romans* fear to entitle this monster, *Optimus Maximus*, tho' *Cicero* in his second book *de natura deorum* affirms, that he deserv'd nothing less: And in his oration *pro domo sua* reproacheth *Clodius* for his incest, by the name of *Jupiter*. His burial was in *Crete* (saith *Lucian*) *Cretenses non solum natum apud se & sepultum Jovem testantur, sed etiam sepulchrum ejus ostendunt*. The *Cretans* or *Candians* do not only avow that *Jupiter* was born and buried among them, but they shew his grave and sepulchre: which *Epiphanius* also confirmeth, for in his time there remained the monuments of his tomb in the mountain *Jasius*. This *Callimachus* in his hymns also witnesseth, but as offended thereat, saith thus:

The *Cretans* ever liars were, they care not what they
say: [liv'st always.
For they a tomb have built for thee, O king, that

^a *Diodorus Siculus* tells by way of report from the *Libyan* fables, confirmed (as he saith) by some *Greek* writers, that the original of these gods was from the

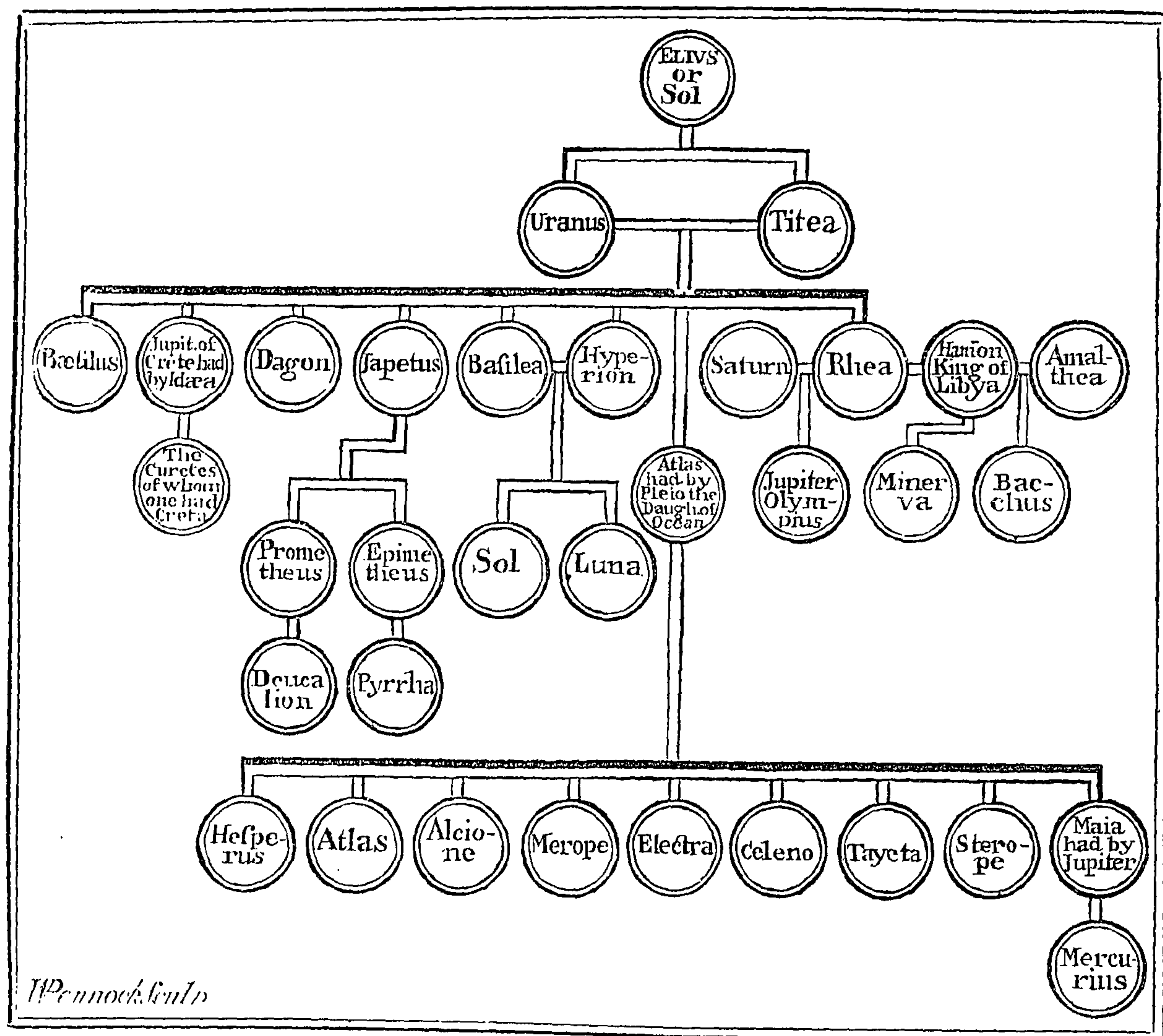
^a Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 7. ^b Euseb. in Temp. ^c Luc. in Sacr. ^d Dod. l. 2. c. 5.

western parts of *Africk*. For there among the *Atlantide* reigned one *Uranus* (which signifieth heaven) called so for his great skill in *Astrology*, and for his knowledge, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a God after his death. He had by many wives, forty-five sons; but by his principal wife *Titea* he had seventeen sons and two daughters, all which were called after their mother's name *Titanes*. Of *Titea* likewise it is said, that she for her goodness was canonized as a goddess, being dead, and called the *Earth*, as her husband was stiled *Heaven*. But of all the children of *Titea*, her daughter *Bastlea* (which name founding as queen in *Englisb*, she is by the *Latin* translator of *Diodorus* called *Regina*) excelling the rest as far in virtue as in years, was by general consent of her brethren, and of the people, appointed to rule as queen after her father's death, being as yet a virgin. She took to husband her brother *Hyperion*, to whom she bare a son and a daughter, called *Sun* and *Moon*. The beauty and towardliness of these children moved her brethren to envy, and bred in them a fear of being excluded from the succession: wherefore they took the boy and drowned him in the river *Eridanus*, now called *Po*. The loss of this child caused his sister to break her own neck; and the loss of both her children made the mother to play many mad pranks, dancing with cymbals, after a wild fashion, in sight of all the people, before whom she is said to have vanished away. Ere she died, her son (as the fable hath it) signified unto her in a dream, that he and his sister by the providence of God should become immortal, that also the *Sun* and *Moon* should be called by their names, and that their death should be revenged upon their murderers. According to which it is said, that the people did so call those two planets, and withal held herself as a goddess, and termed her the great mother, which name they had formerly given to her, for her motherly care in cherishing her brethren whilst they were young. *Hyperion* and his race being extinguished, the other sons of *Uranus* divided the kingdom. Of these *Atlas* and *Saturn* were chief. *Atlas* reigned over the countries lying about the mountains, which afterwards bare his name; a just and wise prince, deeply skilful in *Astrology*, and for invention of the *sphere* said to have supported heaven. He had many sons, but the principal of them, called *Hesperus*, being of his father's qualities and studies, was said to have been carried away by the wind, from the top of an high hill in the midst of his contemplations, and his name, in honour of him, imposed by the people upon the morning star. The seven daughters of *Atlas* were also said to have been excellent ladies, who accompanying such as came to be deified, or registred among the worthies, brought forth children, answerable in quality to those that begat them. Of these it is held, that the seven stars called *Pleiades* took name. *Saturn* the brother of *Atlas* reigned in *Sicilia*, part of *Africk* and *Italy*. *Jupiter*, another of the sons of *Uranus*, reigned in *Crete*, who had ten sons which he called *Curetes*; he called that island after his wife's name *Ida*; in which isle he died, and was buried. But this *Jupiter* must not have been that great one, but uncle to the great *Jupiter*, if these fables of the *Libyans* were true. *Saturn* (as these *Libyans* tell the tale) was a great tyrant, and fortified strong places, the better to keep his people in subjection. His sister *Rhea* was married to *Hammon*, who reigned in some part of *Africk*. *Hammon* loving others as well as his wife, or better, got a daughter, called *Minerva*, near to the river *Triton*, who thereupon was called *Tritonia*. He also begat on *Amalthea* a son called *Bacchus*, whom he caused secretly, for fear of his life, to be brought up

at *Nysa*, an island in the river *Triton*, under the tuition of his daughter *Minerva*, and certain nymphs. To *Amalthea* he gave in reward a goodly country, that lay on the sea coast, bending in form of a horn, whence grew the tale of *Amalthea's* plentiful horn, famous among the poets. When *Rhea* heard this news, she fled from her husband to her brother *Saturn*, who not only entertained her as a sister, but took her to wife, and at her instigation made war upon *Hammon*, vanquished him by the assistance of the *Titans*, and made him fly into *Crete*. The *Curetes*, *Jupiter's* children before-mentioned, held the island at that time; which was new named *Crete* by *Hammon*, after the name of *Creta* the king's daughter, whom he took to wife, and had with her (women as may seem being very gracious in those times) the kingdom. *Bacchus* was grown a proper young man, had found out the making of wine, the art of planting trees, and many things else commodious for mankind, before the flight of his mother-in-law. Now therefore hearing report of all that happened, and that *Saturn* was coming against him with the *Titans*; he levied an army, to which the *Amazons*, living not far from *Nysa*, added great forces, in love of *Minerva* who was entred into their profession. So *Bacchus* leading the men, and *Minerva* the women, they set forward against *Saturn*, met him, overthrew him, and taking many of the *Titans* prisoners, returned to *Nysa*; where pardoning the prisoners, that promised to become his true followers, he prepared for a second expedition. In the second expedition he behaved himself so well, that he won the love of all the people by whom he passed; insomuch, that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of *Saturn's* rigorous government, he was greatly strengthened, and the enemy as much enfeebled by daily revolts. Coming to the city of *Hammon*, he won a battle of *Saturn*, before the very walls. After which *Saturn* with his wife *Rhea* fled by night, setting the town on fire to despite *Bacchus*. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by *Bacchus*, and kindly entreated. *Saturn* had a young son by *Rhea*, called *Jupiter*. This child *Bacchus* took with him in a great expedition that he made into the east countries; and coming into *Egypt*, he left this *Jupiter*, being then a boy, governor of the country; but appointed unto him as an overseer, one *Olympius*, of whom *Jupiter* grew to be called *Olympius*. Whilst *Bacchus* travelled thro' all nations, as far as into *India*, doing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the *Titans* had found out his father *Hammon* in *Crete*, and began to war upon him. But *Bacchus* returned out of *India*; with whom *Jupiter* from *Egypt*, and his sister *Minerva*, together with the rest that afterwards were held as gods, joining all their forces, went into *Crete*, overthrew the *Titans*, chased them, took, and slew them, and freed the world of them all. After all this, when *Hammon* and *Bacchus* were dead, they were deify'd; and the great *Jupiter* the son of *Saturn* succeeding them, reigned lord alone over all the world, having none of the *Titans* left alive, nor any other to disturb him. Between this tale of the *Libyan* gods, and the *Egyptian* fables of *Osiris*, there is a rude resemblance, that may cause them both to be taken for the crooked images of some one true history. For the expeditions of *Osiris*, and of *Bacchus*; the wars of the giants in the one story, of the *Titans* in the other; the kingdom of *Egypt* given by *Hercules Libycus* to *Orus*, by *Bacchus* to *Jupiter*, the rattles of *Isis*, and the cymbals of *Bastlea*, with many petty circumstances, nearly enough resemble each other, howsoever not alike fitted to the right persons. *Sanchoniatu*

choniato (as ^a *Eusebius* cites him) would have all these to be *Phenicians*, and is earnest in saying, that it is a true story, and no allegory. Yet he makes it seem the more allegorical, by giving to *Uranus* or heaven for daughters, *Fate* and *Beauty*, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by *Diodorus*, tho' *Diodorus* have enough. To the

genealogy he adds *Elius* or the *Sun*, as father of *Uranus*; and among the children of *Uranus*, *Japetus*, *Bætilus*, and *Dagon* (whom *Diodorus* doth not mention by their names) giving withal to *Uranus* the proper name of *Terrenus* or *indigena*, and of *Illus* to *Saturn*, but omitting *Jupiter* of *Crete*. The pedigree of them is this.



SECT. VI.

Of Cham, and other wicked ones, whereof some got, some affected the name of gods.

OF *Jupiter Belus*, the son of *Saturnus Babylonius*, otherwise *Nimrod*, it seemeth that *Cicero* had not heard (at least by that name) who was more ancient than any of the former three by him remembered: for long after these times were the *Greeks* but salvages, if they seek no farther off for their gods.

But the *Egyptians*, even after the flood, began (somewhat before this *Chaldean Jupiter*) to intitle *Cham*, the parent of their own *Mizraim*, *Jupiter Chammon*, or *Hammon*. For the etymology of this word [*Hammon*] which the *Greeks* deduce *ab arenis*, from the sands, is ridiculous (saith ^b *Peucer*) neither yet is his own much better, who brings it from *Hammatb*, which signifieth heat: because the said temple of *Jupiter Hammon* was seated in *Libya*, where the air is exceeding hot and scorching. And as for the antiquity of the latter *Jupiter* (among the *Greeks* and *Romans* the most renowned) it is certain that he was born not long before the war of *Troy*, as by many of his sons is made manifest; namely,

Castor, *Pollux*, *Hercules*, *Sarpedon*, and others, which lived in that age of *Priamus*, under whom, and with whom, *Troy* was destroyed.

Now seeing that mortal men, and the most wicked, were esteemed immortal among the heathen; it was not to be wondred at, that *Alexander Macedon*, *Tiberius*, *Nero*, *Caligula*, and others sought to be numbred among them, who were as deformed monsters as the rest: For by what reason could the same deity be denied unto *Laurentia* and *Flora*, which was given to *Venus*? seeing they were as notorious and famous harlots as she was.

SECT. VII.

That the wiser of the ancient heathen had far better opinions of God.

BUT that ever *Pythagoras*, or *Plato*, or *Orpheus*, with many other ancient and excellently learned, believed in any of these fooleries, it cannot be suspected, tho' some of them (over-busily) have mixed their own inventions with the scriptures: for, in punishment for their fictions, did *Pythagoras* hang both *Homer* and *Hesiod* in hell, where he

^a Euseb. l. 2. c. 7.

^b Peucer de Oracul.

feigned that they were perpetually stung and pinched with serpents. Yet it cannot be doubted, but that *Homer* had read over all the books of *Moses*, as by places stolen thence almost word for word, may appear; of which *Justin Martyr* remembreth many in that treatise converted by *Mirandula*. As for *Plato*, tho' he dissembled in some things, for fear of the inquisition of the *Arcopagites*, yet St. *Augustine* hath already answered for him (as before remembred) *Et mirifice iis delectatus est, quæ de uno Deo tradita fuerant*; And he was greatly delighted in the doctrine of one God, saith *Justin Martyr*. Now however *Lactantius* pleased to reprehend *Plato*, because (saith he) *Plato* sought knowledge from the *Egyptians* and the *Chaldeans*, neglecting the *Jews* and books of *Moses*: ^a *Eusebius*, *Cyrillus*, and *Origen*, find reason to believe the contrary, thinking that from thence he took the grounds of all by him written of God, or favouring of divinity: and the same opinion had St. *Ambrose* of *Pythagoras*.

But whether it were out of the same vanity, which possess'd all those learned philosophers and poets, that *Plato* also publish'd (not under the right authors names) those things which he had read in the scriptures; or fearing the severity of the ^b *Arcopagites*, and the example of his master *Socrates*, by them put to death by poison, I cannot judge. *Justin Martyr* (as it seemeth) ascribeth it wholly to *Plato's* fear, whose words among many other of the same effect, are these, *Plato Mosi mentionem facere, ob id, quod unum solumque Deum docuerat, sibi apud Athenienses tutum non putavit, veritus Arcopagum*; *Plato* fearing the *Arcopagites* thought it not safe for him among the *Athenians* to make mention of *Moses*, that he taught that there is but one God. But for that divinity which he hath written in *Timæo*; *Id ipsum de Deo differuit quod & Moses*; He discoursed and taught the same of God (saith *Justin Martyr*) which *Moses* did. For where it pleased God by his angel to answer *Moses*, *Ego sum existens* (which is) ^d *I am*; and *existens misit me ad vos*, I am hath sent me unto you; herein did *Plato* (saith *Justine Martyr*) no otherwise differ than that *Moses* used the word [*qui*] and *Plato* the word [*quod*]. *Moses enim qui existit (inquit,) Plato quod existit*. For *Moses* saith, *He who is*; *Plato*, *That which is*. Now of God's incomprehensible nature, and of the difficulty either to conceive, or express the same, he giveth this testimony: *Genitorem universitatis tam difficile est invenire, quam inventum impossibile digne profari*; It is as hard to find out the Creator of the universal, as it is impossible, if he were found, to speak of him worthily. And what can be more agreeable to the majesty of God's nature, than this property by *Plato* acknowledged? *Deus bonus, & quidem, Deus causa bonorum; malorum autem omnium non causa*; God is absolutely good, and so (assuredly) the cause of all that is good; but of any thing that is evil he is no cause at all; and again, *Charitas Dei fuit causa factiōis mundi, & originis omnium rerum*; The love of God was the cause of the world's creating, and the original of all things. *Apuleius* the *Platonist*, *Summus Deus infinitus est, non solum loci exclusione, sed etiam naturæ dignitate: & nihil est Deo similis & gratius, quam vir animo perfecto bonus*; The most high God is also an infinite God, not only by exclusion of place, but by the dignity of nature: neither is there any thing more like or more acceptable to God, than a man

of a perfect heart: ⁸ *Thales* affirmed; that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the most ancient, *quia nunquam esse cœpit*, because he never had any beginning: *Zeno*, that God beheld even the thoughts of Men: *Athenodorus*, that therefore all men ought to be careful in the actions of their life, because God was every where present, and beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to *Moses's* story of the creation, than this opinion and description of the world's beginning in *Euripides*, scholar of *Anaxagoras*?

*Cælum terraque unius formæ fuit:
Sed cum fuissent abjuncta amplexu mutuo,
Emersit omnis in lucem res progenita,
Arbores, aves, feræ, quasque affert mare,
Genusque mortalium.*

Heaven and earth one form did bear:
But when disjoined once they were
From mutual embraces.
All things to light appeared then,
Of trees, birds, beasts, fishes, and men
The still remaining races.

And as in *Pythagoras*, in *Socrates*, and in *Plato*: so we find the same excellent understanding in *Orpheus*, who every where expressed the infinite and sole power of one God, tho' he uses the name of *Jupiter*, thereby to avoid the envy and danger of the time; but that he could attribute those things to the sons of men and mortal creatures, which he doth to this *Jupiter*, there is no man who hath ever heard of God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (saith *Mirandula*) *quos Orpheus canit, non decipientium dæmonum, a quibus malum & non bonum provenit; sed naturalium virtutum divinarumque sunt nomina*; The names of those gods whom *Orpheus* doth sing, are not of deceiving devils, from whom evil comes, and not goodness; but they are the names of natural and divine virtues. Yea, that he yet reacheth higher, and speaketh of God himself, this his instruction to *Museus*, and the hymn following teach us. *Respicens vero ad divinum hunc sermonem ei diligenter animum adverte, intendens cordis rationis capax conceptaculum: rectam autem ascende viam, & solum aspice mundi regem. Unus est ex se genitus, ex eo omnia nata sunt: ipse vero in illis versatur, nec quisquam eum intueri potest mortalium, sed ipse nihilominus omnes intuetur.*

Then marking this my sacred speech, but truly lend
Thy heart, that's reason's sphere, and the right way ascend,
And see the world's sole king. First, he is simply one
Begotten of himself, from whom is born alone
All else; in which he's still, nor could it ere befall
A mortal eye to see him once, yet he sees all.

And again the same author.

*Jupiter omnipotens, & primus, & ultimus idem;
Jupiter est caput & medium: Jovis omnia munus.
Jupiter est fundamen humi & stellantis Olympi.
Jupiter & mas est, & femina nescia mortis.
Spiritus est cunctis, validi vis Jupiter ignis.
Et pelagi radix, Sol, Luna est Jupiter ipse.
Rex, & origo simul rerum est, & terminus idem.
Nam prius occuluit, magno post numine, sacrum
Cor referans bonus in dulcem dedit omnia lucem.*

^a Euseb. præp. evang. l. 11. Cyril. cont. Julian. Origen. cont. Celsum. Ambros. ad Iren. ep. 6. l. 1. ^b Arcopagus, or domus seu mons Martis, Mars's hill: a house wherein capital matters were tried: so called at first, because Mars therein first pleaded his cause for the murder of Heliuthos. Paulan. in Attic. Nat. Com. l. 2. c. 7. ^c Just. Mart. adu. gent. fol. 8. l. 4. ut sup. l. 1. vol. 3. l. 4. ^d In Timæo. ^e De Legib. l. 10. ⁸ Laertius.

The first of all is God, and the same last is he.
 God is the head and midst, yea from him all things be.
 God is the base of earth, and of the starred sky.
 He is the male and female too, shall never die.
 The spirit of all is God, the sun, and moon, and what is higher.
 The king, th' original of all, of all the end.
 For close in holy breast he all did comprehend,
 Whence all to blessed light, his wondrous power did send.

Now besides these former testimonies, that all the learned men of ancient times were not so stupid and ignorant, as the *Egyptians*, *Grecians*, and other nations by them infected were, I will only repeat two or three other opinions, and leave the reader to those large and learned collections of *Justin Martyr*, *Clemens*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *Engubinus*, *Peucer*, *Plessis*, *Daneus*, and others. For *Cleanthes* the *Stoick*, being demanded of what nature God was, describ'd him by these attributes and properties, *Bonus, iustus, sanctus, seipsum possidens, utilis, speciosus, optimus, severus, liber, semper commodus, tutus, gloriosus, charitas, &c.* Good, just, holy, possessing himself, profitable, beautiful, best, severe, free, always doing good, safe without fear, glorious, and self-charity. *Epicharmus* affirm'd, that God who beheld all things, and pierced every nature, was only and every where powerful: agreeing with *Democritus*. *Rex omnium ipse solus*; He is the only King of all kings; and with *Pindarus* the poet, *Deus unus, Pater, Creator summus, atque optimus Artifex, qui progressus singulis diversos secundum merita præbet*; One God, the Father, the most high Creator, and best Artificer, who giveth to every thing divers proceedings according to their deserts. This God (saith *Antisthenes*) cannot be resembled to any thing, and therefore not elsewhere known; *Nisi in patria illa perenni, cujus imaginem nullam habes*; Save only in that everlasting country, whose image thou hast none at all. Hereof also *Xenophanes Colophonius*, *Unus Deus inter Deos & homines maximus, nec corpore, nec mente mortalibus similis*; There is one God among Gods and men most powerful, neither corporally, nor mentally like unto mortals: and *Xenophon*, *Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quiescere facit, magnus potensque, quod omnibus patet: qualis autem forma sit, nemini patet, nisi ipsi soli, qui luce sua omnia perlustrat*; God who shaketh all things, and setteth all thing at rest, is great and mighty, as is manifest to all: but of what form he is, it is manifest to none, save only to himself, who illuminateth all things with his own light. Finally, *Plato* saith, *Totius rerum naturæ Causa, & Ratio, & Origo Deus, summus animi Genitor, æternus animantium Sospitator, assiduus mundi sui Opifex, sine propagatione Genitor, neque loco neque tempore ullo comprehensus; eoque paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis*; God is the Cause, Ground, and Original of the whole nature of things, the most high Father of the soul, the eternal Preserver of living creatures, the continual Framer of his world, a Beggetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time; therefore few can conceive him in thought, none can express what he is. Therefore was it said by *St. Jerome*, "*Si enim cunctos philosophorum revolvās libros, necesse est ut in eis reperias aliquam partem vasorum Dei, ut apud Platonem, Fabricatorem mundi, Deum: apud Zenonem Stoicorum principem, inferos & immortales animas, &c.*" If thou consider all the books of the phi-

losophers, thou canst not but find in them some part of the vessels of God, as in *Plato*, God the Creator of the world: in *Zeno* prince of the *Stoicks*, Hell and immortal souls. And this is certain, that if we look into the wisdom of all ages, we shall find, that there never was man of solid understanding or excellent judgment; never any man whose mind the art of education hath not bended; whose eyes a foolish superstition hath not afterwards blinded; whose apprehensions are sober, and by a pensive inspection advis'd; but that he hath found by an irresistible necessity, one true God, and everlasting Being, all for ever causing, and all for ever sustaining; which no man among the heathen hath with more reverence acknowledged, or more learnedly express'd, than that *Egyptian Hermes*, howsoever it failed afterwards in his posterity: all being at length by devilish policy of the *Egyptian* priests purposely obscur'd; who invented new Gods, and those innumerable, best sorting (as the devil persuaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fittest to keep in awe and order their common people.

S E C T. VIII.

That Heathenism and Judaism, after many wounds, were at length about the same time under Julian miraculously confounded.

BUT all these are again vanished: for the inventions of mortal men are no less mortal than themselves. The fire, which the *Chaldeans* worshipped for a God, is crept into every man's chimney, which the lack of fuel starveth, water quencheth, and want of air suffocateth: *Jupiter* is no more vexed with *Juno's* jealousies; death hath persuaded him to chastity, and her to patience; and that time which hath devoured it self, hath also eaten up both the bodies and images of him and his: yea, their stately temples of stone and dureful marble. The houses and sumptuous buildings erected to *Baal*, can no where be found upon the earth; nor any monument of that glorious temple consecrated to *Diana*. There are none now in *Phenicia*, that lament the death of *Adonis*; nor any in *Libya*, *Creta*, *Thessalia*, or elsewhere, that can ask counsel or help from *Jupiter*. The great God *Pan* hath broken his pipes; *Apollo's* priests are become speechless; and the trade of riddles in oracles, with the devil's telling mens fortunes therein, is taken up by counterfeit *Egyptians*, and cozening astrologers.

But it was long ere the devil gave way to these his overthrows and dishonours: for after the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* (one of his chief mansions) was many times robbed, burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the same was often enrich'd, repair'd, and re-edified again, till by the hand of God himself it received the last and utter subversion. For it was first robbed of all the idols and ornaments therein by the *Eubean* pirates; secondly, By the *Phlegians* utterly sack'd: thirdly, By *Pyræus* the son of *Achilles*: fourthly, By the army of *Xerxes*: fifthly, By the captains of the *Phoenices*: sixthly, By *Nero*, who carried thence five hundred brazen images: all which were new made, and therein again set up at the common charge. But whatsoever was gathered between the time of *Nero* and *Constantine*, the Christian army made spoil of, defacing as much as the time permitted them; notwithstanding all this it was again gloriously rebuilt, and so remain'd till such time as *Julian* the *Apostate* sent thither to know the suc-

* Hieron. in Com. in Dan. in princip.

cess of his *Parthian* enterprise, at which time it was utterly burnt and consumed with fire from heaven; and the image of *Apollo* himself, and all the rest of the idols therein molten down and lost in the earth.

The like success had the *Jews* in the same *Julian's* time, when by his permission they assembled themselves to rebuild the temple of *Jerusalem*: for while they were busied to lay the foundations, their buildings were overthrown by an earthquake, and many thousands of the *Jews* were overwhelmed with the ruins, and others slain, and scattered by tempest and thunder: though ^a *Am. Marcellinus* reports it more favourably for the *Jews*, ascribing this to the nature of that element. For, saith he, *Allypius* and the ruler of the province of *Judea*, being by *Julian* busied in the re-edifying of this temple, flaming balls of fire issuing near the foundation, and oft consuming the workmen, made the enterprize frustrate.

SECT. IX.

Of the last refuges of the devil to maintain his kingdom.

NOW the devil, because he cannot play upon the open stage of this world (as in those days) and being still as industrious as ever, finds it more for his advantage to creep into the minds of men; and inhabiting in the temples of their hearts, works them to a more effectual adoration of himself than ever. For whereas he first taught them to sacrifice to monsters, to dead stones cut into faces of beasts, birds, and other mix'd natures; he now sets before them the high and shining idol of glory, the all-commanding image of bright gold. He tells them that truth is the goddess of dangers and oppressions; that chastity is the enemy of nature: and lastly, that as all virtue (in general) is without taste: so pleasure satisfieth and delighteth every sense: for true wisdom (saith he) is exercised in nothing else, than in the obtaining of power to oppress, and of riches to maintain plentifully our worldly delights. And if this *Arch-politician* find in his pupils any remorse, any feeling or fear of God's future judgment, he persuades them that God hath so great need of mens souls, that he will accept them at any time, and upon any conditions: interrupting by his vigilant endeavours all offer of timely return towards God, by laying those great blocks of rugged poverty, and despised contempt in the narrow passage leading to his Divine Presence. But as the mind of man hath two ports, the one always frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other desolate and overgrown with grass, by which enter our charitable thoughts and divine contemplations: so hath that of death a double and twofold opening: worldly misery passing by the one, worldly prosperity by the other: at the entrance of the one we find our sufferings and patience to attend us: (all which have gone before us to prepare our joys) at the other our cruelties, covetousness, licentiousness, injustice, and oppressions (the harbingers of most fearful and terrible sorrow) slaying for us. And as the devil, our most industrious enemy was ever most diligent: so he is now more laborious than ever: the long day of mankind drawing fast towards an evening, and the world's tragedy and time near at an end.

CHAP. VII.

Of NOAH's flood.

SECT. I.

Of God's fore-warning: and some human testimonies: and some doubting touching the truth of Noah's flood.

OF this destruction it pleased God to give warning unto *Noah*: who (saith ^b *Josephus*) fearing to perish among the rest, *Scedens cum suis, in aliam regionem migravit*; He departed with his children, and travelled into another region. And of these giants, from whom *Noah* withdrew himself, *Berosus* writeth in this manner: *That they exceeded in all sorts of inhuman and unnatural wickedness, and that they were contemptores & religionis & Deorum*; Contemners of religion and of the Gods: among which mighty men (saith *Berosus*) *Unus erat qui Deorum venerantior, & prudentior cunctis, &c. huic nomen erat Noah*; There was one more wise and reverencing the Gods than the rest, whose name was *Noah*: who with his three sons *Sem*, *Japhet* and *Cham*, and with their wives, and the wife of *Noah* (namely *Titea* the great, *Pandora*, *Noela*, and *Noegla*) preserved themselves in the ark. This ark God commanded *Noah* to prepare: *And God said unto Noah, make thee an ark of pine-trees: thou shalt make cabins in the ark, and shalt pitch it within, and without, with pitch.* For God made ^d *Noah* to know that an end of all flesh was at hand, and that the graves of the rebellious and cruel generations were already fashion'd in the clouds, which soon after should swallow up and cover all living creatures, which breathed in the air: *Noah* and his family excepted.

But this universal grave of waters, and general deluge, hath not been received by all: for divine testimonies do not persuade all natural men to those things, to which their own reason cannot reach: *Dum obvoluta in obscuro veritas latet*; Whilst the truth lieth wrapp'd up in obscurity. Many there are who have disputed against the universality of this overflowing, and have judged that this flood of *Noah* fell but in some particular places and kingdoms: moved so to think, because in elder ages there have been many other floods (as they suppose) of that nature. Hereof *Nicolaus Damascenus* writeth in this manner, as his words are cited by *Josephus*, *Esl super Minyadam excelsus mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos confugientes sermo est diluvii tempore liberatos, & quendam simul in arca devectum in hujus vertice hæsisse, lignorumque reliquias multo tempore conservatas, qui fortasse is fuit, de quo etiam Moses Judeorum legislator scribit*: thus far this author. *There is* (saith he) *above Minyada* (or the country of *Minya*) *an exceeding high mountain in Armenia, called Baris; on which it is reported, that many having fled thither, were saved in the time of the deluge: and that one was carried in an ark, and rested upon the top of the mountain, whereon there remained a long time after certain pieces thereof; and this might be the same, of which Moses the law-giver of the Jews maketh mention.* And of this opinion were the *Thalmudists* (saith *Annius*) that many giants saved themselves upon mount *Sion*.

But *Berosus* (who after *Moses* was one of the most ancient, howsoever he have been since deformed

^a *Am. Mar. l. 23. cap. 1.* ^b *Joseph. l. 1. cap. 4.*

^c *Joseph. Ant. l. 1. c. 4. Euseb. de prep. l. 9. c. 4.*

^d *Gen. 6. 14.*

^e *Gen. 6. 13.*

^f *Laët. in Pref. de falsâ relig.*

and corrupted) doth in the substance of all agree with *Moses* as touching the general flood, taking from thence the beginning of his history in these words: *Ante aquarum cladem famosam, qua universus periit orbis, &c.* Before that famous destruction of waters, by which the world universal perished: witnessing withal, that *Noah*, with his wife *Titaa*, and his three sons, with their wives (in all eight persons) were only saved.

S E C T. II.

Of the flood in the time of Ogyges: and that this was not Noah's flood.

BUT from the vanity of the *Greeks*, the corrupters of all truth (saith *Lactantius*) who without all ground of certainty vaunt their antiquity, came the error first of all: who therein flattering themselves also, sought to persuade the world, that there was no flood preceded the flood of *Ogyges*, king of the *Thebans* in *Bæotia*, or rather of *Attica*; and therefore saith *Rhodoginus*, ^a *Ogygium id appellant poetæ tanquam pervetus dixeris, ab Ogyge vetustissimo*; The poets gave the name of *Ogygia* to things exceeding ancient, as of *Ogyges* the most ancient.

But let *Ogyges* be as ancient as those men can make him, yet it is manifest, that he lived but in *Jacob's* time (tho' ^b *Eusebius* makes him later, and in *Moses's* time) and was born 67 years after him.

There is also an opinion, that *Ogyges* was *Cadmus* (and then was he far later) as *Rhodoginus* in the ninth book of his antiquities remembreth: *Sunt tamen qui in Ægypto regnasse autument hunc; unde fit Cadmus qui in Græciam profectus Thebas condidit, à bove jugulato sic nuncupatus; quoniam Syrorum lingua bos dicitur Thebe.* There are (saith *he*) who think that this *Ogyges* did reign in *Egypt*, whereby he should be *Cadmus*, who travelling into *Greece* built *Thebes*, so named of a beef slain: because in the *Syrian* language a beef is called *Thebe*.

But this flood of *Ogyges* fell in the year of the world 3440, according to *Eusebius*, who followed the account of the *Septuagint*: and the flood of *Noah* in the year 2242, after the same account; and so there came 1200 years between these floods, wanting but two, though herein *Eusebius* was much mistaken, and corrected this opinion in his *Chronology*. Now although the very year and time of this overflowing in *Achaia*, or rather *Attica*, be not precisely set down, but that there is a great difference among writers, yet whosoever makes it most ancient, finds above 500 years difference between that and the general flood.

For ^c *Paulus Orosius* affirms, that this tempest fell upon the *Athenians* but 1040 years before *Rome* was built. *Bucholzerus* saith it was 1043 elder than *Rome*; which was founded (according to the same *Bucholzerus*) in the world's year 3219, tho' alter the account which I follow (and whereof I will give my reasons in the story of *Abraham*) it was built in the world's year 3280. Now the general flood preceded the building of *Rome* (saith *Bucholzerus*) 1563 years: and the flood of *Ogyges* (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by easy calculation, that (if he place *Ogyges* in his true age) the difference between these two floods must be 520 years, to which we (allowing 60 more) find 580. And that this of *Ogyges* was not the same of *Noah* (except we call *Noah* *Ogyges prius*, ^d as some do) it appears by this, that the flood of *Ogyges* then king of *Attica* or *Ogygia*, did not extend it self any

farther than the banks of *Archipelago*, or *Ægean* sea. For whereas ^e *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus* witness, that the city of *Joppe* in *Judea* was founded before the flood; and that (notwithstanding the weight of waters) their remained on certain altars of stone the title of the king, and of his brother *Phineus*, with many of the grounds of their religion: sure, it is no where found among prophane historians, nor in the scriptures, that ever the flood of *Ogyges* spread it self over any part of *Syria*, much less over all the earth. But that it drown'd both the regions of *Attica* about *Athens*, and that of *Achaia* in *Peloponnesus*, it is very probable. For it seemeth that at that time it was, when *Helice* and *Bura* were swallowed up (cities seated on the north part of *Peloponnesus*) of which *Ovid*.

^f *Si queras Helicen, & Buran, Achaidos urbes, Invenies sub aquis.*

Bura and *Helice* on *Achaian* ground
Are sought in vain, but under sea are found.

Of this flood of *Ogyges* was invented the fable of ^g *Apollo* and *Diana*. For *Latona*, the daughter of *Cæus*, the son of *Titan*, being beloved and forced by *Jupiter*, and by him gotten with child, *Juno* thereat enraged, permitted her (as they say) no part of the earth to be delivered on; and withal caused the monstrous serpent *Python* to follow and affright her, wheresoever she travelled, till at length arriving at the isle of *Ortygia* she was there received: in which she was delivered, first of *Diana*, and then of *Apollo*, being twins; whereof *Barlaam* makes this exposition: That at such time as the deluge (which happened in *Ogyges's* reign) ceased, out of the abundant moisture of the earth (heat by putrefaction being thereto mix'd) there were exhaled such thick mists and fogs, that in *Attica*, and along the coasts of the *Ægean* sea, neither the beams of the sun by day, nor of the moon by night, could pierce the air, or be perceived by the inhabitants: so as when at length (the earth being dried, and these vapours dissipated) the air began to be clear, the people of ^h *Ortygia* espied the light of the moon somewhat before day, and in the same morning the sun also appeared: fabulously (because *Diana* represented the moon, and *Apollo* the sun) they were reported to be born in the isle of *Ortygia* thereof afterwards called *Delos*, which signifieth manifestation.

And surely it is not improbable, that the flood of *Ogyges*, being so great as histories have reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the air sensibly discerned in those parts, and some unusual face of the skies. *Varro* in his books *De gente populi Romani* (as he is cited by ⁱ *St. Augustine*) reporteth out of *Castor*, that so great a miracle happened in the star of *Venus*, as never was seen before, nor in after-times: for the colour, the greatness, the figure, and the course of it, were changed. This fell out as *Adraffus Cyzicenus*, and *Dion Neapolites*, famous *Mathematicians*, affirmed, in the time of *Ogyges*.

Now concerning the course of that or any planet, I do not remember, that I have any where read of so good *astrologers* flourishing among the *Greeks*, or elsewhere, in those days, as were likely to make any calculation of the revolutions of the planets so exact, that it should need no reformation. Of the colour and magnitude. I see no reason why the difference found in the star of *Venus* should be held miraculous; considering that lesser mists and

^a Rhod. l. 15. c. 33. ^b Euseb. de prep. Evang. l. 10. c. 3. Cal. 22. ^c Lib. 1. c. 7. ^d Xenophon, Amianus. ^e Mela, l. 3. Plin. l. 5. Sol. c. 47. ^f Joppe oppidum antiquissimum ubi et tota, utpote ante inundationem terrarum conditum. Ovid. Metam. l. 15. 303. ^g Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 6. ^h Plin. l. 4. c. 11. ⁱ Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 21. c. 8.

fogs, than those which covered Greece with so long darkness, do familiarly present our senses with as great alterations in the *sun* and *moon*. That the figure should vary, questionless it was very strange : yet I cannot hold it any prodigy ; for it stands well with good reason, that the side of *Venus* which the *sun* beholds, being enlightened by him, the opposite half should remain shadowed ; whereby that planet would, unto our eyes, descrying only that part whereon the light falleth, appear to be horned, as the *moon* doth seem ; if distance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehension of our senses.

Galileus, a worthy *Astrologer* now living, who by the help of perspective glasses hath found in the stars many things unknown to the ancients, affirmeth so much to have been discovered in *Venus* by his late observations. Whether some watery disposition of the air might present as much to them that lived with *Ogyges*, as *Galileus* hath seen thro' his instrument ; I cannot tell : sure I am, that the discovery of a truth formerly unknown, doth rather convince man of ignorance, than nature of error. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular flood of *Ogyges*, was (as appeareth by this of *St. Augustine*) accompanied with such unusual (and therefore the more dreadful, tho' natural) signs testifying the concurrence of causes with effects in that inundation ; whereas the flood of *Noah*, which was general and altogether miraculous, may seem to have had no other token, or foreshewing, than the long preaching of *Noah* himself, which was not regarded : * for they were eating and drinking, when the flood came suddenly, and took them all away.

SECT. III.

Of Deucalion's flood : and that this was not Noah's flood : nor the Umbri in Italy a remnant of any universal flood.

A Second flood of great fame, and of which the time is more certain, was that of *Deucalion* in *Theffalia*, of which *St. Augustine* out of *Varro*. *His temporibus (ut Varro scribit) regnante Atheniensibus Cranao, successore Cecropis (ut autem nostri, Eusebius & Hieronymus) adhuc eodem Cecrope permanente, Diluvium fuit, quod appellatum est Deucalionis ;* (that is) In these times (as *Varro* reporteth) *Cranaus* the successor of *Cecrops* governing the *Athenians*, or (as our *Eusebius* and *Jerome* say) *Cecrops* yet living, that flood (called *Deucalion's*) happened.

And in the beginning of the 11th chapter of the same 18th book, he useth these words. *Eduxit ergo Moses ex Aegypto populum Dei novissimo tempore Cecropis Atheniensium regis, cum apud Assyrios regnaret Ascatades, apud Sicyonios Marathus, apud Argivos Triopas.* *Moses* led the people of God out of *Egypt* about the latter times of *Cecrops* king of the *Athenians*, *Ascatades* reigning over the *Assyrians*, over the *Sicyonians* *Marathus*, and over the *Argives* *Triopas* : so as leaving the curiosity of a few years, more or less, it appeareth, that this flood of *Deucalion* was either at the egression of the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, or near it : and then after *Noah* 753 years, according to *Functius*, who makes *Cecrops* to live in the year of the world 2409, or if we follow *Mercator*, then 739 years after *Noah*, and in the year of the world 2395. But if *Deucalion* were born in the age of the world 2356, according to *Codoman* ; then giving unto *Deucalion* 40 years of age when this flood happen'd, it falleth within one year of *Mercator's* account. But *Deucalion* by

all approved historians is said to have been 82 years old at that time. Now *Clemens Alexandrinus* dates the time of this flood of *Deucalion*, and the conflagration and burning in *Phaëton's* time, by the reign of *Crotopus* king of the *Argives* ; but *Crotopus* lived king of the *Argives* 6 years after *Israel* departed *Egypt*, which makes 20 years difference according to *Functius*, who will have this flood and burning to have fallen 14 years before *Moses* left *Egypt* : for he gave of the world's years to the flood and burning the year 2440, and to *Moses's* egression the year 2454. And yet ^b *Cedrenus* thinks that *Moses* was more ancient, and lived with *Inachus* ; but that cannot be true : for then had the flood of *Deucalion*, and the burning of *Phaëton*, preceded the flood of *Ogyges*, which is deny'd by all : for that of *Theffaly* (called *Deucalion's*) follow'd that of *Attica* (called *Ogygia*) at least 250 years, or thereabouts. *Eusebius*, in his *Chronology*, makes it 230 years, and so doth *P. Orosius* : *Eusebius* about the 50th year of *Moses's* life, and *Cyrillus* about the 67th, and both after *Noah's* flood 770 years : for these be *Clemens Alexandrinus's* words : *Fuit autem in Grecia tempore quidem Phoronei, qui fuit post Inachum, inundatio quæ fuit tempore Ogygis ;* There happened in Greece in the time of *Phoroneus*, who lived after *Inachus* the flood of *Ogyges*. Now if the flood of *Ogyges* in *Attica* were 1020 or 1016 years before the first *Olympiad*, according to *Eusebius* and *Orosius* (as before) then is it manifest, that taking 763 out of this number of 1020, it falls out that *Ogyges's* flood happened before the *Hebrews* left *Egypt* 250 years, or 260 years, according to the difference between the opinions of ^d *Eusebius* and *Orosius*. And for my self (who rather follow those *Chronologers*, which give 60 years more to *Abraham* after the flood, than the rest) I reckon the times which come between these floods in this sort. The general flood was in the year of the world 1656. *Jacob* was born in the year of the world 2169, so as from the beginning of the flood to *Jacob's* birth, there were consum'd 513 years. *Ogyges's* flood happened 100 years after *Jacob* was born ; and therefore after the general flood 613 years. Now *Deucalion* was born in the year of the world 2356, and had lived 82 years, when his kingdom of *Theffaly* was overwhelmed (which added to 2356, make 2438) his flood was after *Noah's* flood ended 782 years. And hereto *Annius's* *Xenophon* agreeth, who makes 700 years between the general flood and *Deucalion's* birth ; to which add 82 years of his age (as before) and then the flood of *Theffaly* followed the general 782 years. The words of that *Xenophon* are these : *Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum Deucalionis, secundo anno Sphæri, septingenti supputantur anni, qui natus annos duos & octoginta Theffaliam vidit inundatam :* From the drowning of the world to the birth of *Deucalion*, in the second year of *Sphærus* are numbred 700 years, and when *Deucalion* was 82 years old, he saw *Theffalia* drowned. This flood happened in the winter time about *Parnassus* : witness *Aristotle* in the first of his *Meteors*. And *Varro* (whom *St. Augustine* so often citeth for his excellent learning, especially in antiquities) findeth this flood of *Deucalion* to have happened in the time of *Cranaus*, who succeeded *Cecrops* : *Orosius* thinks it somewhat later, *Amphitryon* reigning in *Athens*, the third from *Cecrops*. Only this of *Deucalion* was very great, and reached not only over *Theffaly* it self, and the regions adjoining westward ; but it covered the greatest part of *Italy* : and either the same, or some other particular flood then happening oppress'd *Egypt*, saith *Eusebius*. And therefore did the *Greeks* either

* Luke 17. 27. ^b Cedr. l. 1. c. 34. ^c Clem. Alex. l. 1. lib. ex Ctel ^d Euseb. in Chron. ^e Arill. c. 14.

think it, or feign it to be universal; and *Deucalion*, then king, saving himself and some others on the mountain of *Theffaly* (of all other the highest, saith ^a *Solinus*) was by reason thereof (as ^a *Strabo* witnesseth) said to be the preserver of mankind. That this flood covered a great part of *Italy*, ^a *Pliny* and *Solinus* make it probable: who affirm that the people then inhabiting *Italy* were therefore called *ὀμβροί*, *quia ab imbris diluvii superfuissent*; and therefore also were they esteemed the most ancient nation, as *Strabo* confirmeth in his first book, and *Trezenius* in his second: which *Umbri* these authors make the parents of the *Sabines*, and the *Sabines* to be the parents of the *Samnites*, *Piceni*, *Lucani*, *Bruttii*, and all others inhabiting anciently the banks of the *Mediterranean* sea. But that these *Umbri* were not the inhabitants of *Italy* before the flood of *Noah*, and so took name by saving themselves upon the *Apennine* mountains, the scriptures teach us: shewing who, and who only, then were preserved, which is sufficient. ^b Report hath adventured further, telling us that the first people, which after the general flood inhabited *Italy*, were the *Camefenes* (so named from *Camefe*, whom *Cato in originibus*, another of *Annius's* authors, names for a consort of *Janus*) which people lived altogether a savage life; till such time as *Saturn* arriving on those coasts, devised laws to govern them by; the memory of whose acts in that region *Diodore* and *Thallus* among the *Greeks*, *Nepos*, *Cassius* and *Varro* among the *Latins* have preserved; and of whom *Virgil*;

*Primus ab aethereo venit Saturnus Olympo,
Arma Jovis fugiens, & regnis exul adeptis.
Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis
Composuit, legesque dedit, Latiumque vocari
Maluit.*

Saturn descended from the heavens high,
Fearing the arms of *Jupiter* his son,
His kingdom lost, and banish'd thence doth fly.
Rude people on the mountain tops he won
To live together, and by laws: which done,
He chose to call it *Latium*.

And afterwards in the verses following he speaketh of the *Aufones*, and after them of the *Sicani*: nations, which again sought to displant the ancient inhabitants:

Tum manus Aufonia, & gentes venire Sicani.

Then came th' *Aufonian* bands, and the *Sicanian* tribes.

Of these *Sicani* (which left *Spain* and sat down in *Italy*) ^c *Thucydides* and *Pliny* give testimony: who were again expelled by the *Ligii*, saith *Thucydides*. After all these plantations and replantations came the *Umbri*, descended of the *Gauls* (saith ^d *Annius*) not of those *Gauls* of *France*, but of those of *Scythia*, who commanded a great part of *Italy*, even all *Hetruria* and *Campania*, as ^e *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and *Dionysius*, have assured us; and therefore this flood of *Deucalion* was long after that of *Noah*. For all those nations were planted in *Italy*, and dispossest'd of *Italy* again, before the *Umbri* were ever heard of, or had being. So that kingdom was first called *Camefene*, then *Latium* or *Saturnia*, then *Aufonia*, then *Sicania*, before the *Umbri* (in whose time *Deucalion's* flood happened) possess'd the same, about 306 years before the war of *Troy*: *Lycæon* then governing *Arcadia*; who being the father of twenty-

two sons, the youngest, called ^h *Oenotrius*, invaded *Italy*, who gave it the name of *Oenotria*. This name it held until *Italus* of the same nation chang'd it into *Italy*, after his own name, about ⁱ 250 years before the fall of *Troy*. After these came the *Pelasgi*, of whom *Pliny* in his 3d book and 5th chapter; and *Strabo* in his 5th; *Thucydides* in his 6th speaks at large: and after them the *Lydi* under *Tyrrhenus* their captain, that gave name to the *Tyrrheni*; who casting thence the *Umbri*, took from them three hundred castles, and built therein twelve cities; to which (after they had possess'd and pass'd over the *Apennine* mountains) they added divers others, whereof *Telsina* (afterward *Bononia*) was one.

Now that there was not anciently such a nation, as these *Umbri*, in those parts, I do not affirm: having respect to the testimonies before repeated. And *Stephanus* thinks, that the name was derived from the *Greek* word *Ombros*; but that these *Umbri* of *Italy* were descended of the nation of *Scythians* (called *Galli*) it shall be shewed hereafter.

SECT. IV.

Of some other records testifying the universal flood: and of two ancient deluges in Egypt: and of some elsewhere.

ST. *Augustine* out of *Varro* affirmeth, that the *Greeks* and *Latins* made not any mention of the universal flood, because they had nothing of antiquity foregoing that of *Ogyges*; and therefore (according to *Rhodoginus* before remembred) were all things among the *Greeks* (which antiquity had worn out of knowledge) called *Ogygia*, which we in *English* commonly call worm-eaten, or of defaced date. But as all the parts of the earth were successively planted and peopled; and as all nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the instant: so did every family which afterward became a great people, with whom the knowledge of divine letters was not received, find no parent of more antiquity, than such as they had themselves, nor allow of any before their own; and as the *Grecians*, so did others vaunt themselves to be *Indigenæ*, and growing out of the earth, or invent some other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the *Chaldeans* had certain knowledge of *Noah's* flood, as *Berofus* witnesseth; and *Nicolas Damascenus* maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforesaid) tho' he also affirm by hearsay, that some giants saved themselves upon the mountains *Baris* in *Armenia*, but speaketh not thereof as from any authority approved: using the word *sermo est*, that such a speech there was. And ^k *Eusebius* remembreth a place out of the ancient historian *Abydenus*: who writeth that *Siffithrus*, to preserve himself from a flood foretold him by *Saturnus*, fled to the hills of *Armenia* by ship, *ad Armeniam navigio confugiebat*: who the third day (after the waters were fallen) sent forth birds, that finding no land to rest on, returned again; which he also did a second time, but at the third return the birds feet were covered with mud and slime. To this effect are *Eusebius's* words out of *Abydenus*, which may seem a true description (tho' in other terms) of *Noah's* flood.

Cyrellus also affirmeth, that *Alex. Polyhistor* maketh mention of this general flood. And *Plato* in *Timæo* produceth an *Egyptian* priest, who recounted to *Solon* out of the holy books of *Egypt*, the story of the flood universal, which (saith he) happened long before the *Grecian* inundations. Prior *Annius's*

^a Solin. l. 14. Strabo, l. 9. Plin. l. 3. c. 14. Sol. c. 7. Plin. ibid. ^b Athenæus. Dipsoph. l. 15. out of Diaco Corevæus, with that Camele was the wife and sister of Janus. Laët. l. 1. c. 13. ^c Æn. l. 8. 319. ^d Virg. l. 8. Æn. ^e Thucyd. l. 6. Plin. l. 3. c. 5. ^f Annus ex Samuele Thalmudista. ^g Herod. l. 1. Plin. l. 3. c. 5. Dion. l. 1. & 2. ^h Pausan. Arcad. l. 8. ⁱ And. pol. 7. c. 10. ^k Euseb. de prep. Evang. l. 9. c. 4.

Xenophon remembreth a flood, which also *Diodorus Siculus* confirmeth, somewhat more ancient than that of *Ogyges* in *Attica*. For he named the general flood for the first, which happened (saith he) under the old *Ogyges*, *sub prisco Ogyge*, which was *Noah*; he calleth the second *Niliaca*: *Hercules* and *Prometheus* then living 44 years before that of *Attica*, in the 34th year of *Belochus* king of the *Affyrians*, tho' I do not believe him as touching the time. But this flood covered a great part of the nether *Egypt*, especially all that region subject to *Prometheus*; and hereof came the fable of the *Vulture* on *Prometheus's* liver, afterward slain by *Hercules* of *Egypt*: which fiction *Diod. Siculus* delivereth in these words: *Fluvium propter cursus velocitatem profunditatemque aquarum Aquilam tunc appellatum, Herculem cum consilii magnitudine, tum virtute, volunt e vestigio compressisse, & aquarum impetum ad priorem cursum convertisse: unde & Græci quidam poetæ rem gestam in fabulam vertentes, Herculem tradunt aquilam Promethei jecur depascens occidisse.* This flood (meaning of *Nilus*) for the swiftness of his course, as also for the depth, was in those days called the *Eagle*: but *Hercules* by his great judgment and virtue did again compress and strengthen this river, so far extended and overspread, turning it into the old channels: whence certain Greek poets (converting this labour and work of *Hercules* into a fable) devised that *Hercules* slew the eagle, which fed on *Prometheus's* liver; meaning, that he delivered *Prometheus* of that sorrow and torment, which for the loss of his people and country (by the waters destroy'd and cover'd over) he suffered.

A fourth flood chanced about *Pharus* in *Egypt*, where *Alexander Macedon* built *Alexandria*, as *Annius* conceiveth out of his *Xenophon*, who in this brief sort writeth of all these inundations; *Inundationes plures fuere: prima novimestris inundatio terrarum sub prisco Ogyge: secunda Niliaca, &c.* There were many inundations (saith the same *Xenophon*) the first which was universal of nine months, and this happened under the first *Ogyges*: the second was *Niliaca*, and of one month's continuance in the time of *Hercules* and *Prometheus*, *Egyptians*: a third of two months under *Ogyges Atticus*: the fourth of three months in *Theffalia* under *Deucalion*; and a fifth of the like continuance (called *Pharonica*) under *Proteus* of *Egypt*, about the time of *Helen's* rape. *Diodorus* in his 5th book and 11th chapter, taking the *Samothraces* for his authors, remembreth a flood in *Asia* the less, and elsewhere, of no less destruction than any of the other particular inundations, saying, that the same happened before that of *Deucalion*: the sea of *Pontus* and *Hellefpont* breaking in over the land.

But there have been many floods in divers times and ages, not inferiour to any of these two last remembred, *Niliaca* and *Pharonica* in *Egypt*: as in the year of our redemption 590, when, in *October* of the same year, *Gregory* then being bishop of *Rome*, there happened a marvellous overflowing in *Italy*, and especially in the *Venetian* territory, and in *Liguria*, accompanied with a most fearful storm of thunder and lightning: after which followed the great plague at *Rome*, by reason of the many dead serpents cast up and left upon the land, after the waters decreased and returned. And in the year 1446, there perished 10000 people by the breaking in of the sea at *Dordrecht* in *Holland*: of which

kind I take that flood to be of *Achaia* or *Attica*. Before that, and the year 1283, *Tritheimius* speaketh of an earthquake which swallowed many thousands: and after that of a flood in *Friesland*, in which there perished 100000 persons. *Strozius Sigog.* in his *Magia omnifaria*, telleth of an inundation in *Italy*, in the time of pope *Damasus*, in which also many cities of *Sicily* were swallowed: another in the papacy of *Alexander* the sixth: also in the year 1515, *Maximilian* being emperor. He also remembreth a perilous overflowing in *Polonia*, about *Cracovia*, by which many people perished. Likewise *Viginier*, a French historian speaketh of a great flood in the south part of *Languedoc*, which fell in the year of our Lord 1557, with so dreadful a tempest, as all the people attended therein the very end of the world and judgment day; saying, that by the violent descent of the waters from the mountains, about *Nismes*, there were removed divers old heaps and mountures of ground, and many other places torn up and rent: by which accident there was found both coin of silver and gold, divers pieces of plate, and vessels of other metal, supposed to be hidden at such time as the *Goths* invaded that province, in the year 1156.

SECT. V.

That the flood of Noah was supernatural, tho' some say it might have been foreseen by the stars.

NOW howsoever all these floods and many others, which have covered at several times several regions, not only in these parts of the world, but in *America* also (as I have learned of some ancient soothsayers among them) may be ascribed to natural causes and accidents; yet that universal flood (in the time of *Noah*) was poured over the whole face of the earth by a power above nature, and by the special commandment of God himself, who at that time gave strength of influence to the stars, and abundance to the fountains of the deep: whereby the irruption of waters was made more forcible, than any ability of nature could effect, or any second causes by whatsoever union could perform, without receiving from the fountain of all power, strength, and faculties supernatural. *Henricus Mecliniensis*, a scholar of *Albertus Magnus*, in his commentaries upon the great conjunctions of *Albi Masar*, observeth, that before the flood of *Noah*, the like conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturn* happened in the last degree of *Cancer*, against that constellation since called the *Ship of Argos*; by which the flood of *Noah* might be foretold, because *Cancer* is both a watery sign, and the house of the moon, which is the lady of the sea, and of moisture, according to the rules of *astronomy*, and common experience. And this opinion *Petrus de Aliaco* upon *Genesis* confirmeth, affirming, that altho' *Noah* did well know this flood by divine revelation, yet (this conjunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the second causes thereof: for those were not only signs, but also working causes, by strength received from the first cause, which is God himself; and further, that by *Catarracte cæli* (*Englisht* the windows of heaven) *Moses* meant this great and watery conjunction; the word [*Catarractæ*] signifying flowing down or coming down. Now (saith *P. de Aliaco*) it pleased God to ordain by the course of the heavens such a constellation, by which all men might behold therein their destruction towards, and

^a Diod. l. 1. ^b Nat. Com. l. 4. c. 6. ^c Xenoph. de acquiv. Comm. per Annum, fol. 37. ^d Munster. ^e Belispha, & terremotus continui multa hominum millia oppresserunt. I risia quoque per maritimos fluctus tota parte submersa fuit, & perierunt plerumque 100000. ^f Also de Concordia Theolog. & Astrolog. Gen. 7. 11. ^g The word καταρρακτης properly signifieth any place of stoppage, against which the force of the water being naturally carried downwards, dasheth and breaketh; of καταρρακτις, or frango. Hence because windows do not only open but also shut, the word hath been transported & borrowed for bars and flood gates.

thereby forsake those wicked ways wherein they walked, and call unto God for mercy.

Of this judgment was *Gul. Parisiensis*, who understood that the words *Catarraetæ cæli*, or windows of heaven, were to be taken for the former conjunction, or for these watery signs, *Cancer, Pisces, Pleiades, Hyades* and *Orion*, and of the planets, *Mars, Venus* and the *Moon*: which are the forcible causes of the greatest inundations. His own words are these, *Nondum intelligo prophetam Hebræorum catarraetæ cæli vocasse, nisi partes illas cæli, quæ generativæ sunt pluviarum & inundationum aquarum, quales sunt signa aquatica, ut Cancer, &c.* as aforesaid. As yet (saith he) I perceive not what the prophet of the *Hebrews* meaneth by those words [*Catarraetæ cæli*, or windows of heaven] unless he thereby understands those celestial powers, by whose influences are engendered the rain, and inundations of waters, such as are the watery signs of *Cancer, &c.*

But in a word, as it might please God, that in the course of his unsearchable wisdom this conjunction should at such time be: so did he (as aforesaid) add vigour and faculty, and gave to every operation increase of virtues, violent eruptions to springs and fountains, commanding them to cast out the whole treasure and heap of their waters; taking retention from the clouds, and condensing air into water by the ministry of his angels, or howsoever else best pleased his all-powerfulness.

SECT. VI.

That there was no need of any new creation of matter to make the universal flood; and what are Catarraetæ cæli, Gen. vii. 11.

NOW if it be objected, that God doth not create any thing of new (for God resteth the seventh day, that is, he did not then after create any new *species*) which granted, it may seem that then all the earth and air had not waters sufficient to cover the habitable world fifteen cubits above the highest mountains. Of this proposition, whether God hath so restrained himself or no, I will not dispute; but for the consequent (which is) that the world had want of water to overcover the highest mountains, I take that conceit to be unlearned and foolish: for it is written, that *the fountains of the great deep were broken up*, that is, the waters forsook the very bowels of the earth; and all whatsoever was dispersed therein, pierced and broke thro' the face thereof. Then let us consider that the earth had above twenty-one thousand miles: the diameter of the earth according to that circle seven thousand miles; and then from the superficies to the center some three thousand five hundred miles: take then the highest mountain of the world, *Caucasus, Taurus, Olympus, or Atlas*, the mountains of *Armenia* or *Scythia*, or that (of all others the highest) in *Tenneris*, and I do not find, that he who looketh highest, stretcheth above thirty miles upright. It is not then impossible, answering reason with reason, that all those waters mixed within the earth three thousand five hundred miles deep should not well help to cover the space of thirty miles in height, this thirty miles upright being found in the depths of the earth one hundred and sixteen times: for the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the waters drawn out of the bowels of the earth. Secondly, If we consider what proportion the earth beareth to the extension of the air over and above it, we shall find the difference exceeding great. If then it pleased God to condense but so much of this air as every where compasseth and embraceth the earth, which condensation is a conversion of air into

water, a change familiar in those elements, it will not seem strange to men of judgment, yea but of ordinary understanding, that the earth (God so pleasing) was covered over with waters without any new creation.

Lastly, for the opinions of *Gulielmus Parisiensis*, and *Aliacenſis*, to which I may add *Berosus* and others, that such a conjunction there was, shewing that destruction by waters which followed; and that by the words *Catarraetæ cæli*, or windows of heaven, was meant this conjunction; there needs no other answer than that observation of *Ludovicus Vives*, who affirmeth that by the gravest *astrologers* it was observed, that in the Year 1524, there should happen the like conjunction, as at *Noah's* flood, than which (saith he) there was never a more fair, dry, and seasonable year: the like destruction was prophesied of the year 1588. But *Picus* earl of *Mirandula* proveth that there could not be any such conjunction at that time.

To conclude, I find no other mystery in the words *Catarraetæ cæli*, than that the clouds were meant thereby: *Moses* using the word *windows of heaven* (if that be the sense of the words) to express the violence of the rains, and pouring down of waters. For whosoever hath seen those fallings of water, which sometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the spouts (where clouds do not break into drops, but fall with a resistless violence in one body) may properly use that manner of speech which *Moses* did; that the windows or flood-gates of heaven opened: (which is) that waters fell contrary to custom and that order which we call natural. God then loosened the power retentive in the uppermost air; and the waters fell in abundance: *Behold* (saith ^a *Job*) *he which holdeth the waters, and they dry up*; or better in *Latin*, *Et omnia siccantur*; And all things are dried up; *but when he sendeth them out, they destroy the earth*: and in the 26th chapter, *he bindeth the waters in the clouds*; but these bonds God loosed at that time of the general flood, and called up the waters which slept in the great deep: and these joining together covered the earth, till they had performed the work of his will: which done, ^b he then commanded them to return into their dark and vast caves, and the rest (by a wind) rarified again into air, formerly condensed into drops.

SECT. VII.

Of some remainder of the memory of Noah among the heathen.

NOAH commanded by God, before the fall of those waters, entred the ark which he had built, with his own wife, and his sons, and his sons wives, taking with them of every creature, which took life by generation, seven of the clean, and of the unclean two. *Noah*, according to *Philo*, signifieth quietness: after others, and according to the prophecy of his father *Lamech*, cessation; to whom after-times gave many names answering his antiquity, zeal, virtue and other qualities: as, *the first Ogyges*, because in the time of the *Grecian Ogyges* there was also a great flood of *Achaia*: *Saturn* they called him, because he was the father of nations: others gave him the name of *Prometheus*, who was said to steal away *Jupiter's* fire; fire in that place being taken and understood for the knowledge of God and heavenly things. Others think, that he was so called for his excellent wisdom and foresight. He had also the name of *Jannus* (*id est*) *vinosus*, because *Jain* signifieth wine in the *Hebrew*. And so *Tertullian* finds him written in *libris ritua-*

^a Job 12. 15.

^b Gen. 8. 1

libus, in the books of ceremonies, preceding both *Saturn*, *Uranus* and *Jove*: which three enjoyed an elder time than all the other ancientest feigned gods. And this name *Jain* is taken from the *Hebrew* and *Syrian*, and not from the *Latin*; for it was in use before there was any *Latin* nation, or any kingdom by that name known. Of the antiquity of *Janus*, *Fabius Pictor* giveth this testimony. *Jani ætate nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus pectoribus nondum hæserat ulla regnandi cupiditas, &c. Vinum & far primus populos docuit Janus ad sacrificia: primus enim aras & pomæria & sacra docuit*; In the time of *Janus* (saith he) there was no monarchy: for the desire of rule had not folded it self about the hearts of men. *Janus* first taught the people to sacrifice wine and meal: he first set up altars, instituted gardens and solitary groves, wherein they used to pray; with other holy rites and ceremonies. A greater testimony than this there cannot be found among the heathen, which in all agreeth so well with the scriptures. For first, whilst *Noah* flourished, there was not any king or monarch: *Nimrod* being the first that took on him, sovereign authority. Secondly, ^a *Noah* after the flood was the first that planted the vine, and became a husbandman; and therefore offered the first-fruits of both (to wit) wine and meal. Thirdly, He was the first that raised an altar, and offered ^b sacrifice to God, a thanksgiving for his merciful goodness towards him. *Noah* was also signified in the name of *Bifrons* (which was given to *Janus*) because he beheld the times both before and after the flood, ^c *Quia præterita noverit, & futura prospexerit*, saith *Arnobius*. *Because he knew what was past, and provided for what was to come.* He was also in the person of *Janus* shadowed by the name of *Chaos*, and *semen orbis*, The seed of the world; because as out of that confused heap was drawn all kinds of beasts and plants: so from *Noah* came all mankind: whereof *Ovid* in the person of *Janus*:

^d *Me Chaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) vocabant, Aspice quam longi temporis æta cano.*

The ancients called me *Chaos*: my great years By those old times, of which I sing, appears.

He was also entituled *Cælum* & *Sol*, Heaven and the Sun, for his excellent knowledge in astronomy: *Vertumnus*, *Bacchus* and *Liber Pater*; not that latter, which *Diod. Siculus*, and *Alexander Aphrodisæus* so call, because he was the restorer of the *Greeks* to their former liberty, but in respect of the flood. For the *Greeks* called *Liber* *ῥῆς*, and his nurses *Hyades*, of rain, because *Noah* entered the ark, when the sun join'd with the stars *Hyades*, a constellation in the brow or neck of *Taurus*, and ever after a monument of *Noah's* flood. He was also by others surnamed *Triton*, a marine god, the son of *Neptune*: because he lived in safety on the waters. So was he known by the name of ^e *Dionysus*, *quasi Διόνυσος*, *mentem pungens*, bite-brain or wit-flinger, tho' *Diodorus* conceives otherwise, and derives that name à *patre* & *loco*, of his father and the place of his birth (to wit) of *Jove*, and *Nysa*, a town of *Arabia Felix*, saith *Suidas* out of *Orpheus*. He had also the by-name of ^f *Taurus*, or *Tauropagus*; because he first yoked oxen and tilled the ground, according to that of *Moses*; ^g *And Noah became an husbandman.* Now howsoever the *Greeks* vaunt of their *Theban Bacchus* (otherwise *Dionysus*) it is certain that the name was borrowed, and the invention stolen from *Noah*. But this name of

Bacchus, more anciently *Boacchus*, was taken (saith ^h *Gul. Stuckius*, and out of him *Danæus*) from *Noachus* [*N*] being chang'd into [*B*]; and it is the more probable, because it cannot be doubted but that *Noah* was the first planter of the vine after the flood: and of *Noah* (the first and ancient *Bacchus*) were all those fables devised, of which *Diodorus* complaineth in his fourth book and fifth chapter. This first *Bacchus* (to wit) *Noah* was surnamed *Nysius* of the mountain *Nysa* in *India*, where the *Grecian Bacchus* never came, whatsoever themselves feign of his enterprizes; and these mountains of *Nysa* join with those of *Paropanifus*, and those other eastern mountains, on which the ark of *Noah* rested after the flood.

Furthermore, to the end that the memory of this second parent of mankind might the better be preserved, there were founded by his issues many great cities which bare his name; with many rivers and mountains: which oftentimes forgot that it was done in his regard, because the many names given him brought the same confusion to places as to himself. Notwithstanding all which, we find the city of *Noah* upon the banks of the Red-sea and elsewhere: the river of ⁱ *Noas* in *Thrace*, which *Strabo* calleth *Noarus*; *Ptolemy*, *Danus*; dividing *Illyria* from *Pannonia*. Thus much for the name.

SECT. VIII.

Of sundry particulars touching the ark: as the place where it was made, the matter, fashion and name.

NOW in what part of the world *Noah* built the ark, it doth not appear in the scriptures, neither do I find any approved author that hath written thereof; only *Goropius Becanus* in his *Indo-Scythia* conceiveth, that *Noah* built his ark near the mountains of *Caucasus*, because on those hills are found the goodliest cedars: for when *Alex. Macedon* made the war among a people called *Nysæi*, inhabiting the other side of *Caucasus*, he found all their burials and sepulchres wrought over with cedar. To this place (saith *Becanus*) *Noah* repaired, both to separate himself from the reprobate giants, who rebelled against God and nature, as also because he would not be interrupted in the building of the ark; to which also he addeth the convenience of rivers, to transport the timber which he used, without troubling any other carriages.

Only this we are sure of, that the ark was built in some part of the eastern world; and, to my understanding, not far from the place where it rested after the flood. For *Noah* did not use any mast or sail (as in other ships) and therefore did the ark no otherwise move than the hulk or body of a ship doth in a calm sea. Also because it is not probable, that during these continual and downright rains there were any winds at all, therefore was the ark little moved from the place where it was fashioned and set together. For it is written; ^k *God made a wind to pass upon the earth, and the waters ceased*; and therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the waters, there was not any storm or forcible wind at all, which could drive the ark any great distance from the place where it was first by the waters lifted up. This is also the more probable, if that ancient opinion be true, as it is very likely, that the ark had *fundum planum*; A flat bottom, and not rais'd in form of a ship with a sharpness forward, to cut the waves for the better speed.

This kind of vessel the *Hebrews* call *Thebet*, and the *Greeks* *Larnax*, for so they termed *Deucalion's*

^a Gen. 9. 20. ^b Gen. 8. 20. ^c Arn. cont. Gent. l. 6. ^d Ovid de fastis, l. 1. ^e Nat. Com. l. 5. c. 13. ^f Cælius ^g Gen. 9. 20. ^h Stuck. in libris convivalibus, & Danæus de prima mundi ætate. ⁱ Plin l. 6. Steph. de Urb. Hierod. l. 4. ^j Strabo, l. 7. ^k Gen. 8. 1.

ship: and some say, that the hill *Parnassus*, to which in eight days he arrived, was first called *Larnassus*, and by the change of [L.] into [P] *Parnassus*; but ^a*Pausanias* thinks that it took name of a son of the nymph *Cleodora*, called *Parnassus*, the inventor of *auguration*.

^b*Peuceros* finds the word [*Parnassus*] to have no affinity with the *Greek*, but thinks it derived from the *Hebrew* word *Nabas*, which signifieth *auguration* and *divination*: or from *Har* or *Parai*, as in his chapter of oracles in the leaf before cited.

^c*Josephus* calls the ark *Machina*, by the general name of a huge frame: and *Epiphanius* out of the *Hebrew* *Aron*; but herein lieth the difference between *Aron* and *Thevet*, that *Aron* signifieth properly the ark of the sanctuary, but *Thevet* such a vessel as swimmeth, and beareth it self upon the waters.

Lastly, this ark of *Noah* differed from the fashion of a ship in this, that it had a cover and roof, with a crest in the midst thereof, and the sides declining like the roof of an house; to the end, both to cast off the waters, and that thereunder ^d*Noah* himself and his children might shelter and separate themselves from the noisomeness of the many beasts, which filled the other rooms and parts of the ark.

Of what wood the ark was built it is uncertain. The *Hebrew* word *Gopher*, once, and in this place only, used, is diversly understood; and tho' the matter be of little importance, yet this difference there is, that the *Geneva* translation calls it pine-tree; the *Rabbins*, cedar; the *Seventy*, square timber; the *Latin*, smooth timber. Others will have it cypress-trees, as dedicated to the dead, because cypress is worn at funerals. But out of doubt, if the word *Gopher* signify any special kind of timber, *Noah* obeyed the voice of God therein; if not, he was not then curious as touching the kind or nature of the wood, having the promise of God, and his grace and mercy for his defence. For with *Noah* God promised ^e*to establish his covenant*. ^f*Pliny* affirmeth, that in *Egypt* it was the use to build ships of cedar, which the worms eat not; and he avoweth, that he saw in *Utica*, in the temple of *Apollo*, cedar beams, laid in the time of the foundation of the city, and that they were still found in his time, which was above 1188 years after: proving thereby, that this kind of wood was not subject to putrifying or moulding in a very long time. But in that it is easy to cut, light to carry, and of a sweet savour, lasting also better than any other wood, and because near the place where the ark rested, there are found great store of these cedar-trees, as also in all the mountains of the east, besides those of *Libanus*, it is probable enough that the ark might be of that wood: which hath besides the other commodities the greatest length of timber, and therefore fittest to build ships withal. *Pererius* conceiveth that the ark had divers sorts of timber, and that the bottom had of one sort, the deck and partition of another; all which may be true or false, if *Gopher* may be taken for timber in general. True it is, that cedar will serve for all parts of a ship, as well for the body, as for masts and yards. But *Noah* had most respect to the direction received from God: to the length, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of the ark; and to pitch it, and to divide it into cabins, thereby to sever the clean beasts from the unclean, and to preserve their several sorts of food; and that it might be capable of all kind of living creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when

Noah had gathered together, he cast his confidence wholly on God, who by his angels steered this ship without a rudder, and directed it without the help of a compass or the north-star. The pitch which *Noah* used, is by some supposed to have been a kind of *bitumen*, whereof there is great quantity about the valley of ^g*Sodom* and *Gomorrab*, now the dead sea or *Asphaltes*: and in the region of *Babylon*, and in the *West-Indies*: and herein it exceedeth other pitch, that it melts not with the sun, but by the fire only, after the manner of hard wax.

SECT. IX.

That the ark was of sufficient capacity.

THE ark, according to God's commandment, had of length three hundred cubits, fifty of breadth, and thirty deep or high: by which proportion it had six parts of length to one of breadth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which *St. Augustine*, ^h*Proculdudio figura est peregrinantis in hoc seculo civitatis Dei (hoc est) Ecclesie, quæ fit salva per lignum, in quo pependit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Christus Jesus: nam & mensura ipsa longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudinisque ejus significat corpus humanum, in cujus veritate ad homines prænnunciatus est venturus, & venit, &c.* Without doubt (saith he) it is a figure of the city of God, travelling in this world as a stranger (that is) of the Church, saved by the tree whereupon the Mediator between God and man, the man *Jesus Christ* did hang: for even the very measure of the length, height, and breadth, answereth the shape of man's body, in the truth whereof the coming of Christ was foretold and performed.

By what kind of cubit the ark was measured, it hath been a disputed question among the fathers, and others; and the differences are in effect these: the first kind of cubit (called the common) containeth one foot and a half, measured from the sharp of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The second (the palm cubit) which taketh one handful more than the common. The third is called *Regius cubitus*, or the *Persian* cubit, which exceedeth the common cubit three inches. The fourth is the sacred cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Lastly, there is a fifth cubit, called geometrical, which containeth six common cubits. But of all these sorts, which were commonly measured by the vulgar cubit, the alteration and diminution of mensurations hath made the difference. For as there is now a less proportion of bodies: so is the common cubit, from the sharp of the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of less length than it was in elder times.

St. Augustine considering the many sorts of beasts and birds which the ark held, with their food and water, was sometimes of opinion, that the ark had proportion after the geometrical cubit, which containeth almost six of the common. For measuring the ark by the vulgar cubit, it did not exceed the capacity of that vessel built by *Hiero* of *Syracuse*, or the ship of *Ptolemy Philopater*. But *St. Augustine* (who at the first was led by *Origen*) changed his judgment as touching the geometrical cubit; and found upon better consideration, that there needed not so huge a body to preserve all sorts of creatures by God appointed to be reserved. For it was not needful to take any kinds of fishes into the ark, because they were kept living (saith *St. Augustine*) in their own element. ⁱ*Non fuit necesse conservare*

^a Steph. de Urb. fol. 227. ^b De Oracul. fol. 94. ^c Epiph. in Ancor. ^d Gen. 6. 16. ^e Gen. 6. 18. ^f Plin. l. 16. c. 40. ^g Pererius. ^h De Civitate Dei, l. 15. c. 26. ⁱ Athen. diplomop. l. 4. Plutarch. in vita Demetrii. ^k Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 5. c. 27.

in arca quæ possent in aquis vivere ; non solum mersa sicut pisces, verum supernatantia sicut multæ alites ; It was not needful to conserve those creatures in the ark, which could live in the waters ; and not only fishes, which can live under water, but also those fowls which sit and swim on them. And again, *Terra, non aqua, maledicta ; quia Adam non hujus, sed illius fructum vetitum comedit ;* It was the earth, and not the waters, which God cursed : for of the forbidden fruit of the earth, and not of the sea, did *Adam* eat ; so as *St. Augustine* gathereth hereupon (as aforesaid) that so huge a frame needed not.

And if we look with the eyes of judgment hereunto, we shall find nothing monstrous therein ; altho' the imaginations of men, who (for the most part) have more of mischief and of ignorance, than of any reverend reason, find many impossibilities in this work of God. But it is manifest, and undoubtedly true, that many of the species, which now seem differing and of several kinds, were not then *in rerum natura*. For those beasts which are of mix'd natures, either they were not in that age, or else it was not needful to preserve them : seeing they might be generated again by others, as the mules, the hyena's, and the like : the one begotten by asses and mares, the other by foxes and wolves. And whereas by discovering of strange lands, wherein there are found divers beasts and birds, differing in colour or stature from those of these nothern parts, it may be supposed by a superficial consideration, that all those which wear red and pyed skins, or feathers, are differing from those that are less painted and wear plain russet or black : they are much mistaken that so think. And for my own opinion, I find no difference, but only in magnitude, between the cat of *Europe*, and the ounce of *India* ; and even those dogs which are become wild in *Hispaniola*, with which the *Spaniards* used to devour the naked *Indians*, are now changed to wolves, and begin to destroy the breed of their cattle, and do also oftentimes tear asunder their own children. *The common crow and rook of *India* is full of red feathers in the down'd and low islands of *Caribana* ; and the black-bird and thrush hath his feathers mix'd with black and carnation, in the north parts of *Virginia*. The dog-fish of *England* is the shark of the south ocean : for its colour or magnitude made a difference of species, then were the negroes, which we call the black-mores, *non animalia rationalia*, not men, but some kind of strange beasts ; and so the giants of the south *America* should be of another kind, than the people of this part of the world. We also see it daily that the natures of fruits are changed by transplantation, some to better, some to worse, especially with the change of climate. Crabs may be made good fruit by often grafting, and the best melons will change in a year or two to common cucumbers by being set in a barren soil. Therefore taking the kinds precisely of all creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the earth by his ordinance produced ; the ark, after the measure of the common cubit, was sufficiently capacious to contain of all, according to the number by God appointed : for if we add but half a foot of measure to the common cubit, which had a foot and a half of giantly stature (and less allowance we cannot give to the difference between them and us) then did the ark contain 600 foot in length, and 100 foot in breadth, and 60 foot in depth.

But first of all, to make it manifest that the geometrical cubit is not used in the scripture, the sta-

ture of the giants therein named may suffice. For if the bed of ^b *Og* king of *Basban* had been nine geometrical cubits long, it had taken 54 cubits of the common, which make 80 foot : and ^c *Goliath*, who had the length of 6 cubits and a handful (which makes nine foot and a handful, a proportion credible) if these cubits had been geometrical, then had been 54 foot in height and upwards, which were monstrous and most incredible : for (according to this proportion) the head of *Goliath* had been nine foot long, and far weightier and bigger than all *David's* body, who carried it away.

Again, If the geometrical cubit had been used for a measure in the scripture, as many commentators have observed, then would the altar (appointed to contain five cubits of length, five of breadth and three of height) have reached the length of 27 foot upright, and so must their priests have ascended by steps or ladders to have performed their sacrifices thereon, which was contrary to God's commandment given in these words : *Thou shalt not go up with steps unto mine altar, that thy shame be not discovered thereon ;* and therefore was the altar but three common cubits high, which make four foot, that their priests standing thereby might execute their office : wherefore I may conclude, that the cubit mentioned in the scriptures was not the geometrical, but the ordinary cubit of one foot and a half, according to the measure of giantly stature ; which measure (doubtless) might give much the more capacity to the ark, altho' it be also probable, that as the men were, so were the horses whereon they rode, and all other creatures, of a correspondent size. And yet, as I take it, tho' by this means there were not any whit the more room in the ark, it were not hard to conceive, how all the distinct species of animals, whose lives cannot be preserved in the waters, might according to their present quantities be contained in a vessel of those dimensions which the ark had ; allowing to the cubit one foot and a half of our now usual measure : whence it followeth of necessity, that those large bodies which were in the days of *Noah* might have room sufficient in the ark, which was measured by a cubit of length proportionable.

How the appointed number of creatures, to be saved, that is, seven of the clean, two of the unclean (with necessary food) might have place in the ark, *Butaeo* hath very learnedly declared : the brief sum of whose discourse to that purpose is this : *The length of the ark was three hundred cubits, which multiplied by the breadth, namely fifty cubits, and the product by the height of thirty cubits, sheweth the whole capacity to have been 450000.* Now whereas the posts, walls, and other partitions of lodgings may seem to have taken up a great part of the hollow : the height of the roof, which (the perpendicular being one cubit) contained 7500 cubical cubes, was a sufficient recompence : it therefore in a ship of such greatness we seek room for 89 distinct species of beasts, or (lest any should be omitted) for 100 several kinds, we shall easily find place both for them, and for the birds, which in bigness are no way answerable to them, and for meat to sustain them all. For there are three sorts of beasts, whose bodies are of a quantity best known ; the beef, the sheep, and the wolf : to which the rest may be reduc'd, by saying (according to *Aristotle*) that one elephant is answerable to four beeves, one lyon to two wolves, and so of the rest. Of beasts, some feed on vegetables, others on flesh. There are one and thirty kinds of the greater sort, feeding on vegetables : of which number, only three are clean,

* Acoft. hist. India. ^b Deut. 3. 11.

^c 1 Sam. 17. 4. ^d Exod. 20. 26.

according to the law of *Moses*, whereof seven of a kind entered into the ark, namely, three couples for breed, and one odd for sacrifice: the other eight and twenty kinds were taken by two of each kind; so that in all there were in the ark one and twenty great beasts clean, and six and fifty unclean, estimable for largeness as 91 beeves; yet for a supplement (lest perhaps any *species* be omitted) let them be valued, as 120 beeves. Of the lesser sort, feeding on vegetables, were in the ark six and twenty kinds, estimable with good allowance for supply, as fourscore sheep. Of those which devour flesh, were two and thirty kinds, answerable to threescore and four wolves. All these 280 beasts might be kept in one story or room of the ark in their several cabins; their meat in a second: the birds and their provision in a third, with place to spare for *Noah* and his family, and all their necessities.

S E C T. X.

That the ark rested upon part of the hill Taurus (or Caucasus) between the East-Indies and Scythia.

+ I.

A preterition of some questions less material: with a note of the use of this question, to find out the Metropolis of nations.

WHAT time *Noah* took to build the ark, I leave to others to dispute; but he received the commandment from God 100 years before the waters fell: and had therefore choice of time and leisure sufficient. As for the number of decks and partitions, which *Origen* divides into four, *St. Augustine* into three, I will not trouble the reader with the controversy: or whether those creatures, which sometimes rest on the land, other times in the waters, as the crocodiles (now called *Alegartos*) the sea-cows or sea-horses, were kept in the ark, or no, I think it a needless curiosity; and yet to this faith *Pererius*, and others before him, that a fish-pool might be made as well within the ark, as in *Hiero's* ship of *Syracuse*. Lastly, to consider or labour to disprove the foolery of the *Hebrews*, who suppose that the ark was lightened by a carbuncle, or had windows of crystal to receive in light, and keep out water, were but to revive the buried vanities of former times. But that which I seek most to satisfy my self and others in, is in what part of the world the ark rested after the flood: because the true understanding of some of these places (as the seat of the terrestrial *paradise*, and the resting of the ark) do only and truly teach the world's plantation, and the beginning of nations, before and after the flood; and all story, as well general as particular, thereby may be the better understood.

+ II.

A proposal of the common opinion, that the ark rested upon some of the hills of Armenia.

AND first, for the true place where the ark rested after the flood, and from what part of the world the children of *Noah* travelled to their first settlement and plantation, I am resolved (without any presumption) that therein the most writers were utterly mistaken. And I am not led so to think out of my humour or newness of opinion, or singularity; but do herein ground my

self on the original and first truth, which is the word of God; and after that, upon reason, and the most probable circumstances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, ^a *that the ark stayed upon one of the mountains of Ararat*, which the *Chaldean* paraphrast hath converted *Kardu*, meaning the hills *Gordæi* or *Gordiei* in *Armenia* the greater (as the words *Gordæi* and *Kardu* seem to be one and the same) of which opinion also the most of our interpreters are; I find neither scripture nor reason which teacheth any such thing: to wit, that it rested on that part of *Ararat*, which is in the greater *Armenia*. ^b *Nicolaus Damascenus* calls this mountain of *Ararat*, *Baris*, being the same which the *Chaldean* nameth *Kardu*, to which mountain the frier *Annius* (citing this place out of *Josephus*) makes him find another adjoining, called *Ocila*, and to say that the ark (of which *Moses* the law-giver of the *Hebrews* wrote) did first take ground on this *Ocila*. But I do not find any such mountain in being, as this *Ocila*; neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Josephus*. *Strabo* remembreth a promontory in *Arabia Fœlix*, of that name, and *Pliny* finds a mart-town so called in the same, which *Ptolemy* calls *Ocilis*, *Pinetus Acyla*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Ocila* of *Damascenus*, or rather of *Annius*, seemeth to be one and a part of the *Armenian* mountains. *Berosus* calleth those mountains of *Armenia Gordiei*, and *Curtius Cordæi*: *Ptolemy Gordæi* and *Gordiei*; of which the country next adjoining is by this *Nicolaus Damascenus* called *Ninyada*, perhaps (as ^c *Becanus* conjectures) for *Myliada* or rather *Minni*; which word is used for *Armenia Minor*. And the very word of *Armenia* seems to be compounded of this word *Minni*, and *Aram*: as if we should say *Minni* of *Syria*; for that *Armenia* also was a part of *Syria*, ^d *Pliny* witnesseth. *Epiphanius* placeth the *Cardyes* about these mountains, whom others call *Gordien* or *Gordeni*. The mountains are seated apart from all other to the north of that ledge of the mountains called *Taurus*, or *Niphates*, in the plains of *Armenia* the great, near the lake of *Thospitis*: whence the river of *Tigris* floweth in 75 degrees of longitude, and 41 and 42 degrees of latitude. One of the mountains *Gordiei* (that which surmounteth the rest) *Epiphanius* calls *Lubar*, which in the *Armenian* signifieth a place of descent: but this out of ^e *Josephus*; which name (saith *Junius*) was of the event, because of *Noah's* coming down with his children. But this also I take to be a supposed event; seeing any hill, from whence on every side we must descend, may thus be called: as *Junius* corrects the place in *Josephus* *Λεβαρις* (*Kubaris*.) That the place is thus to be read, he conjectureth, because *Joseph. l. 1. c. 4.* says, the place is called *Λεβαριον* (as it were the descent or coming down) and *Epiphan. l. 1. cont. Hieres.* calls it *Λόπαρ*: which word in the *Armenian* and *Egyptian* tongue signifieth descent, of *Lubar*, which is to descend; whence also *Lubra* is a *synagogue*, because it was commonly built on some high place: whereof also the *Latin Delubrum* may seem to be derived; and *Æt. vi. 9.* they that belonged to the *synagogue* of the *Egyptians* are called *Libertini*, for *Lubra tenu*. Yet this opinion hath been embraced from age to age: receiving a habit of strength by time, and allowance without any farther examination; altho' the name of *Lubar* might otherwise rightly be given, especially to that mountain, by reason that the passage was more fair, up and down unto it, than to any of the rest adjoining.

^a Gen. 8. 4.^b Str. c. 7. § 1.^c Hieron. 51. 27.^d Nat. Hist. l. 5. c. 12.^e Joseph. de Antiq. l. 1. c. 4.

† III.

The first argument against the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, would have come sooner, had they come from so near a place as Armenia.

BUT there are many arguments to persuade me, that the ark of *Noah* did not rest it self in any part of *Armenia*, and that the mountain *Ararat* was not *Baris*, nor any one of the *Gordiean* mountains.

For first, it is agreed by all who follow ^a *Berosus*, that it was in the 130th year, or in the year 131 after the flood, when *Nimrod* came into the valley of *Shinaar*, which valley was afterwards called *Babylonia*, *Cush* and *Chaldea*. If then the ark had first found land in *Armenia*, it is very improbable, that the children of *Noah*, which came into that valley, could have spent so many years in so short a passage: seeing the region of *Mesopotamia* was only interjacent, which might by easy journeys have been passed over in twenty days; and to hasten and help which passage the navigable river of *Tigris* offered it self, which is every where transpassable by boats of great burden: so as where the desert on the one side resisted their expedition, the river on the contrary side served to advance it; the river rising out of the same ledge of mountains, or at the foot of them, where the ark of *Noah* was first supposed to settle it self; then, if the nations which followed *Nimrod* still doubted the surprize of a second flood (according to the opinions of the ancient *Hebrews*) it soundeth ill to the ear of reason, that they would have spent many years in that low and overflown valley of *Mesopotamia*, so called of the many rivers which imbroider or compass it: for the effects witnessed their affections, and the works, which they undertook, their unbelief; being no sooner arrived in *Shinaar*, but they began to provide themselves of a defence (by erecting *Babel*) against any future or feared inundation. Now at *Babel* it was that *Nimrod* began his kingdom, the first known city of the world founded after the flood, about 131 years, or (as others suppose) ten years later: though (for my self) I rather think, that they undertook that work in two respects, first, to make themselves famous, ^b *To get us a name* (saith the text:) Secondly, thereby to usurp dominion over the rest.

† IV.

The second argument, that the eastern people were most ancient in populousity, and in all human glory.

FOR a second argument: the civility, magnificence and multitude of people (wherein the east parts of the world first abounded) hath more weight than any thing which hath been, or can be said for *Armenia*, and for *Noah's* taking land there. And that this is true, the use of printing and artillery (among many other things which the east had) may easily persuade us, that those sun-rising nations were the most ancient. The certainty of this report, that the *East Indians* (time out of mind) have had guns and ordnance of battery, confirmed by the *Portugals* and others, makes us now to understand, that the place of *Philostratus* in *vita Apollonii Trianer*, l. 2. c. 14. is no fable, tho' express'd in fabulous words: when he saith, that the wife men, which dwell between *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, use not themselves to go forth into battel: but that they drive away their enemies with thunder and lightning sent from *Jupiter*. By which means there it is said, that *Hercules Aegyptius* and *Bacchus*, joining their forces, were defeated there; and that this

Hercules there cast away his golden shield. For the invention of letters was ignorantly ascribed to *Cadmus*, because he brought them first into *Greece*: of which the people (then rude and savage) had reason to give him the honour, from whom they received the benefit. But it is true, that letters are no less ancient than *Seth* or *Enoch* were: for they are said to have written on pillars of stone (as before remembred) long before the flood. But from the eastern world it was that *John Cuthenberg*, a *German*, brought the device of printing: by whom *Conradus* being instructed, brought the practice thereof to *Rome*: and after that, *Nicolaus Gerson*, a *Frenchman*, bettered both the letters and invention. And, notwithstanding that this mystery was then supposed to be but newly born, the *Chinaos* had letters long before either the *Egyptians* or *Phenicians*; and also the art of printing, when as the *Geeks* had neither any civil knowledge, or any letters among them.

And that this is true, both the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* have witnessed, who about an hundred years since discovered those kingdoms, and do now enjoy their rich trades therein: for the *Chinaos* account all other nations but savages in respect of themselves.

And to add strength to this argument, the conquest and story of *Alex. Macedon* may justly be called to witness, who found more cities and sumptuosity in that little kingdom of *Porus*, which lay side by side to the *East India*, than in all his other travels and undertakings. For in *Alexander's* time, learning and greatness had not travelled so far to the west as *Rome*: *Alexander* esteeming of *Italy* but as a barbarous country, and of *Rome* as of a village. But it was *Babylon* that stood in his eye, and the fame of the east pierced his ears. And if we look as far as the sun-rising, and hear *Paulus Venetus* what he reporteth of the uttermost angle and island thereof, we shall find that those nations have sent out, and not received, lent knowledge, and not borrowed it from the west. For the farther east (to this day) the more civil, the farther west the more savage. And of the isle of *Japan* (now *Zippingari*) *Venetus* maketh this report. *Incole religioni, literis, & sapientiae sunt addictissimi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more nostro) sacris in delubris exercent: unum cognoscunt principem, unum Deum adorant.* The islanders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letters and philosophy, and most diligent searchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent than prayer, which they use in their churches after the manner of Christians. They acknowledge one king, and worship one God. The antiquity, magnificence, civility, riches, sumptuous buildings, and policy in government, is reported to be such by those who have been employ'd into those parts, as it seemeth to exceed (in those formerly named, and divers other particulars) all other kingdoms of the world.

† V.

The third argument, from the wonderful resistance which Semiramis found in the East Indies.

BUT for a third argument, and also of a treble strength to the rest, I lay the invasion of *Semiramis* before the indifferent and advised reader: who may consider in what age she lived, and how soon after the world's new birth she gathered her army (as *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Ctesias* reporteth) of more than three millions to invade *India*, to which

^a Beros. l. 1. ^b Gen. 10. 10. Beros. l. 1.

he joineth also 500000 horse, and 100000 waggons: whereof if we believe but a third part, it shall suffice to prove that *India* was the first planted and peopled country after the flood. Now as touching the time wherein she lived: all historians consent, that she was the wife of *Ninus*; and the most approved writers agree, that *Ninus* was the son of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Nimrod*, that *Nimrod* was the son of *Cush*, *Cush* of *Cham*, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at such time as *Nimrod* came to *Shinaar*, he was then a great nation, as by the building of the city and tower of *Babel* may appear; and being then so multiplied and increased, the two descents cast between *Nimrod* and *Semiramis*, brought forth in that time those multitudes, whereof her army was composed. Let us then see with whom she encountered in that war with this her powerful army: even with a multitude, rather exceeding, than equaling her own, conducted by *Staurobates* king of *India* beyond *Indus*; of whose multitudes this is the witness of *Diodor. Siculus*. *Staurobates, avitis majoribus, quam quæ erant Semiramidis, copiis; Staurobates* gathering together greater troops than those of *Semiramis*. If then these numbers of *Indians* had been increased but by a colony sent out from *Shinaar* (and that also after *Babel* was built, which no doubt took some time in the performance) this increase in the east, and this army of *Staurobates* must have been made of stone, or somewhat else by miracle. For as the numbers which *Semiramis* gathered might easily grow up in that time from so great a troop as *Nimrod* brought with him into *Babylonia* (as shall be demonstrated hereafter in the story of *Israel*) so could not any such time, by any multiplication natural, produce so many bodies of men, as were in the *Indian* Army victorious over *Semiramis*, if the colonies sent thither had been so late as *Babel* overturned, and the confusion of languages. For if we allow 65 years time after the flood, before *Nimrod* was born: of which 30 years to *Cush*, ere he begat *Seba*, after whom he had ^a *Havilah*, *Sabtab*, *Raamah*, and *Sabtecha*: and then 30 years to *Raamah*, ere he begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, both which were born before *Nimrod*: and five years to his five elder brothers, which make 65, and then twice 30 years for two generations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Sheba* and *Dedan* with others, to beget their sons, and that a third generation might grow up, which makes in all 125 years, there will then remain six years to have been spent in travelling from the east, ere they arrived in *Shinaar* in the year after the flood 131. And so the followers of *Nimrod* might be of sufficient multitude. But as for those which make him to have arrived at *Shinaar* in the year 101: and the confusion to have been at *Peleg's* birth, these men do all by miracle: they beget whole nations without the help of time, and build *Nimrod's* tower in the air; and not on those low and marshy grounds (which require sound foundations) in the plains of *Shinaar*. For except that huge tower were built in a day, there could be no confusion in that year 101, or at *Peleg's* birth. And therefore it is far more probable, that *Nimrod* usurped regal authority in the 131st year after the flood (according to *Berosus*) and that the work of *Babel* lasted forty years (according to *Glycas*) ^b *hominibus in ea perficienda totis 40 annis incassum laborantibus*; Men labouring in vain 40 years to finish it. By which account it falls out, that it was 170 years after the flood, ere a colony were sent into *East India*; which granted (the one being the main body, and the other but a troop taken thence) it can hardly be believed, that *Staurobates* could

have exceeded *Semiramis* in numbers: who being then empress of all that part of the world, gathered the most of nations into one body.

† VI.

The fourth argument from divers considerations in the person of Noah.

Fourthly, It is no way probable, that *Noah*, who knew the world before the flood, and had lived therein the long time of 600 years, was all that space, 130 years after the flood, without any certain habitation: no, it will fall out, and better agree with reason, that *Nimrod* was but the conductor of those people, by *Noah* destined and appointed to fill and inhabit that middle part of the earth and the western world (which travels *Noah* put over to young and able bodies) and that *Noah* himself, then covered with many years, planted himself in the same place which God had assigned him: which was where he first came down out of the ark from the waters: for it is written, that after *Noah* came down out of the ark he planted a vineyard, and became a husbandman: whose business was to dress and manure the earth, and not to range over so many parts of the world, as from *Armenia* into *Arabia Felix*, where he should (if the tradition be found) have left certain colonies: thence into *Africa* towards *Triton*; then into *Spain*, where they say he settled other companies; and built cities after the names of *Noela* and *Noegla* his sons wives: from thence into *Italy*, where they say he found his son *Cham* the *Saturn* of *Egypt*, who had corrupted the people and subjects of *Gomer* in his absence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the story) had patience for three years; but then finding no amendment, they say, he banished him out of *Italy*. These be but the fancies of *Berosus Annianus*, a plain imitation of the *Grecian* fables. For let every reasonable man conceive, what it was to travel far in such a forest as the world was, when after so great a rotting of the earth by the flood, the same lay waste and overgrown for 130 or 140 years, and wherein there could hardly be found either path or passage through which men were able to creep, for woods, bushes and briars that in those years were grown up.

And there are so many reasons, proving that *Noah* never came into the valley of *Shinaar*, as we need not suspect his passage into *Italy* or *Spain*: for *Noah*, who was father of all those nations, a man revered both for his authority, knowledge, experience and piety, would never have permitted his children and issues to have undertaken that unbelieving presumptuous work of *Babel*. Rather by his presence and prevalent persuasions he would have bound their hands from so vain labours, and, by the authority which he received even from God himself, he would have held them in that awful subjection, as whatsoever they had vainly conceived or feared, yet they durst not have disobey'd the personal commandment of him, who in the beginning had a kind of regal authority over his children and people. Certainly, *Noah* knew right well, that the former destruction of mankind was by themselves purchased through cruelty and disobedience; and that to distrust God, and to raise up building against his Almighty power, was, as much as in them lay, a provocation of God to lay on them the same, it not a more sharp affliction. Wherefore, there is no probability, that ever he came so far west as *Babylonia*; but rather, that he sent those numbers which came into *Shinaar* (being the greatest troop,

^a Gen. 10. 7. ^b Glyc. in Gen. & de Turris extructione, fol. 171.

because they had the greatest part of the world to plant) under *Nimrod*, or those upon whom he usurped. *Naclerus* and *Cælestinus* take the testimony of *Methodius* bishop of *Tyre* for current, that there were three leaders of the people after their encrease (to wit) *Nimrod*, *Suphene* and *Joktan*: of which *Nimrod* commanded the issues of *Cham*, *Joktan* of *Sem*, and *Suphene* of *Japhet*. This opinion I cannot judge of, altho' I will not doubt, but that so great a work as the world's plantation could not be affected without order and conduction.

Of the sons of *Sem*: *Joktan*, *Havila* and *Ophir*, are especially noted to have dwelt in the *East-Indies*. The rest of *Sem*'s issues had also the regions of *Persia* and the other adjoining to *Indus*, and held also a part of *Chaldea* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *Ur*, till he was thence called by God; and whether they were the sons of *Joktan*, or of all the rest a certain number (*Cham* and his issue only excepted) that *Noah* kept with himself, it cannot be known. Of which plantation I shall speak at large in the chapter following.

Now another reason which moves me to believe that *Noah* stayed in the east, far away from all those that came into *Shinaar*, is that *Moses* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah* in all the story of the *Hebrews*, or among any of those nations which contended with them. And *Noah*, being the father of all mankind, and the chosen servant of God, was too principal a person, to be either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in respect of his age and wearisome experience of the world) withdrawn himself, and rested apart with his best beloved, giving himself to the service and contemplation of God and heavenly things, after he had directed his children to their destin'd portions. For he landed in a warm and fertile soil, where he planted his vineyard, and dress'd the earth; after which, and his thanksgiving to God by sacrifice, he is not remembered in the scriptures, because he was so far away from those nations of which *Moses* wrote: which were the *Hebrews* chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

† VII.

Of the senseless opinion of Anniius the commentator upon Berolus; who finds divers places where the ark rested; as the Caspian and Gordiæan hills, which are three hundred miles asunder; and also some place of Scythia.

IT remaineth now that we examine the arguments and authorities of frier *Annius*, who in his commentaries upon *Berosus* and others, laboureth marvellously to prove, that the ark of *Noah* rested upon the *Armenian* mountains called *Caspia*; which mountains separate *Armenia* from the upper *Media*, and do equally belong to both. And because all his authors speak of the mountains *Gordiaei*, he hath no other shift to unite these opinions, but by uniting those far distant mountains together. To effect which he hath found no other invention, than to charge those men with error which have carefully overseen, printed, and published ^a *Ptolemy's* geography, in which they were altogether discovered: for that last edition of *Mercator's* sets these hills five degrees (which makes three hundred *English* miles) asunder. And certainly, if we look into those more ancient copies of *Villanovanus* and others, we shall find nothing in them to help *Annius* withal: for in those the mountains *Caspia* stand seven degrees to the east of the *Gordiaei*, which make 420 miles. And for those authors, by whose

authority *Annius* strengtheneth himself, *Diodorus*, whom he so much followeth, giveth this judgment upon them in the like dispute. ^b *Aberrarunt vero omnes, non negligentia, sed regnorum situs ignorantia*; They have all erred (saith he) not through negligence, but through ignorance of the situation of kingdoms. But for an induction, to prove that the ark of *Noah* stood on the mountains of *Armenia*, he beginneth with the antiquity of the *Scythians*: and to prove the same, he citeth ^c *Marcus Portius Cato*, who avoweth, that 250 years before *Ninus* the earth was overflown with waters; *Et in Scythia Saga renatum mortale genus*; And that in *Scythia Saga* the stock of mortal men was renewed. The same author also teacheth that the *Umbri* before remembered (who were so called, because saved from *Deucalion's* flood) were the sons of the *Galli*, a nation of the *Scythians*. *Ex his venisse Janum cum Dyrin & Gallis progenitoribus Umbrorum*; From these *Scythians*, he saith, that *Janus* came with *Dyrin* and with the *Galli* the progenitors of the *Umbri*; and again, *Equidem principatus originis semper Scythiis tribuitur*; Certainly the prime antiquity of off-spring is always given to the *Scythians*. And herein truly I agree with *Annius*, that those regions called *Scythia* and now *Tartaria*, and by some writers *Sarmatia Asiatica*, were among the first peopled: and they held the greatest part of *Asia* under tribute till *Ninus's* time. Also ^d *Pliny* calleth the *Umbri*, which long since inhabited *Italy*, *Gens antiquissima*; A most ancient nation, who descended of these *Scythians*. Now that which *Annius* laboureth, is to prove that these ancient *Scythians* (meaning the nephews of *Noah*) did first inhabit that region of the mountains, on which the ark rested; and confessing that this great ship was grounded in *Armenia*, he feigned a nation of *Scythians* called *Araxca*, taking name of the mountain *Ararat*, near the river of *Araxes*. And because his author *Cato* helpeth him in part (to wit, that in *Scythia* mankind was restored after the great flood, 250 years before *Ninus*) and in part utterly destroyeth his conceit of *Armenia*, by adding the word *Saga*, as in *Scythia Saga renatum mortale genus*; In *Scythia Saga* mankind was restored: he therefore in the *Proem* of his commentary upon ^e *Berosus*, leaveth out the addition of *Saga* altogether in the repetition of *Cato's* words, and writes, ^f *Homines in Scythia salvatos*. For *Scythia Saga* or *Sacæ* is undoubtedly under the mountains of *Parapanisus*, on which, or near which, it is most probable that the ark first took ground; and from those east parts (according to ^g *Moses*) came all those companies which erected the tower of *Babel* in *Shinaar* or *Babylonia*.

But now the best authority which *Annius* hath, is out of *Diodorus*: where he hath read, that the *Scythians* were originally *Armenians*, taking name *a Scythæ rege eorum*, from *Scythæ* their king. But (in a word) we may see his vanity, or rather indeed his falshood, in citing this place. For *Diodorus*, a most approved and diligent author, beginneth in that place with these words, *Fabulantur Scythæ*; The *Scythians* fable: and his interpreter in the table of that work, giveth this title to that very chapter. *Scytharum origo & successus, fabula*; The original and success of the *Scythians*, a fable. And indeed there needs no great disproof hereof, since *Ptolemy* doth directly delineate *Scythia Saga*, or *Sacæ*, and sets them in 130 degrees of longitude: and the *Persians* (saith *Herodotus*) call all the *Scythians* *Sacæ*, which *Pliny* confirmeth: for in respect that these *Sacæ* (saith ^h *Pliny*) are the next

^a Ptol. Asia Tab. 3. ^b Diol. l. c. 3. ^c Cato de orig. pars prima. ^d Plin. l. 3 c. 14. ^e Berol. l. 1. ^f Ptol. Asia Tab. 7. ^g Gen. 11. 2. ^h Lib. 6 c. 17.

Scythians. to the *Persians*, therefore they give all the rest that name. Now that any nation in *Armenia* can neighbour the *Persians*, there is no man believeth. But this supposed *Scythia Araxea* in *Armenia* lieth in 78 degrees of longitude (that is) 42 degrees distant from the *Sacæ*; and the country about *Araxes*, *Ptolemy* calleth *Colthene* and *Soducene* and *Sacapene*, without any mention of *Scythia* at all: and yet all those which are or were reputed *Scythians*, either within *Imaus* or without, to the number of 100 several nations, are by *Ptolemy* precisely set down.

But to come to those later authors, whereof some have written, others have seen a great part of those north-east regions, and searched their antiquities with great diligence: first, *Marius Niger* boundeth *Scythia* within *Imaus*, in this manner: (for *Scythia* without these mountains is also beyond our purpose.) *Scythia intra Imaum montem ea est, quæ proprio vocabulo Gassaria hoc tempore dicitur: ab occasu Sarmatia Asiatica: ab oriente Imao monte: a septentrione Terra incognita: à meridie Saccis, Sogdianis, Margianis, usque ad ostia Oxæ amnis in Hyrcanum mare exeuntis; et parte ipsius maris hinc usque ad Rba fluminis ostia terminatur: Scythia* within the mountain *Imaus* is that part of the world, which in their own speech is at this time called *Gassaria*; and the same is bounded on the west-side by *Sarmatia Asiatica* (or of *Asia*) on the east by the *Imaan* mountains: on the north by unknown lands: on the south by *Saccæ* (which are the *Sacæ*) the *Sogdiani*, and the *Margiani*, to the mouth of *Oxus*, falling into the *Hyrcan* sea, and by a part of the same sea, as far as the mouth of *Rba*.^b

Now if *Niger* sets all *Sarmatia Asiatica*, to the west of *Scythia*, then *Sarmatia* (^c *quæ magna sanè regio est, & quæ innumeras nationes complectitur*; Which is a great region, comprehending innumerable nations (saith *Niger*) much of it being between *Scythia* and *Armenia*, doth sufficiently warrant us, that *Armenia* can be no part of *Scythia*; and to make it more plain, he dissevereth *Sarmatia* it self from any part of *Armenia*, by the regions of ^d *Colchis*, *Iberia*, *Albania* which he leaveth on the right hand of *Sarmatia*, and yet makes *Sarmatia* but the west bound of *Scythia*.

And for *Paulus Venetus*, he hath not a word of *Armenia* among the *Tartarian*, or *Scythian* nations; neither doth his fellow frier *John Plancarpio* (cited by *Vincentius* in his description of *Scythia*) make any mention of *Armenia*; neither doth *Haytonus*, an *Armenian* born, of the blood of those kings (tho' afterwards a monk) ever acknowledge himself for a *Tartarian*, or of the *Scythian* races descended: tho' he writes that story at large, gathered by *Nicolaus Salcuni*, and (by the commandment of pope *Clement V.*) in the year 1307 published.

Neither doth *Matthias à Michon* (a canon of *Cracovia* in *Polonia*) a *Sarmatian* born, and that travelled a great part of *Sarmatia Asiatica*, find *Armenia* any way within the compass of *Tartaria*, *Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*; and yet no man (whose travels are extant) hath observed so much of those regions as he hath done: proving and disproving many things, heretofore subject to dispute. And among others he burieth that ancient and received opinion, that out of the mountains *Riphei* and *Hyperborei* in *Scythia*, spring the rivers of *Tanais* or *Don*, *Volga* or *Edel*; proving by unanswerable experience, that there are no such mountains in *rerum natura*; and indeed the heads and foun-

tains of those famous rivers, are now by the trade of *Muscovia* known to every merchant, and that they arise out of lakes, low, woody, and marshy grounds. The river of *Tanais* or *Don*, riseth to the south of the city *Tulla*, some twenty *English* miles, out of a lake called *Iwanowesero* in the great wood *Okenitzkilies* or *Jepiphanolies*. *Volga*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Rba*, and the *Tartars* call *Edel*, riseth out of a lake called *Fronow*, in the great wood *Vodkonzki*: from which lake the two other famous rivers flow of *Borysthenes* (now *Nyepcr*) and *Dsuina* or *Dividna*. And this learned *Polonian* doth in this sort bound the *European Sarmatia*. In *Sarmatia* of *Europe* are the regions of *Russians*, *Lithuanians*, *Muscovians*, and those adjoining, bounded on the west by the river of ^e *Vissa*, the name perchance misprinted *Vissa* for *Vistula*, a river which parts *Germany* and *Sarmatia*: and for the east border he nameth *Tanais* or *Don*. *Sarmatia Asiatica* he cutteth from *Europe* by the same river *Tanais*, and the *Caspian* sea, to withhold it from stretching farther east: this *Asian Sarmatia* being part of that *Scythia* which *Ptolemy* calleth *Scythia intra Imaum montem*; *Scythia* within the mountain *Imaus*. And the same *Matthias Michon* farther affirmeth, that the *Scythians* (which frier *Annius* would make *Armenians*) came not into *Sarmatia Asiatica* it self, above three hundred and a few odd years before his own time: these be his words. *Constat enim esse gentem novam, & adventitiam a partibus orientis (mutatis sedibus) paulo plus abhinc trecentis annis Asiæ Sarmatiam ingressam*: It is manifest (saith he, speaking of the *Scythian* nation) that this is a late planted nation, come from the coasts of the east; from whence they entered into *Asia*, and gat new seats a little more than three hundred years since: For indeed before that time the *Guths* or *Poulozi* inhabited *Sarmatia Asiatica*. And this *Matthias* lived in the year 1511, and this his discourse of *Sarmatia* was printed at *Augusta* in the year 1506, as *Bucholzerus* in his *chronology* witnesseth. Now these *Scythians* (saith he) came from the east; for in the east it was that the ark of *Noah* rested; and the *Scythæ Sacæ* were those people which lived at the north foot of those mountains of *Taurus* or *Ararat*, where they encounter or begin to mix themselves with the great *Imaus*. And were there no other testimony than the general description of the earth now extant, and the witness of *Ptolemy*, it is plain, that between all parts of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, there are not only those three regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, but the *Caspian* sea: on the east shore of which sea, but not on the west, or on that part which any way toucheth *Armenia*; there are indeed a nation of *Scythians* (called *Ariacæ*) between *Jaxartus* and *Jattus*; but what are these *Scythians* to any *Ariacæ*, or *Scythia Araxea*, which *Annius* placeth in *Armenia*, more than the *Scythians* of *Europe*.

† VIII.

The fifth argument: The vine must grow naturally near the place where the ark rested.

TO this if we add the consideration of this part of the text, ^f *That Noah planted a vineyard*, we shall find that the fruit of the vine or raisin did not grow naturally in that part of *Armenia*, where this resting of the ark was supposed: for if the vine was a stranger in *Italy* and *France*, and brought from other countries thither, it is not pro-

^a Tab. Asia 7 & 8. ^b Rba nunc Volga. ^c Com. 2. Asia, fol. 472. ^d Ad meridiem flexo Bosphoro pars septentrionalis pontus Euxini usque in ostium Corcoris fluvii: unde reliquis à parte dextra Colchis, Iberia, Albanique in Latius Hyrcani maris proveniunt. Spec. hist. l. 3. ^e Sog. Heberstem. ^f Crazanzus calleth this river Wallaw, Niger Dravamanza, Pom. Mela Vistula, & Plin. Vistillus. ^g Gen. 9. 20.

bable that it grew naturally in *Armenia*; being a far colder country. For *Tyrrhenus* first brought vines into *France*, and *Saturnus* into *Latium*: yea at such time as ^a*Brennus* and the *Gauls* invaded *Italy* there were few or no vines in *France*. For (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus*) the *Gauls* remained between the *Pyrenæi* and the *Alps*, near unto the *Senones*, where they continued a long time, until they drunk wine, which was first brought them out of *Italy*; and after they tasted thereof they hasted to inhabit that country, which brought forth such pleasant fruit: so as it appeared, that the plant of the vine was not natural in *France*, but from *Italy* brought thither; as by *Saturn* from elsewhere into *Italy*.

Now it is manifest that *Noah* travelled not far to seek out the vine. For the plantation thereof is remembered, before there was any counsel how to dispose of the world among his children: and the first thing he did was to till the ground, and to plant a vineyard, after his sacrifice and thanksgiving to God; and wheresoever the ark rested, there did the vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appear that he travelled far: for the scriptures teach us, that he was a husbandman, and not a wanderer.

† IX.

Answer to an objection out of the words of the text:
The Lord scattered them from thence upon the face of the whole earth.

AND that all the children of *Noah* came together into *Shinaar*, it doth not appear, saving that it may be inferred out of these words [*from thence*] because it is written: *So that the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the earth*; which hath no other sense, but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this tower: for those were from thence dispersed into all the regions of the north and south, and to the westward. And by these words of *Sibylla* (as they are converted) it seemeth that all came not together into *Shinaar*, for they have this limitation: *Quidam eorum turrem edificarunt altissimam, quasi per eam cælum essent ascensuri*; Certain of them built a most high tower, as if they meant thereby to have scaled the heavens.

† X.

An answer to the objection of the name of Ararat, taken for Armenia: and the height of the hills there.

BUT before I conclude this part, it is necessary to see and consider, what part of scripture, and what reason may be found out to make it true or probable, that the ark of *Noah* was forsaken by the waters on the mountains of *Armenia*. For the text hath only these words: ^b*The ark rested on (or upon) the mountains of Ararat or Armenia*, saith the marginal note of the *Geneva*, the *Chaldean Paraphrast* calls it *Kardu*; of which the highest hath the name of *Lubar*, saith ^c*Epiphanius*. Now this *Ararat* (which the *Septuagint* do not convert at all, but keep the same word) is taken to be a mountain of *Armenia*, because *Armenia* it self had anciently that name: so as first out of the name, and secondly out of the height (which they suppose exceeded all others) is the opinion taken, that the ark first sat thereon.

But these suppositions have no foundation; for neither is *Ararat* of *Armenia* alone, neither is any part, or any of those mountains, of equal stature to

many other mountains of the world; and yet it doth not follow, that the ark found the highest mountain of all others to rest on: for the plains were also uncovered, before *Noah* came out of the ark. Now if there were any agreement among writers of this *Ararat*, and that they did not differ altogether therein, we might give more credit to the conceit. For in the books of the *Sibyls* it is written, that the mountains of *Ararat* are in *Phrygia*, upon which it was supposed that the ark stay'd after the flood. And the better to particularize the place and seat of these mountains, and to prove them in *Phrygia*, and not *Armenia*, they are placed where the city of *Cælenes* was afterwards built. Likewise in the same description she maketh mention of *Marssas*, a river which runneth through part of *Phrygia*, and afterwards joineth it self with the river *Mæander*: which is far from the *Gordican* mountains in *Armenia*. We may also find a great mistaking in *Josephus* (tho' out of *Berosus*, who is in effect the father of this opinion) that *Josephus* sets *Ararat* between *Armenia* and *Parthia*, towards *Adiabene*, and affirmeth withal, that in the province of *Cæron*, by others *Kairos* and *Arnos*, so called by reason that the waters have from thence no descent, nor issue out, the people vaunt that they had in those days reserved some pieces of *Noah's* ark. But *Parthia* toucheth no where upon *Armenia*, for *Armenia* bordereth *Adiabene*, a province of *Assyria*: so that all *Media* and a part of *Assyria* is between *Parthia* and *Armenia*. Now whereas the discovery of the mountains *Gordiei* was first borrowed out of *Berosus* by *Josephus*; yet the text which *Josephus* citeth out of *Berosus*, differs far from the words of that *Berosus*, which wandereth up and down in these days, set out by *Annius*. For *Berosus* cited by *Josephus* hath these words: *Fertur & navigii hujus pars in Armenia, apud montem Cordiaeorum superesse, & quosdam bitumen inde abrasum secum reportare, quo vice amuleti loci hujus homines uti solent* (which is) It is reported also that a part of this ship is yet remaining in *Armenia* upon the *Cordiean* mountains; and that divers do scrape from it the bitumen or pitch, and carrying it with them, they use it instead of an amulet. But *Annius's* edition of the fragment of *Berosus* useth these words: *Nam elevata ab aquis in Gordiaei montis vertice quievit, cujus adhuc dicitur aliqua pars esse, & homines ex illa bitumen tollere quo maxime utuntur ad expiationem*; For the whole ark being lifted up by the waters, rested on the top of the *Cordiean* mountains, of which it is reported that some parts remain, and that men do carry thence of the bitumen to purge by sacrifice therewith. So as in these two texts (besides the difference of words) the name is diversly written: the ancient *Berosus* writes *Gordiaei* with a [C] and the fragment *Gordiaei* with a [G:] the one that the bitumen is used for a preservative against poison or enchantment; the other in sacrifice; and if it be said that they agree in the general, yet it is reported by neither from any certain knowledge, nor from any approved author: for one of them useth the word [*fertur*] the other [*dicitur*] the one, that *so it is reported*; the other, that *so it is said*: and both but by hearsay, and therefore of no authority nor credit. For common bruit is so infamous an historian, as wise men neither report after it, nor give credit to any thing they receive from it.

Furthermore, these mountains which *Ptolemy* calls *Gordiaei*, are not those mountains which himself giveth to *Armenia*, but he calleth the mountains of *Armenia Moschici*. These be his own words: *Montes Armenie nominantur ii, qui Moschici appellantur,*

^a Servius *Æneid.* Eutropius.

^b Gen. 8. 14.

^c Epiph. l. 1. cont. Heret.

^d Ptol. *Asie Tab.*

qui protenduntur usque ad superjacentem partem Ponti Cappadocum; & mons qui Paryardes dicitur: The mountains of Armenia are they which are called Moschici, which stretch along to the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians; also the hill which is called Paryardes; which mountains Pliny calleth ^a Pariedri, and both which lye to the north of Gordiæi or Baris, in 43 and 44 and a half; and the Gordiæan mountains in 39 and a half: from the northermost of which did the Georgians take their names, who were first Gordians and then Georgians, who, amidst all the strength of the greatest infidels of Persia and Turkey, do still remain Christians. Concerning the other suppositions, that the mountains of Gordiæi, otherwise Baris, Kardû or Lubar (which Ptolemy calleth Torgodiaion) are the highest of the world, the same is absolutely false.

† XI.

Of Caucasus, and divers far higher hills than the Armenian.

FOR the best Cosmographers with others, that have seen the mountains of Armenia, find them far inferiour, and under-set to divers other mountains even in that part of the world, and elsewhere: as the mountain Athos between Macedon and Thrace, which Ptolemy calls Olympus, now called Lacas (saith Castaldus) is far surmounting any mountain that ever hath been seen in Armenia: for it casteth shade three hundred furlongs, which is thirty-seven miles and upwards: of which Plutarch, ^b Athos adumbrat latera Lemniæ bovis; Athos shadoweth the cow of Lemnos. Also the mount of Olympus in Thessaly is said to be of that height, as neither the winds, clouds, or rain overtop it. Again, the mountain of Antandrus in Mysia, not far from Ida, whence the river Scamandrus floweth, which runneth through Troy, is also of a far more admiration than any in Armenia, and may be seen from Constantinople. There are also in Mauritania near the sea, the famous mountains of Atlas, of which Herodotus. Extat in hoc mari mons, cui nomen Atlas, ita sublimis esse dicitur, ut ad illius verticem oculi mortalium pervenire non possint; Upon this coast there is a mountain called Atlas, whose height is said to be such as the eye of no mortal man can discern the top thereof. And if we may believe Aristotle, then are all these inferiour to Caucasus, which he maketh the most notorious both for breadth and height. ^c Caucasus mons omnium maximus, qui æstivum ad ortum sunt, acumine atque latitudine, cuius juga a sole radiantur usque ad conticinium ab ortu: & iterum ab occasu. Caucasus (saith Aristotle) is the greatest mountain both for breadth and height of all those in the north-east, whose tops are lightened by the sun beams, usque ad conticinium (which is, saith Macrobius) between the first crowing after midnight and the break of day: others affirm, that the top of this mountain holds the sun beams when it is dark in the valley; but I cannot believe either: for the highest mountain of the world known, is that of Tenerif in the Canaries: which although it hath nothing to the westward of it for 1000 leagues together but the ocean sea, yet doth it not enjoy the sun's company at any such late hours. Besides, these mountains which Aristotle calleth Caucasi, are those which separate Colchis from Iberia; though (indeed) Caucasus doth divide both Colchis, Iberia and Albania, from Sarmatia: for he acknowledgeth that the river of Phasis riseth in the same mountain, which himself calleth Caucasus, and that Phasis springeth from those hills which sunder Colchis

from Iberia, falling afterwards into Euxinus: which river (it is manifest) yieldeth it self to the sea two degrees to the north of Trapezus (now Trabesunda) howsoever Mercator brings it from Paryardes.

† XII.

Of divers incongruities, if in this story we should take Ararat for Armenia.

SO as it doth first appear, that there is no certainty what mountain Ararat was: for the books of the Sibyls set it in Phrygia; and Berosus in Armenia: and as for Berosus's authority, those men have great want of proofs that borrow from thence.

Secondly, That Baris was the highest hill, and therefore most likely that the ark grounded thereon, the assertion and supposition have equal credit: for there are many hills which exceed all those of Armenia; and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the ark should sit on the highest.

Thirdly, It cannot be proved that there is any such hill in Armenia, or in rerum natura, as Baris; for Baris (saith Jerome) signifieth high towers: and so may all high hills be called indifferently; and therefore we may better give the name of Baris to the hills of Caucasus (out of which Indus riseth) than to any hills of Armenia. For those of Caucasus in the east, are undoubtedly the highest of Asia.

Fourthly, The authors themselves do not agree in what region the mountains Gordiæi stand: for Ptolemy distinguisheth the mountains of Armenia from the Gordiæan, and calleth those of Armenia Moschici and Paryardes, as aforesaid. Now Paryardes is seated near the middle of Armenia, out of which on the west side riseth Euphrates, and out of the east side Araxis: and the mountains Moschici are those hills which disjoin Colchis, Iberia and Albania (now the country of the Georgians) from Armenia.

† XIII.

Of the contrary situation of Armenia to the place noted in the text: and that it is no marvel that the same ledge of hills running from Armenia to India, should keep the same name all along: and even in India be called Ararat.

LASTLY, we must blow up this mountain Ararat it self, or else we must dig it down, and carry it out of Armenia; or find it elsewhere, and in a warmer country, and (withal) set it east from Shinaar: or else we shall wound the truth it self with the weapons of our own vain imaginations.

Therefore to make the mistaking open to every eye, we must understand, that Ararat (named by Moses) is not any one hill, so called, no more than any one hill among those mountains, which divide Italy from France, is called the Alps: or any one among those, which part France from Spain, is the Pyrenean; but as these being, continuations of many hills, keep one name in divers countries: so all that long ledge of mountains, which Pliny calleth by one name ^d Taurus, and Ptolemy both Taurus, Niphates, Coatras, Coronus, Sariphi, until they encounter and cross the mountains of the great Imaus, are of one general name, and are called the mountains of Ararat or Armenia, because from thence or thereabouts they seem to arise. So all these mountains of Hyrcania, Armenia, Coraxis, Caspii, Moschici, Amazonici, Eniochi, Scythici (thus diversly called by Pliny, and others) Ptolemy calls by one name Caucasus, lying between the seas Caspium and

^a Plin. l. 6. c. 9. ^b Plutar. Mundi. Cosm. ^c Aristot. Met. cor. l. 1. c. 13. ^d Pliny in his description of Lycia. l. 5. c. 27.

Euxinus: as all those mountains which cut asunder *America*, even from the new kingdom of *Granado*, to the streight of *Magellan*, are by one name called *Andes*. And as these mountains of *Ararat* run east and west: so do those marvellous mountains of *Imaus* stretch themselves north and south; and being of like extent, well near, are called by the name of *Imaus*, even as *Pliny* calleth these former hills *Taurus*, and *Moses* the hills of *Ararat*. The reason of several names given by *Ptolemy* was, thereby the better to distinguish the great regions and kingdoms, which these great mountains bound and dis sever; as *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Affyria*, *Media*, *Susiana*, *Persia*, *Parthia*, *Caramania*, *Aria*, *Margiana*, *Bactria*, *Sogdiana* and *Paropanifus*: having all these kingdoms either on the north or south-side of them. For all the mountains of *Asia* (both the less and the greater) have three general names (to wit) *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucasus*: and they receive other titles, as they sever and divide particular places and regions. For these mountains which sunder *Cilicia* from the rest of *Asia* the less on the north-side, are called *Taurus*; and those mountains which part it from *Comagena* (a province of *Syria*) are called *Amanus*: the mountains called *Taurus* running east and west, as *Imaus* doth north and south. Though *Taurus* the river of *Euphrates* forceth her passage, leaving the name of *Amanus* to the mountains on her west-bank; and on her east-side the mountains are sometimes known by the name of *Taurus* (as in *Ptolemy's* three tables of *Asia*) and sometimes *Niphates* (as in the fourth) retaining that uncertain appellation so long as they bound *Armenia* from *Mesopotamia*: and after the the river of *Tigris* cutteth them asunder, they then take the name of *Niphates* altogether, until they separate *Affyria* and *Media*; but then they call themselves *Coatras*, tho' between the upper and nether *Media*, they do not appear, but altogether discontinue. For at *Mazada* in *Media* they are not found, but run through the eastern *Media* by pieces: in the middle of which region they call themselves *Orontes*, and towards the east-part *Coronus*; out of the southern part whereof the river of *Bagradus* riseth, which divideth the ancient *Persia* from *Caramania*: and then continuing their course eastward by the name of *Coronus*, they give to the *Parthians* and *Hyrceanians* their proper countries. This done, they change themselves into the mountains of *Sariphi*, out of which riseth the river *Margus*, afterwards yielding herself to *Oxus* (now *Abia*) and drawing now near their ways end, they first make themselves the south border of *Bactria*, and are then honoured with the title of *Paropanifus*; and lastly of *Caucasia*, even where the famous river of *Indus* with his principal companions *Hydaspis* and *Zarædrus* spring forth, and take beginning. And here do these mountains build themselves exceeding high, to equal the strong hills called *Imaus* of *Scythia*, which encounter each other in 35, 36, and 37 degrees of latitude, and in 140 of longitude: of the which the west parts are now called *Lelanguer*, and the rest *Nagracot*; and these mountains in this place only are properly called *Caucasi* (saith ^a *Ptolemy*) that is, between *Paropanifus* and *Imaus*: and improperly, between the two seas of *Caspium* and *Pontus*.

† XIV.

Of the best vine naturally growing on the south side of the mountains Caucas, and towards the East-Indies: and of other excellencies of the soil.

NOW in this part of the world it is, where the mountain and river *Janus*, and the moun-

tain *Nifeus* (so called of *Bacchus Nifeus* or *Noa*) are found: and on these highest mountains of that part of the world did *Goropius Becanus* conceive that the ark of *Noah* grounded after the flood: of all his conjectures the most probable, and by best reason approved. In his *Indoscythia* he hath many good arguments, tho' mix'd with other fantastical opinions of this subject. And as the same *Becanus* also noteth; that as in this part of the world are found the best vines: so it is as true, that in the same line, and in 34, 35, and 36 degrees of septentrional latitude are the most delicate wines of the world, namely, in *Judea*, *Candia*, and other parts of *Greece*: and likewise in this region of *Margiana*, and under these mountains, *Strabo* affirmeth that the most excellent vines of the world are found; the clusters of grapes containing two cubits of length: and it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in climate with that part of *Palestina*, where the searchers of the land by *Moses's* direction found bunches of equal bigness at ^b *Eshcol*.

The fruitfulness of this place, to wit, on the south bottom of these hills, *Curtius* witnesseth. For in *Margiana*, near the mountains of *Meros*, did *Alexander* feast himself and his army ten days together, finding therein the most delicate wine of all other.

† XV.

The conclusion, with a brief repeating of divers chief points.

AND therefore to conclude this opinion of *Ararat*, it is true, that those mountains do also traverse *Armenia*: yea, and *Armenia* it self sometimes is known by the name of *Ararat*. But as ^c *Pliny* giveth to this ledge of high hills, even from *Cilicia* to *Paropanifus* and *Caucasus*, the name of *Taurus*: and as the hills of *France* and *Germany* are called the *Alps*: and all between *France* and *Spain* the *Pyrenees*: and in *America* the continuation of hills for 3000 miles together, the *Andes*: so was *Ararat* the general name which *Moses* gave them; the diversity of appellations no otherwise growing, than by their dividing and bordering divers regions and divers countries. For in the like case do we call the sea, which entreth by *Gibraltar*, the *Mediterranean* and inland sea; and yet where it washeth the coasts of *Carthage*, and over-against it, it is called *Tyrrhenum*: between *Italy* and *Greece*, *Ionium*: from *Venice* to *Durazzo*, *Adriaticum*: between *Athens* and *Asia*, *Ægeum*: between *Seslus* and *Abydus*, *Hellepont*: and afterwards *Pontus*, *Propontis* and *Bosphorus*. And as in these, so is the ocean to the north-east part of *Scotland* called *Deucalidonicum*: and on this side, the *British* sea: to the east, the *German* and *Baltick*, and then the *Frozen*.

For a final end of this question we must appeal to that judge which cannot err, even to the word of truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plain sense: seeing it can admit neither distinction, nor other construction than the words bear literally, because they are used to the very same plain purpose of a description, and the making of a true and precise difference of places. Surely where the sense is plain (and being so understood, it bringeth with it no subsequent inconvenience or contrariety) we ought to be wary, how we fancy to our selves any new or strange exposition; and (withal) to resolve our selves, that every word (as aforesaid) hath his weight in God's book. And therefore we must respect and reverence the testimonies of the scriptures throughout, in such sort as *St. Augustine* hath taught us touching the gospel of

^a Ptol. Tab. Afie. ^b Numb 13. 24. ^c Lib. 5. c. 27.

Christ Jesus, which is, *Nequis aliter accipiat, quod (narrantibus discipulis Christi) in evangelio legerit, quam si ipsam manum Dei, quam in proprio corpore gestabat, conspexerit.* That no man otherwise take or understand that which he readeth in the gospel (the disciples of Christ having written it) than if he had seen the very hand of the Lord, which he bare in his own body, setting it down.

The words then of *Moses* which end this dispute are these: ^a *And as they went from the east they found a plain in the land of Shinaar, and there they abode*; which proveth without controversy, that *Nimrod*, and all with him came from the east into *Shinaar*; and therefore the ark of *Noah* rested and took land to the eastward thereof. For we must remember, that in all places wherefoever *Moses* maketh a difference of countries, he always precisely nameth towards what quarters of the world the same were seated: as where he teacheth the plantation of *Jofan*, he nameth *Sephar*, a mount in the east: where he remembreth *Cain's* departure from the presence of God, he addeth: ^b *And Cain dwelt in the land of Nod towards the east-side of Eden*: and when he describeth the tents and habitations of *Abraham* after he departed from *Sechem*, he useth these words: ^c *Afterwards removing thence unto a mountain eastward from Bethel, he pitched his tents: having Bethel on the west side, and Hai on the east*: and afterwards in the 9th verse of the same chapter it is written; *And Abraham went forth journeying towards the south*: also when ^d *Ezekiel* prophesied of *Gog* and *Magog*, he sheweth that these nations of *Togorma* were of the north quarters: and of the queen of *Saba* it is written, That ^e *she came from the south to visit Solomon*: And the ^f *magi* (or wise men) came out of the east to offer presents unto Christ. And that all regions, and these travels were precisely set down upon the points of the compass and quarters of the world, it is most manifest: for *Eden* was due east from *Judea*, *Saba* south from *Jerusalem*: the way from *Bethel* to *Egypt* directly south; and the *Cœlesyrians*, the *Tubalines* and *Magogians* inhabited the regions directly north from *Palestina*: and so of the rest. But *Armenia* answereth not to this description of *Shinaar* by *Moses*. For to come out of *Armenia*, and to arrive in that valley of *Babylonia*, is not a journeying from the east, nor so near unto the east as the north: for *Armenia* is to the west of the north it self; and we must not say of *Moses* (whose hands the Holy Ghost directed) that he erred *toto cœlo*, and that he knew not east from west. For the body of *Armenia* standeth in 43 degrees septentrional, and the north part thereof in 45; and those *Gordiean* mountains, whereon it was supposed that the ark rested, stand in 41. But *Babylonia*, and the valley of *Shinaar* are situated in 35, and for the longitude (which maketh the difference between east and west) the *Gordiean* mountains stand in 75 degrees, and the valley of *Shinaar* in 79 and 80. And therefore *Armenia* lieth from *Shinaar* north-west, 95 degrees from the east; and if *Armenia* had been but north, yet it had differed from the east one whole quarter of the compass. But *Gregory* and *Jerome* warn us, *In scripturis ne minima differentia omitti debet: nam singuli sermones, syllabæ, apices & puncta in divina scriptura plena sunt sensibus.* In the scriptures the least difference may not be omitted: for every speech, syllable, note or accent, and point, in divine scriptures are replenished with their meanings. And therefore seeing *Moses* teacheth us that the children of *Noah* came from the east, we may not believe writers (of little authority) who also speak by hear-

say, and by report, *Ut fertur, & ut dicitur*, as *Berosus* and *Nicolaus Damascenus*, determining herein, without any examination of the text, at all adventure. But this is infallibly true, that *Shinaar* lieth west from the place where the ark of *Noah* rested after the flood; and therefore it first found ground in the east, from whence came the first knowledge of all things. The east parts were first civil, which had *Noah* himself for an instructor: and directly east from *Shinaar*, in the same degree of 35, are the greatest grapes and the best wine. The great armies also, which overtopped in number those millions of *Semiramis*, prove that those parts were first planted: and whereas the other opinion hath neither scripture nor reason sufficient: for my self, I build on his words who in plain terms hath told us, that the sons of *Noah* came out of the east into *Shinaar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the ark rest on those eastern mountains, called by one general name *Taurus*, and by *Moses* the mountains of *Ararat*, and not on those mountains of the north-west, as *Berosus* first feigned, whom most part of the writers have followed therein. It was, I say, in the plentiful warm east where *Noah* rested, where he planted the vine, where he tilled the ground, and lived thereon. *Placuit vero Noacho agriculturæ studium, in qua tractanda ipse omnium peritissimus esse dicitur: ob eamque rem sua ipsius lingua Ish-Adamath (hoc est) telluris vir appellatur celebratusque est*; The study of husbandry pleased *Noah* (saith the excellent learned man *Arias Montanus*) in the knowledge and order of which it is said, that *Noah* excelled all men: and therefore was he called in his own language a man exercised in the earth. Which also sheweth that he was no wanderer: and that he troubled not himself with the contentions beginning again in the world, and among men, but stay'd in his destin'd places, and in that part of the world, where he was first delivered out of the prison of the ark, whereinto God had committed him to preserve him and mankind.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the first planting of nations after the flood; and of the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, by whom the earth was re-peopled.

SECT. I.

Whether Shem and Ham were elder than Japhet.

OF these sons of *Noah*, which was the eldest there is a question made. ^g *St. Augustine* esteemed *Shem* for the eldest, *Ham* for the second, and *Japhet* for the youngest: and herein the opinions of writers are divers. But this we find every where in the scriptures, and especially in *Moses*, that there was never any respect given to the eldest in years, but in virtue, as by the examples of *Enoch*, *Abraham*, *Jacob* and *David*, is made manifest. In a few words, this is the ground of the controversy: the *Latin* translation, and so the *Geneva*, hath converted this scripture of *Genesis* x. 21. in these words; *Unto Shem also the father of all the sons of Heber, and elder brother of Japhet, were children born.* But *Junius* agreeing with the *Septuagint*, placeth the same words in this manner: *To Shem also the father of all the sons of Heber, and brother of Japhet, the eldest son were children born*: so the transposition of the word [*elder*] made this

^a Gen. 11. 2. ^b Gen. 10. 30. 4. 16. ^c Gen. 12. 8. ^d Ezek. 38. 6. ^e Matth. 12. 42. ^f Matth. 2. 1. ^g August. de Civit. Dei, l. 16. c. 3.

difference. For if the word [*elder*] had followed after *Japhet*, as it is in the vulgar translation placed before it, then had it been as plain for *Japhet*, as it is by these translations for *Shem*. Now (the matter being otherwise indifferent) seeing God's blessings are not tied to first and last in blood, but to the eldest in piety, yet the arguments are stronger for *Japhet* than for *Shem*. And where the scriptures are plainly understood without any danger or inconvenience, it seemeth strange why any man of judgment should make valuation of conjectural arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that *Noah*, in the five hundredth year of his life, begat the first of his three sons *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*: and in the six hundredth year, to wit, the hundredth year following, came the general flood; two years after which ^a *Shem* begat *Arphaxad*, which was in the year 602 of *Noah*'s life, and in the year of *Shem*'s life one hundred: so, as *Shem* was but one hundred years old, two years after the flood: and *Noah* begat his first-born, being 500 years old; and therefore, were *Shem* the elder, he had then been 100 years old at the flood, and in the six hundredth year of *Noah*'s life, and not two years after. Which seeing the scriptures before remembered hath denied him, and that it is also written: ^b *Then Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him, to wit, Ham*; of necessity the first place doth belong to *Japhet*. This younger son so converted by the vulgar and *Geneva*, *Junius* turns it *Filius minimus*, his youngest son; but *St. Chrysostom* takes it otherwise, and finds *Ham* to be the middle or second brother, and *Japhet* the youngest son of all: which *Ham*, for his disobedience and the contempt of his father, (whose nakedness he derided) was disinherited, and lost the pre-eminency of his birth, as ^c *Esau* and *Reuben* did. *Pererius* conceiveth that *Ham* was called the younger in respect of *Shem* the eldest, but avoweth withal, that the *Hebrew* hath not that precise difference of younger and youngest, because it wanteth the comparative degree. It is true that *Shem* himself was always named in the first place, yet whereas in the first verse of the tenth chapter of *Genesis*, *Shem* is accounted before *Japhet*; in the second verse *Moses* leaveth to begin with the issue by *Shem*, and reciteth the children of *Japhet* first. So the first place was given to *Shem* for his election and benediction, and for this weighty respect, that the *Hebrew* nation, *Abraham*, the prophets, *David* and *Christ* our Saviour were descended of him. And therefore, whether we shall follow the vulgar, *Pagninus*, and the *Geneva*, who agree in this conversion, *Shem* frater *Japhet* major; or with the *Septuagint*, *Junius*, and *Tremelius*, *Shem* fratri *Japhet* majoris; or with *Pererius*, *Shem* frater *Japhet* ille magnus: inferring that *Shem* was the great and famous brother of *Japhet*, let the reader judge.

But for ought that I have seen to the contrary, it appeareth to me that *Japhet* was the eldest. For where *Pererius* qualifyeth the strength of the former argument, that *Shem*'s age at the time of the flood did not agree with the eldership (with a supposition that the scriptures took no account of smaller numbers) I do not find in the scriptures any such neglect at all: For it is written, that ^d *Shem* was an hundred years old, and begat *Arphaxad* two years after the flood: and again in the 12th verse, *So Shem lived after he begat Eber four hundred and three years, &c.* So as the number of two years, of three years, of five years, and afterwards of two years were always precisely accounted.

SECT. II.

Of divers things that in all reason are to be presumed, touching the first planting of the world, as that all histories must yield to Moses: that the world was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that the known great lords of the first ages were of the issue of Ham.

BUT let us go unto the world's plantation after the flood, which being rightly understood, we shall find that many nations have supposed or feigned themselves those ancestors and fathers, which never saw or approached the bounds of their countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plain in the scriptures how the sons and issues of *Noah* were distributed, and what regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the world was also peopled. And if any profane author may receive allowance herein, the same must be with this caution, that they take their beginning where the scriptures end. For so far as the story of nations is therein handled, we must know that both the truth and antiquity of the books of God find no companions equal, either in age or authority. All record, memory, and testimony of antiquity whatsoever, which hath come to the knowledge of men, the same hath been borrowed thence, and therefore later than it, as all careful observers of time have noted: among which thus writeth *Eusebius* in the proem of his chronology. *Moses is found more ancient than all those whom the Grecians make most ancient, as Homer, Hesiod, and the Trojan war; and far before Hercules, Musæus, Linus, Chiron, Orpheus, Castor, Pollux, Æsculapius, Bacchus, Mercurius, and Apollo, and the rest of the Gods of the nations, their ceremonies, or holy rites, or prophets: and before all the deeds of Jupiter, whom the Greeks have seated in the top and highest turret of their divinity.*

For of the three *Jupiters* remembered by ^e *Cicero*, the ancientest was the son of *Æther*, whose three sons begotten on *Proserpina*, were born at *Athens*, of which *Cecrops* was the first king: and in the end of *Cecrops*'s time did *Moses* bring the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*. *Eduxit Moses populum Dei ex Ægypto novissimo tempore Cecropis Atheniensis regis; Moses* brought the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, in the last days of *Cecrops* king of the *Athenians*, saith ^f *St. Augustine*: and yet was not *Cecrops* the founder of the city it self, but *Theseus* long after him. But because the truth hereof is diversly proved, and by many learned authors, I will not cut asunder the purpose in hand by alledging many authorities, in a needless question, but leave it to the proper place.

The sons of <i>Japhet</i> were	{ <i>Gomer</i> . <i>Magog</i> . <i>Madai</i> . <i>Javan</i> . <i>Tubal</i> . <i>Mesbach</i> . and <i>Tiras</i> .	The sons of <i>Gomer</i> were	{ <i>Askenaz</i> . <i>Riphat</i> . <i>Togorma</i> .

First, We are to consider that the world after the flood was not planted by imagination, neither had the children of *Noah* wings, to fly from *Shinaar* to the uttermost border of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Asia* in haste, but that these children were directed by a wise father, who knew those parts of the world before the flood, to which he disposed his children after it, and sent them not as discoverers, or at all

^a Gen. 11. 10. ^b Gen. 11. 24. ^c In Gen. ^d Gen. 11. 10. ^e Cicero de Nat. Deorum, l. 3. ^f De Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 11.

adventure, but assigned and allotted to every son, and their issues, their proper parts. And not to hearken to fabulous authors, who have no other end than to flatter princes (as *Virgil* did *Augustus* in the fiction of *Aeneas*) or else to glorify their own nations: let us build upon the scriptures themselves, and after them upon reason and nature. First therefore, we must call to mind and consider, what manner of face the earth every where had in the 130th year after the great inundation, and, by comparing those fruitfullest valleys with our own barren and cold ground, inform our selves thereby, what wonderful desarts, what impassable fastness of woods, reeds, briers and rotten grass, what lakes, and standing pools, and what marshes, fens, and bogs, all the face of the earth (excepting the mountains) was pestered withal. For if in this our climate (where the dead and destroying winter depresseth all vegetative and growing nature, for one half of the year in effect) yet in twenty or thirty years, these our grounds would not all overgrow and be covered (according to the nature thereof) either with woods or with other offensive thickets and bushments: much more did all sorts of plants, reeds, and trees, prosper in the most fruitful valleys, and in the climate of a long and warm summer, and having withal the start of 130 years to raise themselves without controulment.

This being considered, it will appear, that all these people which came into *Shinaar*, and over whom *Nimrod* either by order or strength took the dominion, did after the confusion of languages, and at such time as they grew to be a mighty people, disperse themselves into the regions adjoining to the said valley of *Shinaar*, which contained the best part of *Mesopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*, and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated: some of them towards the south, others towards the west and north. And altho' there were allotted to *Shem* many regions both east and west from *Shinaar*, with the dominion of *Palestina*, which the *Canaanites* first possess'd; yet could he not enjoy the lot of his inheritance on the sudden, but by time and degrees. For we find, that *Abraham* the true successor of *Shem*, dwelt in *Chaldea* at *Ur*; and from thence (called by God) he rested at *Charran* in *Mesopotamia*: from whence after the death of *Thare*, he travelled to *Sichem* in *Palestina*; and yet there had passed between *Shem* and *Abraham* (reckoning neither of themselves) seven descents, before *Abraham* moved out of *Chaldea*: where, and in *Babylonia*, all those people by *Nimrod* commanded, inhabited for many years, and whence *Nimrod* went out into *Affyria*, and founded *Nineveh*. Indeed the great masters of nations (as far as we can know) were, in that age of the issues of *Ham*; the blessing of God given by *Noah* to *Shem* and *Japhet* taking less effect, until divers years were consumed; and until the time arrived, which by the wisdom of God was appointed. For of *Chus*, *Mizraim*, and *Canaan* came the people, and princes, which held the great kingdoms of *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, for many descents together.

S E C T. III.

(Of the isles of the Gentiles in *Japhet's* portion: of *Berosus's* too speedy seating *Gomer* the son of *Japhet* in Italy; and another of *Japhet's* sons *Tubal* in Spain: and of the antiquity of *Longinque* Navigation.

TO begin therefore where *Moses* beginneth with the sons of *Japhet*, among whom the isles of the *Gentiles* were divided: which division, as well

to *Japhet's* sons, as to the rest which came into *Shinaar*, was (if the division were made at *Phaleg's* birth) in the year of the world 1757 or 1758, and (by that account) in the year after the flood one hundred and one, of which question elsewhere.

The habitations proper to the sons of *Japhet* were the isles of the *Gentiles*, which include all *Europe*, with all the islands adjoining and compassing it about: *Europe* being also taken for an island, both in respect that the sea *Hellepont* and *Ægeum*, *Bosphorus* and *Euxinus* cut it off from the great continent of *Asia*, as also because *Europe* it self is, in effect, surrounded with water, saving that it is fastned to *Asia* by the north; for it hath those seas before named to the east, the *Mediterranean* to the south and south-west, the ocean to the west, and *British*, *German* and *Baltick* sea, with that of *Glaciale* to the north-north-east, and north-west. Besides, it hath about it all the *Cyclades* or isles lying between *Greece* and the lesser *Asia*, and the isles of *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, *Crete* or *Candia*, *Sicilia*, *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, *Malta*, the isles of *Brittany* and *Zealand*, with their young ones adjacent.

This partition and portion of *Japhet*, with the part which he held in *Asia* and the north, which was also very great, answereth to that blessing of God by *Noah*. ^a *Dilatet Deus Japhet*; Let God spread abroad (or encrease the posterity of) *Japhet*, and let him dwell in the tents of *Shem*. For tho' *Junius* here useth the word [*alliciat*] and not [*dilatet*] and the *Geneva* persuadeat; yet the *Septuagint* have *dilatet* or *amplificet*; and such was the blessing given to our fathers, which God promised to *Abraham* and his seed for ever. And the dwelling in the tents or tabernacles of *Shem* was a blessing by God to the posterity of *Japhet*: noting not only an enlargment of territories; but that thereby they should be made participant of God's church. But to come to *Japhet's* sons, of whom *Gomer* is the eldest. This *Gomer* (if we may believe *Berosus* and *Annius*, whose authority the greatest number of all our late writers have followed) did in the tenth year of *Nimrod's* reign depart from *Babylonia*, and planted *Italy*: which also ^b *Functius* confirmeth in these words, *Anno decimo Nimrodi, &c.* In the tenth year of *Nimrod's* reign, *Gomerus Gallus* planted a colony in that land afterwards called *Italy*: and in the twelfth year of the same *Nimrod's* reign, *Tubal* seated himself in *Asturia* in *Spain* (now called *Biscay*) which was in the 140th and in the 142d years after the flood, according to *Berosus*. But this opinion is very ridiculous: For before the confusion of tongues the children of *Noah* did not separate themselves, at least so many of them as came with *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*. Let us therefore consider with reason, what time the building such a city and tower required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any ready means to perform such a work as *Nimrod* had erected (and as *Functius* himself out of his author *Berosus* witnesseth) *Ad altitudinem & magnitudinem montium*; To the height and magnitude of the mountains. Sure that both this city and tower were almost built, the scriptures witness. ^c *But the Lord came down to see the city and tower, which the sons of men built.* Let us then but allot a time sufficient for the making of brick to such a work, of the greatest height (and therefore of circuit and foundation answerable) that ever was. For where the universal flood covered the highest mountains fifteen cubits; Let us build us a city and a tower (saith *Nimrod*) whose top may reach unto the heaven: meaning, that they would raise their work above fifteen cubits higher than the highest moun-

^a Gen. 9. 27.

^b Funct. Chronol.

^c Gen. 11.

tain, otherwise they could not assure themselves from the fear of a second inundation : a great part whereof was finished before it fell, and before they left the work. They also began this building upon a ground, the most oppressed with waters of all the world : as by the great ruin which these waters forcibly overbearing and overflowing, made in the time of the succeeding emperors, is made manifest, approved also by the prophet *Jeremy*, speaking of *Babylon* in these words ; *Thou that dwellest upon many waters.* It cannot be doubted but that there needed a substantial foundation for so high a rais'd building on a marshy ground : and to which *Glycas* upon *Genesis* giveth forty years. For it seemeth, that the tower was near finished when God overthrew it : it being afterwards written, *So the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the earth, and they left to build the city.* Out of which place it may be gathered (because the tower is not then named) that they very near had performed the work of their suppos'd defence, which was the tower : and that afterwards they went on with the city adjoining, wherein they inhabited. It is also to be noted, that till such time as this confusion seized them (whereupon the tower was thrown down) these nations did not disperse themselves : for ^a *from thence the Lord scattered them upon all the earth*, that was ; when they perceived not one another's speech. Now to think that this work in the newness of the world (wanting all instruments and materials) could be performed in ten years ; and that *Tubal* and *Gomer* in the same year could creep thro' 3000 miles of desert, with women, children, and cattle ; let those light believers, that neither tie themselves to the scripture, nor to reason, approve it, for I do not. And if the ark of *Noah* was 100 years in building, or but near such a time, and then, when the world had stood 1556 years, it were more than foolishness and madness it self, to think that such a work as this could be performed in ten ; when the world (from the flood to the arrival at *Babel*, and beginning of this building there) had but 131 years, and whereof they had spent some part in travelling from the east. Again, if all *Asia* set to their helping hands in the building of the temple of ^b *Diana*, and yet they consumed in that work 400 years (or be it but half that time) and in such an age as when the world flourished in all sorts of artificers, and with abundant plenty of materials and carriages, this work of the tower of *Babel* could hardly (with all the former wants supposed) be erected in those few years remembred. And for conclusion, let all men of judgment weigh with themselves how impossible it was for a nation or family of men, with their wives and children, and cattle, to travel 3000 miles through woods, bogs, and desarts, without any guide or conductor ; and we shall find it rather a work of 100 years than of 100 days. For in the *West-Indies*, of which the *Spaniards* have the experience, in those places where they found neither path nor guide, they have not entered the country ten miles in ten years. And if *Nimrod's* people spent many years by the account before remembred in passing from the *East-Indies*, or the higher part thereof, which standeth in 115 degrees of longitude, until they came into *Shinaar* which lieth in 79 degrees (the distance between those places containing 36 degrees, which make 720 leagues, which is 2160 miles) and did all the way keep the mountains and hard ground ; then the difference between *Babylon* and *Biscay* is much more : for the body of *Biscay* lieth in ten degrees, and *Babylon* or *Shinaar* (as aforesaid) in 79 : so the

length of way from *Shinaar* to *Asturia* or *Biscay*, is 69 degrees, which make 1380 leagues, or of miles 4140. And therefore if *Nimrod* took divers years to find *Shinaar*, which was but 2160 miles : or (supposing that the ark rested in *Armenia*) little above 400 miles, there is no cause to the contrary, but to allow as many years to *Gomer* and *Tubal* to travel 3000 miles to countries less known unto them by far, than the land of *Shinaar* was to *Nimrod*. For *Paradise* was known to *Noah* before the flood, and so was the region of *Eden* by *Moses* afterwards remembred ; but what he understood of most part of the world else, it is unknown. And therefore did *Annius* ill advise himself to plant *Gomer* in *Italy*, and *Tubal* in *Spain*, in the 10th and 12th of *Nimrod's* reign : ^c *Shall the earth be brought forth in one day, or shall a nation be born at once?* But it may be objected, that the sons of *Japhet* might come by sea, and so save this great travel through desarts by land. But we never read of any navigation in those days, nor long after. Surely he that knoweth what it is to imbark so great a people, as we may justly suppose those conductors carried with them, will not easily believe, that there were any vessels in those days to transport armies, and withal their cattle, by whose milk they lived and fed their children : for milk and fruit were the banqueting dishes of our forefathers. And in the eldest times, even the kings and fathers of nations valued themselves by the herds and numbers of their cattle : who had flocks of sheep, and great droves and herds of their own, and their own shepherds and herdsmen. Now if *Tubal* had pass'd by sea from any part of *Palestina*, *Syria* or *Cilicia*, he might have made good choice within the *Streights*, and not have overgone *Granado*, *Valencia*, and other provinces in that tract ; pass'd the *Streights* of *Gibraltar*, disdain'd all *Andalusia* and *Portugal*, with all those goodly ports and countries, and have sought out the iron, woody, and barren country of the world, called *Biscay*, by a long and dangerous navigation. But before the journey of the *Argonautæ*, there were scarce any vessels that durst cross the seas in that part of the world : and yet that which *Jason* had, if the tale be true, was but a galley, and a poor one (God knows) and perchance such as they use this day in *Ireland* ; which altho' it carried but four and fifty passengers, yet was it far greater than any of the former times : ^d *Erat enim antea parvarum navicularum usus* ; For in former times they used very small vessels. I deny not but that the *Tyrians* gave themselves of old to far-off navigations, whence *Tibullus* ascribed the invention of ships unto them.

^e *Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros.*

Tyrus knew first how ships might use the wind.

And for those boats ^f *Longæ naves*, or gallies, *Pliny* saith, that *Ægeſias* ascribeth the device to *Paralus* : and *Philostephanus* to *Jason* : *Ctesias* to *Samyras* ; and *Saphanus* to *Semiramis* : *Archimachus* to *Ægeon* ; to which invention the *Erythræi* are said to have added certain numbers of oars, and then ^g *Aminocles* the *Corinthian* to have encreased them : the *Carthaginians* afterwards to have brought them to four banks : the *Quinque Remi* first to have been used by *Nesichton* the *Salaminian*, with which vessels in those parts of the world, the *Romans* served themselves in the *Punick* war. But these be, perhaps, but the partialities of writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as constantly cast the devising of these gallies on *Sesoſtris*, tho' *Se-*

^a Gen. 11. ^b Plin. ^c Isa. 66. 8. ^d Diod. Sicul. l. 4. c. 4 fol. 115. ^e Tibal Eleg. 7. Strabo, l. 16. ^f Diod. Sicul. l. 4. c. 4 fol. 115. ^g Thucyd.

miramis used them in the passage of her army over *Indus* in *Abraham's* time. So it is said, that ^a *Danaus* was the first that brought a ship into *Greece*: and yet the *Samothracians* challenge the invention; and yet *Tertullian*, on the contrary, gives it to *Minerva*: others to *Neptune*; *Thucydides* to the *Corinthians*. And so ignorant were the people of those ages, as the *Egyptians* used to coast the shores of the Red sea upon rafts devised by king *Erythrus*: and in the time of the *Romans*, the *Britains* had a kind of boat (with which they cross'd the seas) made of small twigs, and covered over with leather: of which kind I have seen at the *Dingle* in *Ireland*, and elsewhere. *Naves ex corio circumfute in oceano Britannico* (saith *Textor* :) of which *Lucan* the poet :

*Primum cana salix, madefacto vimine, parvam
Texitur in puppim, caesoque induta juvenco,
Vectoris patiens tumidum superenatat amnem.
Sic Venetus flagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus
Navigat Oceano.*

The moistned osier of the hoary willow
Is woven first into a little boat :
Then loth'd in bullock's hide upon the billow
Of a proud river, lightly doth it float
Under the waterman :
So on the lakes of overswelling *Po*
Sails the *Venetian* : and the *Britain* so
On th' out-spread ocean.

And altho' it cannot be denied, when *Noah* by God's inspiration was instructed in so many particulars concerning the ark, that then many things concerning navigation were first revealed; yet it appears that there was much difference between the ark of *Noah*, and such ships as were for any long navigation. Yea, ancient stories shew, that it was long after these times, ere any durst presume upon any long voyages to sea: at least, with multitudes of women, and children, and cattle: as also common reason can tell us, that even now when this art is come to her perfection, such voyages are very troublesome and dangerous. So as it doth appear, that there was not in that age of *Nimrod*, any ship, or use of ships, fit for any long navigation. For if *Gomer* and *Tubal* had passed themselves and their people by sea; the exercise of navigation would not have been dead for so many hundred years after. Leaving therefore the fabulous to their fables, and all men else to their fancies, who have cast nations into countries far off, I know not how, I will follow herein the relation of *Moses* and the prophets; to which truth there is joined both nature, reason, policy, and necessity: and to the rest, neither probability, nor possibility.

SECT. IV.

Of *Gog* and *Magog*, *Tubal* and *Mesech*, seated first about *Asia* the less, out of *Ezekiel* xxxviii. 39.

NOW altho' many learned and reverend men have formed (I know not whereby led) a plantation of the world, which also hath been and is received: yet I hope I may be excused, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainly, that great learned man of this latter age, *Arias Montanus*, was also in some things much mistaken: and for *Josephus*, as he hath many good things, and is a guide to many errors withal, so was he in this plantation of the world very gross and fabulous, whereby both *Eusebius*, *Hierosolymitanus*, *Epiphanius*, and others, that have taken his testimonies for current, have been by him far misled.

But the better to conceive what regions of the world *Gomer* the first son of *Japhet* possess'd, as also *Tubal*, it is needful to begin with *Magog*; because the scriptures take most knowledge of *Gog* and *Magog*, which two names have troubled many commentators, saith *Matth. Beroaldus*, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that ever I read) I find most judicious in the examination of this plantation. He takes authority from the prophet *Ezekiel* chiefly, who in the 38th and 39th chapter directeth us what nations the *Gomerians*, *Tubalines*, and *Togormians* were, together with the *Magogians*: of which *Gog* was prince or chief conductor in their attempts against *Israel*: for besides the portions of *Europe*, and the north-east parts of the greater *Asia*, which *Japhet's* issues possess'd, all *Asia* the less was peopled by them. And that those of the issue of *Japhet* (whom *Ezekiel* speaks of) were seated hereabout, it may best appear, if we consider the circumstances of the place, and the dependency upon the former prophecy in the 37th chapter: for in that 37th chapter, ^b *Ezekiel* prophesieth of the uniting of the two kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judab*, after their delivery from captivity.

By which prophecy of *Ezekiel*, it appeareth, that God purposed to gather together his people, to give life to dead bones, and to rule them by one prince. For to that purpose it is written; *And David my servant shall be king over them, and they shall have one shepherd*, that is, they shall be united as they were in *David's* times. Hereupon in the 38th chapter *Ezekiel* prophesieth against those nations, which should seek to impeach this union, and disturb the people of *Israel*, whom God purposed to receive to grace, and promised to restore. And so in the same chapter are those nations coupled together, which infested the *Israelites* after their return, and sought to subject them: all which were the subjects or allies of *Gog*, prince of the *Magogians*, or *Cælesyrians*, next bordering *Palestina* or the holy land, followed also by the rest of the nations of *Asia* the less, which lay north from *Judea*. The words of *Ezekiel* are these; *Son of man, set thy face against Gog, and against the land of Magog the chief princes of Mesech (or Mosoch) and Tubal: and afterward, Behold, I come against the chief prince of Mesech and Tubal: and in the sixth verse, Gomer and all his bands, and the house of Togorma of the north quarters*. Herein *Ezekiel* having first delivered the purpose of his prophecy, teacheth what nations they were, that should in vain assail *Israel*. He joineth them together under their prince *Gog*, and sheweth that their habitations were on the north quarters of *Judab*, and how seated and joined together. *Gog* signifieth in the *Hebrew* (saith *St. Jerome*) *tectum* or *covering of a house*: and *Pintus* upon *Ezekiel* affirmeth, that by *Gog* is meant *Antichrist*: for, saith he, *Antichristus erit diaboli tegumentum sub specie humana*; That *Antichrist* shall be the covering of the devil under human form. He addeth that *Magog* is as much to say as *Gog*: the letter [*M*] being an *Hebrew* preposition, and importeth as much as *of* or *from*: so he taketh *Magog* for those people which follow *Antichrist*. So far *Pintus*, at least in this, is not amiss, that he expoundeth *Magog* not for any one person, but for a nation, with which agreeth this observation of *Beroaldus*. *Magog*, saith he, in *Hebrew* is written *Ham Magog*, which sheweth *Magog* to be a region or nation: for the letter [*He*] which is used but for an *Emphasis* (which the *Hebrews* call *Hebraïdia*) is never added to proper names of men, but

^a Plin. l. 2. c. 36. Luleb. de prep. Evang. c. 1. Tert. de Coron. Mil.

^b Ezek. 37. 19.

Ezek. 38. 2.

often to place. So as *Gog* was prince of that nation (called either *Magog*, or according to others the people of *Gog*) also prince of *Mesech* (or *Mosoch*) and of *Tubal*: as by the first verse of the 39th chapter is made manifest, *Behold, I come against thee Gog the chief prince of Mesech and Tubal*. This must needs be meant by the successors of *Seleucus Nicanor*, who did not (as other conquering nations) seek to make the *Jews* their tributaries only, but endeavoured by all means, and by all kind of violence, to extinguish the religion it self (which the *Hebrews* profess'd) and the acknowledging of one true God: and to force them to worship and serve the mortal and rotten Gods of the heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name, and dead images. ^a *St. Ambrose* and *Isidore* take *Gog* for the nation of the *Goths*: belike, because they invaded *Europe*, and sack'd *Rome* and many other places and cities thereabouts. *Hermolaus Barbarus* out of *Pomp. Mela* derives the *Turks* from the *Scythians*, esteemed *Magogians* of *Gog*. Many take *Gog* for the proper name of a man: others of a region: others for a nation inhabiting a region, as *Junius*, who says that *Gog* is the name of a nation, denominated from him whom the *Greek* stories call *Gyges*: who in former time having slain *Candaules* the *Lydian*, gave his own name to that nation, thence after called *Gygades*: and therefore also the *Gygean* lake, which lake ^b *Strabo* also findeth in *Lydia* (of which *Gyges* was king) 40 furlongs from *Sardis*. *Pliny* calleth it *Gygeum stagnum*. *Herodotus* and *Nicanor* set it about the rivers of *Hyllus*, and *Mæander*; but the difference is not great. *Marius Niger* maketh mention of this *Gyges* king of *Lydia*: who after he had subdued the country about the river *Rhodus* which runneth into the *Hellepont*, called the promontory *Trapeze* after his own name *Gyges*. These opinions do also seem to strengthen that of ^c *Junius*. For *Magog*, saith he, is that part of *Asia* the less, which *Halyattes* obtained; and after him his son *Cræsus*; who (as ^d *Junius* further notes) having mastered all those regions as far south as *Libanus*, in that border built the city *Gigarta* or *Gogkarta* (which in the *Syrian* signifieth the city of *Gog*) seated in *Cælesyria*, whose people were the ancient enemies of the *Jews*.

Now that *Magog* is found in *Cælesyria*, *Pliny* affirmeth, saying; *Cælesyria habet Bambycen, quæ alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur, Syris vero Magog*; *Cælesyria* hath it in *Bambyce*, which by another name is called *Hierapolis*, but of the *Syrians*, *Magog*. He further telleth us that the monstrous idol *Atergatis*, called by the *Greeks* *Deiceto*, was here worshipped; *Lucian* makes mention hereof, saying that the city had anciently another name, which yet he expresseth not; forbearing perhaps the word *Magog*, as sounding nothing elegantly in the *Greek*. But if we may believe ^e *Strabo*, then was *Edeffa* in *Mesopotamia* the same *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*, where the same idol was worshipped. *Ortelius* is doubtful whether one of these authors did not mistake the place of this *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*. It may well enough be that the same name and religion was common to them both. Certain it is, that both of them lay due north from *Palestina*, and were both subject unto the kings of the race of *Seleucus*. Now I do not condemn the opinion of *Hermolaus Barbarus* following *Josephus*, but grant that perhaps *Magog* might also be the father of the *Scythians*; notwithstanding that in this place, where *Gog* is made the prince of *Magog*, the nations of *Cælesyria*, and the north parts adjoining, be meant by *Magog*: for by a latter plantation from these parts, they might

be propagated into *Scythia*. Yet it is not to be denied, that the *Scythians* in old times coming out of the north-east, wasted the better part of *Asia* the less, and possess'd *Cælesyria*, where they built both *Scythopolis* and *Hierapolis*, which the *Syrians* call *Magog*. And that to this *Magog* *Ezekiel* had reference, it is very plain: for this city *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*, standeth due north from *Judea*, according to the words of *Ezekiel*, that from the north quarters those nations should come. For as the kings of the south which infested the *Israelites* were the *Ptolemies* kings of *Egypt*: so those of the north were the kings of *Asia* and *Syria*, the successors of *Seleucus*, the successor of *Alexander Macedon*. *Gulielmus Tyrius* thinks that this *Hierapolis* is that *Rages*, mentioned in the story of *Tobias*. ^f *Pliny* takes it not only to have been called *Bambyce*, as we have said, but also *Edeffa*: not that by *Euphrates*, but another of the same name; now the known name is *Alepo*: for so *Bellonius* expounds this *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*. This city had the title of sacred, as the sacred city (for so the word *Hierapolis* signifieth) yet was it a place of most detestable idolatry; and wherein was worshipped the idol of the mermaid *Atergatis*, or *Atingis*, according to *Pliny*, which the *Greeks* call *Deiceto*.

If then we confer the words of *Ezekiel* in the 3d verse of the 38th chapter, wherein he joineth together *Gog*, *Mesech*, and *Tubal*: and withal remember that *Hierapolis* was the city of *Magog*, which also is seated directly north from *Judea*: with whom also *Ezekiel* coupleth *Gomer*, and all his bands of the north quarters; we may, as I conceive, safely conclude, that these followers and vassals of *Gog* (which were northern nations in respect of *Judea*) were not the *Gomerians* of *France*, nor the *Tubalines* of *Spain*, but a people of lesser *Asia*, and *Cælesyria*: and therefore that the opinions of *Berosus*, *Josephus*, and whosoever else hath followed them therein are to be rejected. But if *Josephus* refer himself to later times, and think that some colony of the *Tubalines* might from *Iberia* and *Asia* pass into *Spain* (to wit, from that piece of land between *Colchis* or *Mengrelia*) and *Albania* (most part possessed by the *Georgians*) then is his judgment of better allowance. For without any repugnancy of opinions, it may be granted, that in process of time these people might from their first habitation pass into the countries near the *Euxine* Sea, and from thence in after-ages into *Spain*.

Josephus makes mention of the *Iberi*, saying, that they were anciently called *Thobelos*, as of *Tubal*; from whence, saith *Justin*, they passed into *Spain* to search out the mines of that region: having belike understood that it was a southerly country, and mountainous. For it seemeth that the *Tubalines*, called *Chalybes*, lived altogether by the exchange of iron, and other metals, as *Apollonius* witnesseth in these following verses, telling how the *Argonauts* did visit them.

*Hæc gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro,
Sed ferri venas scindit sub montibus altis:
Mercibus hæc mutat, quæ vitæ alimenta ministrant.*

The *Chalybes* plough not their barren soil,
But undermine high hills for iron veins:
Changing the purchase of their endless toil
For merchandise, which their poor lives sustains.

But it is more probable, that *Spain* was first peopled by the *Africans*, who had ever since an affection to return thither, and to re-people it anew. This appeared by the *Carthaginians* of old, who

^a Lib. 2. de Fide. ^b Strabo, l. 13. ^c Suid. col. 207. ^d Jun. in Ezek. 38. ^e Strabo, l. 16. ^f Lib. 4. Cap. de bello Sacro

were

were easily drawn to pass over the streights into that country ; and after by the *Moors* who held *Granado*, and the south parts 800 years, till the time of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*. And either of these opinions are more probable, than that in the 12th year of *Nimrod's* reign, *Tubal* pass'd into *Spain*, and therein built *St. Uval*: a poor town, and a poor device, God knows. Certain it is, that we must find *Mosoch* or *Mesech*, and *Tubal* neighbours, and *Gomer* and *Togorma* not far off, or else we shall wrong *Ezekiel*: for he called *Gog* the leader or prince of *Mesech* and *Tubal*, and maketh *Gomer* and *Togorma* their assistants. And that *Mesech* inhabited *Asia*, *Functius* (tho' he followed *Berosus*) confesseth, for these be his words; *Mesacus, qui a Mose Mesech, priscos Mesios ab Adula monte usque ad Ponticam regionem posuit: hæc regio postea Cappadocia dicta est, in qua urbs Mazica, &c. hæc est terra Magog principalis: Mesacus*, whom *Moses* calleth *Alesech*, placed the ancient *Mesians* from the mount *Adulas*, unto the coast of *Pontus*. This region was afterwards called *Cappadocia*, in which is the town *Mazica*, &c. this is the principal country of *Magog*. And this doth *Annius* also avow, and yet forgets that *Gog* was prince both of *Mesech* and *Tubal*: and therefore, that the one was a nation of *Spaniards*, the other of *Cappadocians*, is very ridiculous; *Spain* lying directly west, and not north from *Judea*. Also *Ezekiel* in the 27th chapter, where he prophesieth of the destruction of *Tyre*, nameth *Mesech* and *Tubal* jointly. And for a final proof, that these nations were of a northern neighbour land (how far soever stretched) *Ezekiel* in the 38th chapter makes them all horsemen. *Thou, and much people with thee, all shall ride upon horses, even a great multitude and a mighty*. Then if any man believe that these troops came out of *Spain* over the *Pyrenees*, and first pass'd over a part of *France*, *Italy*, *Hungary* and *Sarmatia*, and imbarck'd again about the *Hellepont*, or else compassed all *Pontus Euxinus*, to come into the lesser *Asia*, which is half the length or compass of the then known world, he may be called a strong believer, but he shall never be justified thereby. But on the contrary it is known, that *Seleucis* was a province neighbouring *Palestina* or *Judea*, and that *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*, joined unto it: whose princes commanded all *Syria*, and *Asia* the less, namely, the *Seleucidae*; and held it, till *Scipio Asiaticus* overthrew *Antiochus* the great: after which they yet possess'd *Syria* till the time of *Tigranes*: and whether *Mesech* be in *Cappadocia*, or under *Iberia*, yet is it of the *Tubalines*, and one and the same dominion.

Of *Gomer* the like may be said. First he seated himself with *Togorma*, not far from *Magog* and *Tubal*, in the borders of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. Afterwards he proceeded further into *Asia* the less; and in long tract of time his valiant issue filled all *Germany*, rested long in *France* and *Britain*, and possessed the utmost borders of the earth, accomplishing (as *Melancthon* well notes) the signification of their parents name, which is *utmost bordering*. But when these borderers wanted further place, whereinto they might exonerate their swelling multitudes, that were bounded in by the great *Ocean*, then did they return upon the nations, occupying the countries, through which they had formerly passed, oppressing first their neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy restorer of our antiquities, Mr. *William Camden*, hath noted) that they were called *Cimbri*, which in their old language doth signify robbers; necessity

inforcing them to spoil their neighbours, to whom in their original they were as near joined, as afterwards in the seats which they possessed. For that the warlike nations of *Germany* were in elder ages accustomed to be beaten by the *Gauls*, the authority of *Cesar* affirming it, is proof sufficient. But in times following they pursued richer conquests, and more easy, tho' further distant, by which (to omit their other enterprises not here to be spoken of) they were drawn at length into *Asia* the less, and occupied those parts, which had formerly been held by their progenitors. I say, not that they claimed those lands as theirs by descent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their own pedigree. Neither can any man therefore deny, that they were of old seated in *Asia*, because in late ages they returned thither; unless he will think, that all those nations which from far parts have invaded and conquered the land of *Shinaar*, may by that argument be proved not to have issued from thence at the first.

Now concerning *Samoths* (for his excellent wisdom surnamed *Dis*) whom *Annius* makes the brother of *Gomer* and *Tubal* (which brother *Moses* never heard of, who spake his knowledge of *Japhet's* sons) they must find him in some old poet: for *Functius* a great *Berosian* confesseth: *Quis hic Samoths fuerit incertum est*; Who this *Samoths* was it is uncertain; neither is there any proof that he was that same *Dis*, whom ^b *Cesar* saith the *Gauls* suppose to be their ancestor; yea, and *Vignier* confesseth with *Functius*: *Mais on ne sçayt qui il estoit*; No man knows who he was.

SECT. V.

Against the fabulous *Berosus's* fiction. That the Italian *Janus* was *Noah*.

BUT before I go on with *Noah's* sons, I think it necessary to disprove the fiction which *Annius* hath of *Noah* himself: an invention, indeed, very ridiculous, tho' warranted, as he hath wrested, by those authors of whom himself hath commented: as the fragment of *Berosus*, *Fabius Pictor*, *Cato*, *Lavinus* and others. For ^a *Annius* seeks to persuade us, that *Noah* (surnamed *Janus*) was the same which founded *Genoa*, with other cities in *Italy*, wherein he lived 92 years. This to disprove, by *Moses's* silence, is a sufficient argument to me, if there were nothing else to disprove it. For if he vouchsafed to remember the building of *Babel*, *Erec*, *Achad*, *Chalne* and *Nineveh* by *Nimrod*, *Noah* was a man of too great mark to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in 92 years. But it were a needless labour for me to disprove the authority of that *Berosus*, on whom *Annius* groundeth, seeing so many learned men have so demonstratively proved that fragment to be counterfeit. Besides that, *Tatianus* the *Assyrian*, in his oration against the *Greeks*, avoweth, that the ancient and true *Berosus* wrote only three books, dedicated to *Antiochus* the successor of *Seleucus Nicanor*: But ^c *Annius* hath devised five books, wherewith he honoureth *Berosus*. And whereas *Berosus* handled only the estate of the *Chaldeans* and *Assyrians*, *Annius* hath filled this fragment with the business of all the world. And if we may believe *Eusebius* better than *Annius*, then all the kings of the *Latins* (before *Eneas*) consumed but 150 years: whereas no man hath doubted, but that from *Noah* to *Eneas's* arrival into *Italy*, there pass'd 1126 (after the least rate of the *Hebrew* account) and (after *Codoman*) 1291. For *Janus* (who was the first of their kings) lived at once

^a In Chron. ^b Cesar. Comment. ^c Vignier par. 1. Chron. Hist. de Gal. ^d Joseph. l. 1.

^e Ann. de Haur. Prêt. de aur. seculo Cato de origin. Lavin.

with *Ruth*, who married *Booz*, in the world's year (as some reckon) 2717, after the flood 1064, and *Noah* died 350 years after the flood: and so there pass'd between *Janus* of *Italy*, and *Noah* surnamed *Janus*, 704 years. For *Saturnus* succeeded *Janus*, *Picus* after *Saturnus*, *Faunus* after *Picus*, and *Latinus* followed *Faunus*: which *Latinus* lived at once with *Tautanes* the 27th king of *Affyria*: with *Pelias* of *Peloponnesus*: with *Demophoon* of *Athens*; and *Sampson* judge of *Israel*. Now all these five kings of the *Latins* having consumed but 150 years; and the last of them in the time of *Sampson*: then reckoning upwards for 150 years, and it reacheth *Ruth*, with whom *Janus* lived.

True it is, that the *Greeks* had their *Janus*; but this was not *Noah*: so had they *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*, the son of *Deucalion*, from whom they draw the *Iones*, who were indeed the children of *Javan*, the fourth son of *Japhet*. For the *Vulgar* translation (where the *Hebrew* word is *Javan*) writes *Greece*, and the *Septuagint* *Hellas*; which is the same. So had they *Medus* the son of *Medea*, whom they make the parent of the *Medes*, tho' they were descended of a far more ancient father, to wit, *Madaï* the 3d son of *Japhet*.

Lastly, we see by a true experience, that the *British* language hath remained among us above 2000 years, and the *English* speech ever since the invasion of the *Angles*: and the same continuance have all nations observed among themselves, tho' with some corruption and alteration. Therefore it is strange if either *Noah* (by them called *Janus*) had left in *Italy* his grand-child *Gomer* after him, or *Tubal* in *Spain*, that no plain resemblance of the *Hebrew*, *Syrian*, or *Scythian* (which no time could have quite extinguished) should have been found in the languages of those countries. For which reasons we doubt not but these personal plantations of *Janus*, *Gomer*, *Tubal*, &c. in *Italy*, *Spain*, or *France*, are merely fabulous. Let the *Italians* therefore content themselves with the *Grecian* *Janus*, which commanded them and planted them, and who preceded the fall of *Troy* but 150 years, saith *Eusebius*, which was in the time of *Latinus* the 5th king: which also *St. Augustine* and *Justin* confirm: and this agreeth with reason, time and possibility. And if this be not sufficient to disprove this vanity, I may out of themselves add thus much: that whereas some of them make *Vesta* (others *Camase-na*) the wife of this *Janus*, who instituted the holy fire of the *vestal virgins* in *Rome* (the *Latins* and *Romans* taking from *Janus* all their idolatrous and heathenish ceremonies) there is no man so impious, as to believe that *Noah* himself (who is said by *Moses* to have walked with God, to be a just man, and whom God of all mankind made choice of) could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or so wicked and ungrateful, to set up or devise any heathen, savage, or idolatrous adoration, or have instituted any ceremony, contrary to that which he knew best-pleasing to God himself.

SECT. VI.

That Gomer also and his son Togorma of the posterity of Japhet were first seated about Asia the less: and that from thence they spread westward into Europe: and northward into Sarmatia.

TO turn now to the sons of *Noah*, and the world's plantation after the flood: therein I observe, that as both reason and necessity taught them; so, when they multiply'd in great numbers,

and dispersed themselves into the next countries bordering to their first habitations, and from thence sent forth colonies elsewhere, it was in such a manner as that they might repair to each other, and keep intelligence by river: because the land was yet desert and overpress'd with woods, reeds, bogs, and rotten marshes. As when *Nimrod* seated in *Babylonia*, *Chus* took the south-part of *Chaldea*, down the river of *Gebon*, by which he might pass to and fro from *Babylon* to his own plantation: those also, which were of the race of *Shem*, inhabiting at *Ur* or *Orchoa* near the lakes of *Chaldea*, might by the same river get up to *Babylon*, and receive succour from thence. All which tract of land upon *Gebon* southward, *Moses* in the description of *Paradise* calleth the land of *Cush*: because the dominion and empire was then in the hands of *Nimrod* a *Cushite*, by whom the children of *Shem* (which came into that valley, and stay'd not in the east) were for a while oppress'd, till God afterward by the seed of *Abraham* made them his own nation and victorious. *Havilah*, the brother of *Nimrod*, and son of *Cush*, took both banks of *Tigris*, especially on the east-side of the river: by which river his people might also pass to and fro to *Babel*.

The imperial seat of which region of *Havilah* or *Susian*, was anciently called *Chusian*, or *Chusan*, afterwards *Susa*. *Cush* himself took the banks of *Gebon*, and planted those countries westward, and south-west-ward towards *Arabia* the stony, and the desert, where *Ptolemy* placeth the city of *Chusidia*, first *Chusia*.

Seba, and *Sheba*, with the rest that planted *Arabia Felix*, had *Tigris* to convey them into the *Persian* gulf, which washeth the banks of *Arabia Felix* on the east-side: so as those sons of *Cush* might take land down the river as they pleased. Also the city of *Nineveh* was by *Nimrod* founded on the said river of *Tigris*: and from thence a colony pass'd to *Charran*, standing also upon a navigable branch of *Euphrates*. In like manner did *Japhet's* sons settle themselves together, and took their seats in *Asia* the less, from whence they might indifferently stretch themselves northward, and westward, into the next parts of *Europe*, called the *Isles* of the *Gentiles*. And it seemeth very agreeable to reason, that both *Gomer*, *Magog* and *Tubal*, sat down first of all in that part of *Syria*, to the north of *Palestina* and *Phenicia*: and from thence *Gomer* or his children pass'd on into *Asia* the less, as those of *Magog* and *Tubal* did; from whence the *Tubalines* spread themselves into *Iberia*: and the *Magogians* more northerly into *Sarmatia*. The first *Gomerians*, and first planters in *Asia* the less, held the country of the *Cymmerians* (witness *Herodot. lib. 4.*) the same region which was afterwards by the *Gall Greeks* called *Galatia*, to whom *St. Paul* wrote his epistle, so intitled. This nation of the *Cymmerians* (whom the invincible *Scythians* afterwards dispersed, and forced from their first plantations) gave names to divers places; as to the mountains above *Albania* (called *Cymmerini*) and to the city of *Cymmeris* in *Phrygia*: also *Bosphorus Cymmerius* took appellation from this nation, in the outlet whereof was also a city of that name called *Cymmerian*: which *Pliny* saith (mistaking the place) had some time the name of *Cerberion*; but *Cerberion* was a town in *Campania*, so called of the unhealthful waters, favouring of brimstone: which *Augustus* caused to be cleansed by letting in the water of the lake *Lucrinus*.

The children of *Tubal* ranged as far as *Iberia*,

^a Ezek. 27. 13, 19. and so the place of *Itai*. 66. 19. [for *Javan*] *Hellada*: and [for the plural *Javanim*] *Hellenæ*. ^b *Prot. Aliaz* Tab. 4.

to whom the *Moschici* were neighbours, which others write *Meshech*. The prophet *Ezekiel* (coupling them together) calleth *Gog* the prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*. For these *Meschi* (which *Ptolemy* calleth *Moschi*) inhabit *Syracena* a province of *Armenia*, directly south from the mountains *Moschici*, in the valley between the mountains *Moschici* and the mountains *Paryardes*: out of whose north part springeth the river *Phasis*; from the east part *Araxis*; and from the west *Euphrates*: and of this *Meshech* are descended also the *Moscovians* (saith *Melancthon*) and it may be, that in process of time some of them inhabited those regions also: For *Meshech* (saith *Melancthon*) signifieth *extendens*, enlarging or stretching forth. *Togorma* also at first did inhabit amongst his parents and kindred. The *Togormians* were also called *Giblei*, a people neighbouring the *Sydonians* in *Gabala*, a *Tetrarchy* of *Phenicia*, the same which *Pliny* calleth *Gaben*: from whence ^a *Solomon* had his most excellent masons, which hewed stones for the temple of *Jerusalem*. Thence the *Togormians* stretched into the less *Armenia*, whose kings were hence called ^b *Tigranes*, and their cities *Tigranokartæ*: of which cities *Tigranes*, subdued by *Lucullus* the *Roman*, built one. *Hierosolymitanus* hath planted the *Togormians* in *Barbary*: forgetting the prophecy of *Ezekiel* against the *Tyrians*; ^c *They of the house of Togorma, brought to thy fairs horses, and horsemen, and mules*, which could not well be driven over the whole length of the *Mediterranean* sea, but from the neighbour countries by land. But *Josephus* takes them for the parents of the *Phrygians*; which I do not deny, but they might be in the ensuing ages: and so might the *Tubalines* be of the *Spaniards*; but it was from *Iberia*, and many hundred years after the 12th of *Nimrod's* reign. The *Jews* conceive that the *Turks* came of those *Togormians*, because their emperor is called *Togar*. The *Chaldeans* make them the fathers of the *Germans*. But *Laonicus* affirms, that the *Turks* descended of the *Crim Tartar*, which borders *Muscovy*. But for these sub-derivations it were infinite to examine them. Only of the first and second plantation, and of the first nations after the flood is the matter which I labour to discover; and therein to open the ignorance of some, and the corruption of other fabulous writers. And this we must note, that those grand-children of *Noah* which were of a more quiet spirit, or (perchance) of less understanding, and had not therefore the leading of colonies sent out, their proper habitations could be hardly known: only reason hath taught us, that they dwelt among the rest, and were cover'd with the fame of others, who took on them the conduction and dominion over the rest.

From *Madai* the 3d son of *Japhet*, were the *Medes*. The *Grecians* bring them (as before) from *Medus* the son of *Medea*.

S E C T. VII.

Of *Javan* the fourth son of *Japhet*: and of *Meshech* of *Aram*, and *Meshech* of *Japhet*.

OF *Javan* the 4th son of *Japhet* came from the *Iones*, which were afterwards called the *Greeks*: and so the *Latin* and *Greek* interpreters for *Javan* write *Greece*, as in *Isaiab. Et mittam ex iis qui salvati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Græciam*: And I will send those that escape of them to nations in the sea, in *Italy* and in *Greece*. The *Geneva* here useth the word [*Tarshish*] for *Tarsus*, a city in *Cilicia*, tho' *Tarsis* in many places be taken for the sea. The *Tigurine* and the *Geneva* use the names *Tubal* and *Javan*, and not *Italy*

and *Greece*: keeping the same *Hebrew* words. Of the *Iones* were the *Athenians*, though themselves dream that they were *Aborigines*, or men without ancestors, and growing (as it were) out of the soil itself: who abounding in people, sent colonies into *Asia* the less, of whom came the *Iones* of those parts. Others ^d derive the *Athenians* from *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*, the son of *Deucalion*; but the antiquity of *Javan* marring the fashion of that supposition, who so many years preceded *Xuthus*, *Ion*, or *Deucalion*. *Pausanias* tells us that *Xuthus* stole out of *Theffaly* with all his father's treasure, and his brothers portions, and arriving at *Athens*, he was graciously received by *Erietheus*, who gave him his daughter in marriage; of whom he received two sons, *Ion* and *Achæus*, the supposed ancestors of the *Athenians*. For *Attica* was called *Ionia* (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Theseus*) who, when he had joined *Megara* to *Attica*, erected a pillar in that *Isthmus* or *Strait*, which fasteneth *Peloponnesus* to the other part of *Greece*: writing on that part which looketh towards the east, these words: *Hæc non sunt Peloponnesus, ast Ionia*; These countries are not of *Peloponnesus*, but of *Ionia*: and on the other side which looketh towards the south, and into *Peloponnesus*, this: These parts are *Peloponnesus*, and not *Ionia*.

Strabo out of *Hecatæus* affirmeth, that the *Iones* came out of *Asia* into *Greece*, which is contrary to the former opinion: that the *Iones* of *Greece* transporting certain companies into *Asia* the less, the name of *Iones* was thereby therein retained. And tho' *Strabo* knew no more thereof than he learned of the *Greeks* themselves, yet I find this conjecture of *Hecatæus* reasonable enough. For tho' it were to him unknown, yet sure I am that *Asia* the less had people before *Greece* had any: and that *Javan* did not flie from *Babylonia* into *Greece*, but took *Asia* the less in his passage; and from thence pass'd over the nearest way, leaving his own name to some maritime province on that side, as he did to that part of *Greece* so called. But yet *Strabo* himself believed, that *Ionia* took the name from *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*: for so much he had learned from themselves; which was also the opinion of *Pausanias*. True it is, that the *Greeks* in after-times cast themselves into that part of *Asia* the less, opposite unto them, which they held for divers years. And howsoever the *Greeks* vaunt themselves to be the fathers of nations, and the most ancient; yet all approved historians (not their own) deride and disprove their pride, and vanity therein. For this dispute of antiquity (among prophane writers) rested between the *Scythians* and the *Egyptians*, as *Justin* out of *Trogus*, in the war between *Vexoris* of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* of *Scythia*, witnesseth: which preceded far the reign of *Ninus*, and was long before the name of *Greece* was ever heard of. And it is also manifest, that in *Cecrops's* time, the *Greeks* were all savages without law or religion, living like brute beasts in all respects: and *Cecrops* (saith ^e *St. Augustine*) lived together with *Moses*.

The 6th son of *Japhet* was *Meshech*, whom the *Septuagint* call *Mosoch*, a part of those nations commanded by *Gog* the chief prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*. But this we must remember, that between *Meshech* the son of *Aram*, and *Meshech* (or *Mosoch*) the son of *Japhet*, there is little difference in name, and both by divers interpreters diversly written. *Montanus* with the *Vulgar* writeth *Meshech*, the son of *Aram* *Mes*; the *Geneva* *Mash*; *Junius* *Meshech*. But it may be gathered out of the 120th *Psalms*, that either *Meshech* the son of *Japhet*, was the parent of those people, or gave name

^a 1 Kings 5. 18. ^b Jun. in Gen. 10. 3. ^c Ju. 27. 14. ^d Thucyd. ^e Aug. de Civitate Dei, lib. 18. c. 10.

to that province wherein *David* hid himself: or else (which may rather seem) that it took name from *Mesech* the son of *Aram*. For *David* bewailing his exile (while he lived among a barbarous and irreligious people) useth these words. ^a *Woe is me that I remain in Mesech, and dwell in the tents of Kedar*: which *Junius* converteth thus. *Hei mihi quia peregrinor tam diu: habito tanquam Scenitæ Kedareni*: The *Septuagint* gives it this sense, *Woe is me because my habitation* (or abode) *is prolonged, who dwell with the inhabitants of Kedar*; with which this of the *Latin* agreeth; *Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est, habitavi cum habitantibus Kedar*: The *Chaldean* otherwise, and in these words, *O me miserum, quia peregrinatus sum Asianis, habitavi cum tabernaculis Arabum*: O wretch that I am, for I have travelled among those of *Asia*, I have dwelt in the tabernacles of the *Arabians*. But howsoever or whichsoever conversion be taken for the best, yet all make mention of *Kedar*; which is a province of *Arabia Petræa*; and the *Chaldean* putteth *Asia* instead of *Mesech*; but the *Hebrew* it self hath *Mesech*. And if it be to be taken for a nation (as it is most likely, because it answers to *Kedar*, the name of a nation) seeing *Mesech* the son of *Aram*, 1 *Chron.* 17. is called *Mesech*, it is indifferent whether this nation took name from *Mesech* or *Mesech*, both bordering *Judea*, and like enough to be commanded by one prince; for so *Ezekiel* makes *Mesech* and *Tubal*. But as for those that take *Mesech* out of the word *Mosoch* (given by the *Septuagint*) to be the *Muscovian*; sure they presume much upon the affinity of names, as aforesaid. And sure I am, that *David* never travelled so far north; (for to him *Muscovia* was utterly unknown) but about the border of *Kedar*, it may be, he was often in all the time of his persecution: the same being a city on the mountains of *Sanir* or *Galaad*. And yet *Arias Montanus* makes *Mosoch* the father of the *Muscovians*; and herein also *Melancthon* runs with the tide of common opinion, and sets *Mesech* in *Muscovia*, tho' with some better advice of judgment; as, first seated in *Cappadocia*, and from thence travelling north-ward: expounding the places of the 120th psalm [*Hei mihi quod exulo in Mesech*] to signify, *Gentis ejus feritatem insignem esse*; That the ferity of that nation exceeded: which fierceness or brutality of the *Muscovians*, *David* never proved, or, perchance, never heard of. But the same ferity or cruelty, which those nothern *Muscovians* had, may as well be ascribed to the *Arabians* and *Kedarens*. For this country took name of ^b *Kedar* the second son of *Ishmael*, of whom a people of equal fierceness to any of the world were begotten, both in those times and long after, even to this day (if the *Arabians*, *Ishmaelites* and *Saracens* may be accounted one people:) the same being foreshewed by the speech of the angel to *Hagar*, *Gen.* xvi. 12. *And he shall be a wild man: his hand shall be against every man, and every mans hand against him*. Now *Arabia* the desert, saith *Pliny*, confronteth the *Arabians Cochlei* on the east, and the *Cedraei* south-ward, both which join together upon the *Nabathæi*. So it appeareth, as before, that *Mesech*, *Tubal*, *Gomer*, *Togorma* and *Magog*, neighboured *Canaan* and *Israel*, and that *Kedar* also did join to *Mesech*: all which were regions of *Syria*, or of *Asia* the less, commanded by the successors of *Seleucus*, enemies of the re-establishment of *Israel* and *Judah*. But as I have already said, it might well be, that long after the first plantation the issue of *Mesech*, or *Mosoch*, might pass into *Cappadocia*, and thence into *Ily-*

cania, and give names, both to *Mazaga* in the one, and to the mountains *Moschici* in the other, and from thence might send people northerly in *Muscovia*; and so all opinions saved. But all savage nations, overgrown and uncultivated, do (for the most part) shew a late plantation; even as civility, letters, and magnificent building witness antiquity.

Tiras the seventh son of *Japhet*, which ^c *Montanus* reckons among the sons of *Gomer*, was the father of the *Thracians*, as all authors (worthy of examination) affirm. *Josephus* was the first that determined hereof: and because the scriptures are altogether silent, what part of the world *Tiras* peopled, the conjectures are indifferent, and give no ground at all of dispute. It followeth now to speak of the sons of *Gomer*, which were three:

Ascanes, *Riphat* and *Togorma*.

SECT. VIII.

Of *Ascanes* and *Riphat*, the two eldest sons of *Gomer*.

ASCANES was the father of those which the *Greeks* call *Rhegini*, saith *Josephus*, but he gives no reason why.

Eusebius makes *Ascanes* the father of the *Goths*; the *Jews* in their *Targum* make him the root of the *German* nation, but their expositions are commonly very idle. *Pliny* findeth *Ascania* in *Phrygia*, near the rivers of *Hylas* and *Cios*: ^d *Melancthon* being of the same opinion, that the *Tuiscanes* were descended of the *Ascanes* (for *Tuiscanes*, saith he, is as much to say, as of the *Ascanes*, *Præposito articulo die Ascanes*) and that the word signifieth a religious keeper of fire: it being an ancient superstition to pray at the fire of sacrifices, as afterwards at the tombs of martyrs. Not far from *Phrygia* was the lake *Ascania*, known by that name in the *Romans* time. And among the kings which came to the succour of *Troy*, was *Ascanius*, *Deo similis*, saith ^e *Homer*, Like unto God; because he was beautiful and strong: for in the same manner doth *Virgil* grace *Eneas*, *Os humerosque Deo similis*; In face and body like one of the gods. *Virgil* also remembreth such a river together with the hills *Gargara*; as ^f *Illas ducit amor trans Gargara, transque sonantem Ascanium*: Appetite leads them both over the mountains *Gargara* and the roaring *Ascanius*. But this *Pliny* maketh more plain in the description of *Phrygia*. For he placeth the city of *Brillion* upon the river *Ascanius*, which is adjoining to *Mysia*, and is near the border of the *Trojan* empire: and the lake *Ascanes* he directs us to find by the description of *Prusia*, founded by *Hannibal* at the foot of *Olympus*, which lieth far within the countries of *Bithynia*: and then from *Prusia* to *Nicea* are accounted five and twenty miles, in which way this lake lieth, even between *Prusia* and *Nicea*; and so *Junius*, as I conceive him, takes them of *Ascanes* to be the inhabitants of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, and those north parts of *Asia*. *Stephanus de Urbibus* makes it a city of *Troas*, built by *Ascanius* the son of *Eneas*, saying, that there was another of that name in *Mysia*. Of *Ascanii*, a lake of *Bithynia*, *Ptolemy* witnesseth: and *Strabo* giveth *Ascania* both a lake, a river, and a town in *Mysia*, near unto *Cio*; which also agreeth with *Pliny*: for *Pliny* findeth *Prusia*, before spoken of, near *Cio*, and calleth the islands before *Troy*, *Ascanes*.

Now whether these places took name of *Ascanes* the son of *Gomer*, or of *Ascanius* the son of *Eneas*, it might be questioned: sure it is, that *Ascanius* which brought succour to the *Trojans*, could not take

^a Psal. 120. 5. ^b Gen. 25. 13. ^c Montan. in Chr. ^d Melancthon in Carion. l. 1. ^e Hom. Iliad. 2. ^f Virg.

Georg. l. 3.

his name from *Eneas's* son, who was then either exceeding young, or rather unborn: and it seemeth that the countries whence those succours came, were not out of any part of *Phrygia*, or *Mysia*, but farther off, and from the north parts of all *Asia* the less, which by *Jeremy* is called *Ascanez*, by the figure *Synecdoche*, as *Junius* thinketh. Out of those testimonies therefore which deceive not, we may confidently determine. For of the prophet *Jeremy* we shall learn of what nation the *Ascanez* were, whose words are these: *Set up a standard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations against her, call up the kings of Ararat, Minni, and Ascanez against her, &c.* meaning, against the *Babylonians*. *Ararat* was *Armenia* the greater, as most interpreters consent, so called of the mountains of *Ararat* which run thro' it: *Minni* the lesser *Armenia*: *Armenia* being compounded of *Aram* and *Minni*; for *Minni* was the ancient name, saith *Junius* and others before him, and *Aram* anciently taken for *Syria*, which contained all that tract from *Euphrates* to the sea-coasts of *Phenicia* and *Palestina*; and therefore *Mesopotamia* being in elder times but a province of *Syria*, the scriptures difference it in the story of *Jacob* and *Esau*, and call it *Aram-padan*. Then if these two nations were of the *Armenians*, and *Ascanez* joined with them (who altogether united under *Cyrus* and *Darius*, came to the spoil of the *Babylonian* empire) we shall err much to call *Askenaz* *Germany* or *Almain*, for we hear of no *Stuart Ruttiers* at that siege. But the *Askenaz* were of those nations which were either subject or allied to the *Medes*: of which, if any of them came afterwards into *Phrygia*, I know not: for the dispersion of nations was in after-times without account. But for the opinion of *Eusebius*, who makes them to be *Goths*; or that of *Josephus*, who calls them *Rhegini*; or of the *Jews*, who will have them to be *Almains*, when they confirm it either by scriptures or reason, I will think as they do.

Of *Ripbath*, the second son of *Gomer*, there is mention in the first of *Chronicles*. *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* think that he wandered far off from the rest of his brothers, and therefore no memory of his plantation. But I see nothing to the contrary, but that he might seat himself with the rest of his family; for there wanted no room or soil in those days for all the sons and grand-children of *Noah*. Therefore I take it to be well understood, that the *Riphei* were of *Ripbath*, which the *Greeks* afterwards, according to *Josephus*, called the *Paplagones*: and *Riphei*, saith *Melancthon*, signifieth giants. These people were very famous in the north parts, and in *Sarmatia*: the most of number and power among them, *Sarmatarum gens maxima Heneti*; The greatest number of the *Sarmatians* were the *Heneti*, who spoke the ancient *Polac*: which being first called *Riphei* (for the love of some of their leaders or kings) changed their names and became *Heneti* (a custom exceeding common in those times) and dwelt first in *Paplagonia*, as *Homer* witnesseth, and so doth *Apollonius* in his *Argonauticks*: now, when these *Riphei*, afterwards *Heneti*, sought new regions, they came along the shores of *Euxinus*, and filled the north part of *Europe*, containing *Russia*, *Lithuania*, and *Polonia*. From thence they cross'd thwart the land, and peopled *Illyria*, desirous, saith *Melancthon*, of a warmer soil of fruit and wine. These *Heneti* or *Veneti*, whom *Melancthon* taketh to be one people, filled all that land between the *Baltick* and *Adriatick* sea; and to this day the name of the gulf *Venedicus* is found in *Russia*. This nation, after they were possess'd of *Lithuania* and

Polonia, disturbed the plantation of the *Boii* and *Hermondurii*. Therefore it seemeth to me, that of *Ripbath* came the *Riphei*, afterwards *Heneti*; and so thinketh *Atlas Montanus*, first seated in *Paplagonia*, but in course of time lords of *Sarmatia*, and those other parts before remembred, chiefly between the rivers of *Vistula* and *Albis*. The name, saith *Melancthon*, signifieth wandering or wanderers, or *Nomades*, a people which lived by white meats and fruits, as indeed all nations did in the first ages.

Of the third son of *Gomer*, *Togorma*, I have spoken already; now therefore of *Javan's* children, which were four:

Elisa, *Tharsis*, *Cethim*, and *Dodanim*.

SECT. IX.

Of the four sons of *Javan*: and of the double signification of *Tharsis*, either for a proper name or for the sea.

OF *Elisa* or *Elipha*, came the *Æoles*: and of this *Elisa* all the *Greeks* were called *Hellenes*, saith *Montanus*. *Melancthon* makes *Elisa* the father of the *Æoles* in *Asia* side; others of *Elis* in *Peloponnesus*, or of both. And seeing the *Greeks* were descended in general of *Javan*, it is probable that the *Æoles* and the *Elei*, took name of *Elisa*, his eldest son. *Ezekiel* speaking of *Tyre*, nameth the isles of *Elisa*. *Hyacinthus & purpura de insulis. Elisæ facta sunt operimentum tuum*: Blue silk and purple brought from the isles of *Elisa*, was thy covering: The *Chaldeans* for *Elisa* write *Italia*; but the *Vulgar*, the *Tigurine*, the *Geneva*, and *Junius* keep the word *Elisa*; and so I think they might do with reason: for there was not found any such purple dye in *Italy* in those days, nor since that I can read of. But those isles of *Elisa* were by a better conjecture the isles of *Greece*; and the best purple was found afterwards at *Tyre* itself, and before that, and among the *Cyclades*, and on the coast of *Getulia*.

Tharsis, the second son of *Javan*, inhabited *Cilicia*, of which *Tharsis* is the *Metropolis*. *Montanus* for *Tharsis* in *Cilicia*, understands *Carthage* in *Africa*; but (reserving the respect due to so learned a man) he was much mistaken in that conjecture. The *Chaldean* paraphrast puts *Carthage* for *Tharsis*, but it hath no authority, nor warrant of reason therein. So likewise, where it is written, that the ships of *Solomon* went every three years to *Tharsis*, and brought thence gold, silver, elephants teeth, &c. The *Chaldean* paraphrast translates *Tharsis* [*Africa*.] But *Solomon's* ships were prepared in the Red sea at *Ezion-gaber*, in the bay of *Elana*, near unto *Madian*, where *Jethro*, *Moses's* father-in-law, inhabited; a province of *Arabia Petraea*, *Idumea*, or of the *Chusites*; and they sailed to the higher part of the *East-Indies*. For it had been a strange navigation to have spent three years in the passage between *Judea* and *Carthage*, or any other part of *Africa*, which might have been sailed in six or ten days. And if so great riches might have been found within the bounds of the *Mediterranean* sea, all the other neighbouring princes would soon have entertained that trade also. But this enterprize of *Solomon* is in this sort written of in the first of *Kings*: *Also king Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-gaber, which is beside Elath and the brink of the Red sea in the land of Edom: and Hiram sent with the navy his servants, that were mariners, and had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon: and they came to Ophir, and fetch'd from thence 420 talents of gold, &c.* But as the nations about *Pontus* thought

no sea in the world like unto their own, and doubted whether there were any other sea but that only (whereof it came that *Pontus* was a word used for the sea in general;) so because the *Israelites* and the *Phenicians* knew no other sea than that of the *Mediterranean* in the beginning; and that the people of *Tharsis* had the greatest ships, and were the first navigators in those parts with such vessels, they were therefore called men of the sea: and the word *Tharsis* used often for the sea. And whereas it's said that the ships of *Solomon* went every three years to *Tharsis*, that phrase is not strange at all: for we use it ordinarily wheresoever we navigate, namely, that the king's ships are gone to the sea, or that they are set out every year, or every three years to the sea; and therefore *Tharsis* was not therein named, either for *Carthage*, *Africa*, or *India*, but used for the sea it self. But in this place *Tharsis* is truly taken for *Tharsis*, the chief city in *Cilicia*, founded by *Tharsis* the 2d son of *Javan*, or by his successors, in memory of their first parent. To this city arrived *Alex. Macedon*, before he gave the first overthrow to *Darius*, and casting himself into the river to bathe and wash his body, he fell into an extreme fever, and great danger of death: and in this city of *Tharsis* was *St. Paul* born. Now this agreeth with the reason and nature of a plantation. For (*Gomer* and his other sons inhabiting *Asia* the less, and that part of *Syria* adjoining) *Javan*, who was to pass over the sea into *Greece*, took the edge of the same coast, and first planted the *Iones* on that shore: gave the islands between *Asia* the less and *Greece*, to *Elisa*, and left *Tharsis* upon the sea-side in *Cilicia*; of whom that city took name.

The 3d son of *Javan* was *Cethim*, of whom were the *Romans* and *Italians*, saith *Beroaldus*, but I allow better of *Melancthon's* opinion, who makes *Cethim* the father of the *Macedonians*. *Cethim* is a voice plural, saith he, and signifieth *percussores*, tho' in that respect it may be meant by either. But it seemeth more probable, that place of *Isaiah* 23. (according to *Melancthon*) had relation to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*. *Hæc calamitas ab Esai prædicta est, qui capite vicesimo tertio inquit, venturos esse eversores Tyri ex terra Cethim*; This calamity, saith *Melancthon*, was foretold by *Isaiah* the prophet, who in the 23d chapter pronounced, that the destroyers of *Tyre* were to come out of *Cethim*. And altho' the children of *Israel* esteemed all men islanders, which came to them by sea, and separate from that continent (and so also *Cethim* might be taken for *Italy*, saith *Beroaldus*) yet we must take the first performance of the former prophecy, which took effect by the destruction of the *Tyrrians* by *Alexander*: who after seven months siege entered that proud city, and cut in pieces 7000 principal citizens; strangled 2000, and changed the freedom of 13000 others into bondage and slavery. Now, that *Macedon* was taken for *Cethim*, it appeareth plainly in the first of the *Maccabees*, in these words: *After that Alexander the Macedonian, the son of Philip, went forth of the land of Cethim, and slew Darius king of the Persians and Medes. Josephus* sets *Cethim* in the isle of *Cyprus*, in which, saith he, there remaineth the city *Citium*, the country of *Zeno* the philosopher (witness *Laertius*) which city *Pintus* upon *Ezekiel* affirmeth, that it stood in *St. Jerome's* time. So it may be, that all the islands in ancient times by the *Hebrews* were called the islands of *Cethim*: and in that sense might *Cyprus* be so called also; and yet because *Tharsis* was the very next port to *Cyprus*, and directly over-against it, it is also very probable, that *Cethim* dwelt by his brother *Tharsis*: and finding that island too strait for his people after they were increased,

No. 6.

and that the rest of the coasts, both on *Asia* side and *Greece*, were inhabited by his father and brothers, he sent colonies over the *Egean* sea, and inhabited *Macedonia*.

Dodanim the 4th son of *Javan*, and the youngest brother (by the most opinions) sat down at *Rhodes* as near *Cethim*, *Tharsis* and *Elisa*, as he could. For *Dodanim* and *Rhodanim* are used indifferently by many translators: the *Hebrew* [D] and the *Hebrew* [R] are so like, as the one may easily be taken for the other, as all *Hebricians* affirm. There is also found in *Epirus* the city of *Dodona*, in the province of *Molossia*. And as *Cethim*, when he wanted soil in *Cyprus*: so *Dodanim* (seated in a far less island) did of necessity send his people farther off; and keeping along the coast, and finding *Peloponnesus* in the possession of *Elisa*, he passed a little farther on the west-ward, and planted in *Epirus*. And tho' the city of *Dodona* was not then built, or (perchance) not so ancient as *Dodanim* himself, yet his posterity might give it that name in memory of their first parent, as it happened all the world over. For names were given to cities, mountains, rivers, and provinces, after the names of *Noah's* children, and grand-children; not in all places by themselves, but by their successors many years after: every of their families being desirous to retain among them by those memories, out of what branch themselves were taken, and grafted elsewhere. And because great kingdoms were often by new conquerors newly named, and the greatest cities often fired and demolished: therefore those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gave their own names, or the names of their ancestors, to mountains and rivers, as to things (after their judgments) freest from any alteration.

Thus then did *Javan* settle himself and his children, in the edge and frontier of *Asia* the less, towards the sea-shore: and afterwards in *Greece*, and the islands and neighbour provinces thereof, as *Japhet* their father had done in the body of the lesser *Asia*, together with *Javan's* brethren, *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Tubal*, *Mesech*, and the rest round about him. And in like sort did *Chush* (the son of *Cham*) people *Babylonia*, *Chaldea*, and the borders thereof towards the west and south-west: and the sons of *Chush* (all but *Nimrod*, who held *Babylonia* it self) travelled south-ward in *Arabia Felix*, and south-west-ward into *Arabia Petraea*: the rest of his children holding the regions adjoining to *Nimrod*. *Mizraim* the brother of *Chush* in like manner took the way of *Egypt*: and his brother *Canaan* the region of *Palestina* adjoining. The sons of *Canaan* had their portions in *Canaan*, of whom all those nations came, which were afterwards the enemies both to the *Hebrews*, and to those of the sons of *Shem*, which spread themselves towards the west, and the borders of the *Mediterranean* sea: of which I shall speak hereafter. But first of the sons of *Cham* or *Ham*, which were four:

Chush, *Mizraim*, *Phut* and *Canaan*.

SECT. X.

That the seat of Chush the eldest son of Ham was in Arabia, not in Ethiopia: and of strange fables, and ill translations of scripture, grounded upon the mistaking of this point.

† I.

Of Josephus's tale of an Ethiopels wife of Moses, grounded on the mistaking of the seat of Chush.

THAT *Ham* was the father of the *Egyptians*, it is made manifest in many scriptures, as in
Y the

the 150th Psalm, ver. 51. *Then Israel came to Egypt, and Jacob was a stranger in the land of Ham: and in the 78th Psalm; He slew all the first-born in Egypt, even the beginning of their strength, in the tabernacles of Ham* There is also found a great city in *Thebaida*, called *Cheramis* (as it were, the city of *Ham*) of which name ^a*Herodotus* also discovers an island in the same region. But because *Chus* is the elder son of *Ham*, it agreeth with order to speak first of him. Now tho' I have already in the description of *Paradise* handled this question, and, I hope, proved that *Chus* could not be *Ethiopia*: yet seeing it cometh now to his turn to speak for himself, I will add some farther proof to the former. For the manifestation hereof sets many things strait, which had otherwise very crooked constructions, and senseless interpretations. Surely, howsoever the *Septuagint* and *Josephus* have herein failed, yet it is manifest that *Chus* could not be *Ethiopia*, but *Arabia* (to wit) both that *Arabia* called *Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the happy and the the desert: which regions *Chus* and the *Chusites* presently planted, after they left *Babylonia* to *Nimrod*, wherein they first sat down all together. And there is nothing which so well cleareth this controversy, as the true interpretation of the place, *Numb. xii. 1.* where *Moses's* wife is called a *Chusite*; together with some places which speak of *Nabuchodonosor's* conquests. For whereas *Josephus* and the *Septuagint* in the place, *Numb. xii. 1.* as also elsewhere, understand *Chus* for *Ethiopia*, we must give credit to *Moses* himself therein; and then it will appear that *Josephus* was grossly mistaken, or vainly led by his own invention. For *Josephus* presuming that *Chus* was *Ethiopia*, and therefore that the wife of *Moses* (which in scripture, *Numb. xii. 1.* is called a woman of *Cush*) was a woman of the land of *Ethiopia*, feigneth that *Tharbis* the daughter of the king of *Ethiopia*, fell in love with the person and fame of *Moses*, while he besieged *Saba* her father's city; and to the end to obtain *Moses* for her husband, she practised to betray both her parents, country, and friends, with the city it self, and to deliver it into *Moses's* hands. The tale (if it be worth the reciting) lyeth thus in *Josephus*. After he had described the strength of the *Ethiopian* city *Meroe*, which he saith at length *Cambyfes* called so from the name of his sister (the old name being *Saba*) he goeth on in these words: *Hic cum Moses desiderare exercitum otiosum egre serret, hoste non audente manus conferere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Æthiopum regi filia, nomine Tharbis, &c.* which tale hath this sense in *English*; When *Moses* was grieved that his army lay idle, because the enemy besieged, durst not sally and come to handy strokes, there happened this accident in the mean while. The *Ethiopian* king had a daughter called *Tharbis*, who at some assaults given beheld the person of *Moses*, and withal admired his valour. And knowing that *Moses* had not only upheld and restored the falling estate of the *Egyptians*, but had also brought the conquering *Ethiopians* to the very brink of subversion. Things working in her thoughts, together with her overweening ambition, which daily encreased, she made request unto him by one of her trustiest servants, that he might himself come to him, and become his wife; which *Moses* on this condition entertained, that she should first deliver the city into his possession: whereunto she condescending, and *Moses* having taken oath to perform this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.

† II.

A dispute against the tale of Josephus.

THIS tale (whereof *Moses* hath not a word) hath *Josephus* fashioned, and therein also utterly mistaken himself, in naming a city of *Arabia*, for a city of *Ethiopia*: as he names *Ethiopia* it self to have been the country of *Moses's* wife, when (indeed) it was *Arabia*. For *Saba* is not in *Ethiopia*, but in *Arabia*, as both *Strabo* and all other geographers, ancient and modern, teach us, saying that the *Sabeans* are *Arabians*, and not *Ethiopians*; except *Josephus* can persuade us, that the queen of *Saba* which came from the south to hear the wisdom of *Solomon*, were a *Negro*, or black-moor. And tho' *Damianus a Gocs* speaks of certain letters to the king of *Portugal* from *Prester John* of the *Abissines*. wherein that *Ethiopian* king would persuade the *Portugals* that he was descended of the queen of *Saba*, and of *Solomon*; yet it doth no-where appear in the scriptures, that *Solomon* had any son by that great princess: which had it been true, it is likely that when *Sishac* king of *Egypt* invaded *Roboam*, and sack'd *Jerusalem*, his brother (the son of *Saba* and *Solomon*) who joined upon *Egypt*, would both have impeached that enterprize, and given aid and succour to *Roboam* against *Jeroboam*, who drew from him ten of the twelve tribes to his own obedience. Neither is it any thing against our opinion of *Moses's* wife, to have been an *Arabian*, that the scriptures teach us, that *Moses* married the daughter of *Jethro* priest of *Midian* or *Madian*: which standing on the north coast of the Red sea, over-against the body of *Egypt*, and near *Ezion Gaber*, where *Solomon* provided his fleet for *India*, in the region of *Edom*, may well be reckoned as a part of *Arabia*, as the Red sea is called *Sinus Arabicus*. For *Edumæa* joineth to the tribe of *Juda* by the north, to *Arabia Petræa* by the east, to the *Mediterranean* by the west, and to the Red sea by the south-east. And if we mark the way which *Moses* took when he left *Egypt*, and conducted *Israel* thence, it will appear that he was no stranger in *Arabia*: in the border whereof, and in *Arabia* it self, he had formerly lived 40 years; where it seemeth, that besides his careful bringing up in *Egypt*, he was instructed by *Jethro* in the *Egyptians* learning. For *Josephus* confesseth, and *St. Stephen* confirmeth, that he was learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*. But on the other side this text makes much against *Josephus*, where it is written in *Exodus ii. 15.* *Therefore Moses fled from Pharaoh, and dwelt in the land of Madian or Midian, and not in Ethiopia.* And in the 3d chapter it is as plain as words can express, in what region *Madian* was, where it is written, *When Moses kept the sheep of Jethro his father-in-law, priest of Madian, and drove the flock to the desert, and came to the mountain of God in Horeb.* Now that mount *Horeb* is not in *Ethiopia*, every infant knoweth. And if we may believe *Moses* himself, then was not the wife of *Moses* purchased in that manner which *Josephus* reporteth (which was for betraying her country and friends) neither had she the name of *Tharbis*, but of *Sippora*, or *Zippora*: neither was she a negro, but a *Madianitish*. And as God worketh the greatest things by the simplest means: so it pleased him from a shepherd to call *Moses*, and after him *David*, and by them to deliver his people first and last. For *Moses* sitting by a well (as disconsolate and a stranger) defended the daughters of *Reque*

^a Herod. in Euterpe. ^b Antiq. l. 2. c. 5. ^c Exod. 2.

from the other shepherds, and drew them water to water their sheep : upon which occasion (by God ordained) he was entertained by *Jethro*, whose daughter he married : and not for any betraying of towns or countries.

From hence also came *Jethro* to *Moses* at *Rephidim*, not far from *Idumæa*, and finding the insupportable government of such a multitude, he advised him to distribute this weighty charge, and to make governors and judges of every tribe and family. And if *Jethro* had been an *Ethiopian*, it had been a far progress for him to have passed thro' all *Egypt* with the wife and children of *Moses*, and to have found *Moses* in the border of *Idumæa* : the *Egyptians* hating *Moses* and all that favoured him. But the passing of *Moses* thro' *Arabia Petræa* (which joineth to *Madian*) proveth that *Moses* was well acquainted in those parts : in which the second time he wandered forty years, and did by these late travels of his seek to instruct the children of *Israel* in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought them to the land of plenty and rest. For he found them nourished up with the milk of idolatry, and obstinate in the religion of the heathen, and finding that those stiff plants could not be bowed or declined, either by persuasion or by miracle, he wore them out in the desarts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from those he might receive fruit, agreeable to his own desire, and God's commandments.

Lastly, This opinion of *Josephus* is condemned by *Augustinus Chrisamenfis*, where also he reprehendeth *Apollinaris*, who avowed that *Moses* had married both *Tharbis* and *Sephora* : his own words have this beginning *a Mentitur etiam Apollinaris duas uxores habuisse Mosén, &c.* *Apollinaris* also lieth in affirming that *Moses* had two wives : and who doth not perceive these things feigned by them ? For it is manifest, that the wife of *Moses* was *Zephora*, daughter to the priest or president of *Madian* : and that *Madian* cannot be taken for *Ethiopia* beyond *Egypt*, being the same that joineth to *Arabia* : so far *Chrisamenfis*.

† III.

Chush ill expounded for *Ethiopia*, *Ezek.* xxix. 10.

NOW as *Chush* is by the *Septuagint* converted *Ethiopia*, and the wife of *Moses* therefore called *Ethiopissa* : so in the conquest of *Nabuchodonosor* is *Ethiopia* written for *Arabia* : for by the words of *Ezekiel* it is manifest that *Nabuchodonosor* was never in *Ethiopia*. *b* Behold, saith *Ezekiel*, (speaking of the person of this great *Affyrian*) *I come upon thee, and upon thy rivers, and I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate, from the tower of Seveneb, even to the borders of the black-moors* : which last words should have been thus converted : *From the tower of Seveneb to the borders of the Chusites or Arabians* : between which two is situated all *Egypt*. For to say, from the borders of *Seveneb* to the *Ethiopians*, hath no sense at all. *Seveneb* it self being the border of *Egypt*, confronting and joining to *Ethiopia*, or the land of the black-moors. So as if *Nabuchodonosor's* conquest had been but between *Seveneb* and the border of *Ethiopia*, it were as much to say, and did express no other victory than the conquest of all that land and country, lying between *Middlesex* and *Buckingham*, where both the countries join together ; or all the north parts of *England* between *Berwick* and *Scotland* : for this hath the same sense with the former, if any man sought to express by these two

bounds, the conquest of *England*, *Berwick* being the north border of *England*, as *Seveneb* or *Syene* is the south bound of *Egypt*, seated in *Thebaida* which toucheth *Ethiopia*. But by the words of *Ezekiel* it appeareth, that *Nabuchodonosor* never entered into any part of *Ethiopia*, altho' the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and all other, in effect, have written *Ethiopia* for *Chush*.

† IV.

Another place of Ezekiel, chap. xxx. ver. 9. in like manner mistaken.

AND as the former, so is this place of *Ezekiel* mistaken, by being in this sort converted. *In die illa egredientur nunci a facie mea in trieribus ad conterendam Æthiopie confidentiam* : which place is thus turned into *Englisch* by the *Genevians* : *In that day shall there messengers go forth from me in ships to make the careless Mores afraid*. Now the *Latin* for [ships] hath the *Greek* word *Trieres* for *Tiremes* which are galleys of three banks, and not ships. But that in this place the translation should have been, as in the former, amended by using the word *Chush*, or *Arabia* for *Ethiopia*, or the *Black-mores*, every man may see which meanly understandeth the geography of the world, knowing, that to pass out of *Egypt* into *Ethiopia*, there need no gallies nor ships, no more than to pass out of *Northampton* into *Leicestershire* : *Ethiopia* being the conterminatè region with *Egypt*, and not divided so much as by a river. Therefore in this place of *Ezekiel* it was meant, that from *Egypt* *Nabuchodonosor* should send gallies along the coast of the Red sea, by which an army might be transported into *Arabia* the happy and the stony (sparing the long wearisome march over all *Egypt* and the desarts of *Pharan*) which army might thereby surprize them unawares in their security and confidence : for when *Nabuchodonosor* was at *Seveneb*, within a mile of *Ethiopia*, he needed neither galley nor ship to pass into it : being all one large and firm land with *Egypt*, and no otherwise parted from it, than one inland shire is parted from another ; and if he had a fancy to have rowed up the river but for pleasure, he could not have done it ; for the fall of *Nilus* (tumbling over high and steep mountains) called *Catadupæ Nili* were at hand.

Lastly, As I have already observed, the sons of every father seated themselves as near together as possibly they could, *Gomer* and his sons in *Asia* the less ; *Javan* and his sons in *Greece* and the islands adjoining ; *Shem* in *Persia* and eastward. So the sons and grand-children of *Chush* from the river of *Gehon*, their father's first seat, inhabited upon the same, or upon some other contiguous unto it, as *Nimrod* and *Havilah* on the one side, and *Saba*, *Sheba*, and *Sabtecha*, with the rest, did on the other side. And, to conclude in a word, the *Hebrews* had never any acquaintance or fellowship, any war, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the *Ethiopian Black-mores*, as is already remembered in the chapter of *Paradise*.

† V.

A place of Isaiah xviii. 1. in like manner corrupted by taking Chush for Ethiopia.

AND as in these places before-remembered, so in divers others is the word *Ethiopia* put for *Arabia* or *Chush*, which puts the story (where it is so understood) quite out of square ; one kingdom thereby being taken for another. For what sense

^a Sixt Senens Bibl.

^b Ezek. 29. 10

hath this part of scripture, *Isaiab* 18. *Væ terræ cymbalorum alarum quæ est trans flumina Ethiopia*; or according to the *Septuagint* in these words, *Væ terræ navium alarum quæ est trans fluvios Ethiopia*? Woe to the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the rivers of *Ethiopia*, sending ambassadors by sea, even the vessels of reeds upon the waters. *Væ terræ umbrosæ oræ*; Wo to the land of the shady coast, saith *Junius*. The former translators understand it in this sense; that the waters are shadowed with the sails, which are significantly called the wings of the ships; the other, that the coast of the sea was shadowed by the height of the land.

But to the purpose: That this land here spoken of by the prophet *Isaiab* is *Egypt*, no interpreter hath doubted: for they were the *Egyptians* that sent this message to the *Israelites* which *Isaiab* repeateth, and by the former translation every man may see the transposition of kingdoms: for hereby *Egypt* is transported unto the other side of *Ethiopia*, and *Ethiopia* set next unto *Judea*, when it is the land of *Chus* and *Arabia* indeed that lieth between *Judea* and *Egypt*, and not *Ethiopia*, which is seated under the equinoctial line. And of this *Beroaldus* asketh a material question, to wit, What region that should be, of which the prophet speaketh, and placeth it beyond the rivers of *Ethiopia*: *Nam de ignota agi regione dici nequit*; For it cannot be said that he treateth of an unknown region. Now if *Ethiopia* it self be under the equinoctial line, with whom the *Jews* had never any acquaintance, why should any man dream that they had knowledge of nations far beyond that again, and beyond the rivers of *Ethiopia*? except we shall impiously think that the prophet spake he knew not what, or used an impertinent discourse of those nations, which were not discovered in 2000 years after, inhabiting as far south as the *Cape of Good Hope*, commonly known by the name of *Bona Esperanza*.

† VI.

That upon the like mistaking, both Terrhaca in the story of Senacherib, and Zera in the story of Asa are unadvisedly made Ethiopians.

AND by this translation is the story of *Senacherib* utterly mistaken in the cause of his retreat. For *Senacherib* was first repulsed at *Pelusium*, at the very entrance of *Egypt* from *Judea*: when having certain knowledge that *Thirrbakeb* (which all the interpreters call king of *Ethiopia*) was on the way to set on him, he began to withdraw himself: and fearing to leave his army in two parts, he sent threatening messengers to *Hezekiah* king of *Judah*, persuading him to submit himself: the tenor whereof is set down in the second of *Kings* in these words: *Have any of the gods of the nations delivered his land out of the hands of the king of Assyria? Where is the god of Hamath?* &c. by which proud ambassage, if he had obtained entrance into *Jerusalem*, he then meant to have united that great army before *Jerusalem* commanded by *Rabsakeb* with the other which lay before *Pelusium*, a great city upon the branch of *Nilus* next *Arabia*. For *Senacherib* had already mastered the most part of all those cities in *Judea* and *Benjamin* with a third army (which himself commanded) being then at the siege of *Lebna*. But upon the rumour of that *Arabian* army led by their king *Thirrbakeb* (whom *Josephus* calls *Tharpsices*) *Rabsakeb* hastened from the siege of *Jerusalem*, and found *Senacherib* departed from *Lachish*, and set down before *Lebna*, which was afterwards called *Eleutheropolis*, as

some have suppos'd. But while he had ill success at *Pelusium* and feared *Thirrbakeb*, God himself, whom he least feared, struck his army before *Jerusalem* by the angel of his power, so as 158000 were found dead in the place, as in the life of *Hezekiah* is hereafter more largely written. And that this army of *Thirrbakeb* was from *Arabia*, *Josephus* himself makes it plain. For he confesseth in the tenth book the first chapter of the *Jerusalem* antiquities, that it was come to *Senacherib*'s knowledge, that the army which was a foot (both to relieve the *Egyptians* and the *Jews*) march'd towards him by the way of the desert: now the desert which lay indifferent between *Jerusalem* and *Pelusium*, was that of *Pharan* or *Sur*, which also toucheth on the three *Arabia*'s, to wit, the stony, of which it is a part, the desert, and the happy; and by no other way indeed could the *Arabians* come on to succour either *Pelusium* or *Jerusalem*. But, that there is any desert between *Pelusium* and the south part of *Egypt*, hath never yet been heard of, or described, by any cosmographer or historian. So then this scripture of the second of *Kings*, verse the ninth, hath the same mistaking as the rest. For here the word [*Chus*] is also translated *Ethiopia*; and in this sense have all the interpreters, but *Junius*, expressed the beginning of the ninth verse. *He heard also men say of Thirrbakeb king of Ethiopia*, &c. whereas it should have been thus converted with *Junius*. *Audiens autem de Thirrbakeb rege Chusbi*: He heard also of *Thirrbakeb* king of the *Chusites*. For they were the *Chusites* and *Arabians*, whose houses and cities were next the fire, and upon whom the very smoke of *Judah* flaming was blown, being their nearest neighbours: and so were not the *Ethiopian Black-mores* under the equinoctial, whom neither war nor peace (which discovereth all regions) ever found out, saith *Pliny*. For this king was no more king of *Ethiopia* than *Zerah* was, who invaded *Asa* king of *Judah*, with an army of a million and three thousand chariots. Indeed, how such an army and those chariots should pass thro' all *Egypt* (the kings of *Egypt* being mighty kings) let all men that know how these regions are seated, and how far distant, judge. For princes do not easily permit armies of a million to run thro' them; neither was there ever any such strength of black-mores heard of in that part of the world, or elsewhere. Neither are these *Ethiopians* such travellers or conquerors; and yet is this king *Zerah* also called king of *Ethiopia*. But the word *Chus* being first so converted for *Ethiopia*, the rest of the interpreters (not looking into the seats of kingdoms, or the possibilities of attempts, or invasions) followed one another in the former mistakings.

† VII.

A farther exposition of the place, Isaiab xviii. 1.

Concerning these words in that 18th chapter of *Isaiab*, *Navium alarum*, Wing'd ships (so the *Septuagint* turn it) or *Cymbalo alarum* (according to the *Latin*) Sails whistling in the winds, or *terre umbrosæ oræ* (alter *Junius*) the land of a shadowed coast, or, the land shadowing with wings, as our *English Geneva* hath it. The two first interpretations of the *Septuagint* and St. *Jerome* have one sense in effect. For the sails are commonly called the wings of a ship; and we use to say ordinarily when our ships sail slowly, that she wanteth wings: (that is) when her sails are either worn or too narrow; and we also use the same phrase of the wind whistling in the sails. And it may be that the

^a Joseph. l. 10. c. 1.

^b 2 Kings 19.

^c Antiq. l. 10.

^d 2 King. 19.

^e Job 10 cap 1

^f Plin. l. 5. c. 4.

^g 2 Chron. 11

Egyptians employ'd so many of those small ships, as their sails were said to give a shadow over the Red sea. But to make both interpretations good, *Pintus* (upon *Isaiab*) affirmeth, that the word [*Sabal*] doth signify both to shadow and to gingle, which is, to make a kind of cymbaline sound: so as the meaning of this place, saith *Pintus*, is this: *Wo to thee, O Egypt, which dost promise to others safeguard, under the shadow of thy wings, which indeed seemeth to agree with the argument of the 18th chapter of Isaiab*: and this phrase is often elsewhere used, as in the 16th *Psalms*, *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me*; Defend me under the shadow of thy wings. The boats of reed spoken of are of two kinds; either of basket-willow covered with hides (as anciently in *Britain*) or a tree made hollow in the bottom, and built upon both sides with canes. Of the one sort I have seen in *Ireland*, of the other in the *Indies*.

SECT. XI.

Of the plantation and antiquities of Egypt.

† I.

That Mizraim the chief planter of Egypt, and the rest of the sons of Ham, were seated in order, one by another.

THE second son of *Ham* was *Mizraim*, who (according to the place of a second brother) was sent somewhat farther off to inhabit. For *Chush* first possess'd *Chaldea* on the west-side of *Gebon* chiefly: and from thence, as he increased in people, so he entred *Arabia*, and by time came to the border of the Red sea, and to the south-east side of *Judea*. *Mizraim's* brother (with *Phut*) pass'd over into *Africa*. *Mizraim* held *Egypt*: and *Phut* (as a third brother) was thrust farther off into *Mauritania*. *Canaan* took the sea-coast, and held the side of *Palestina*: and these four brothers possess'd all that tract of land, from *Gebon* in *Chaldea*, as far to the west as the *Mediterranean* sea: comprehending all *Arabia Deserta*, and *Petræa*, all *Canaan* which embraceth *Galilea*, *Samaria*, and *Judea*; with the two *Egypt*s; whereof the nether is bound-ed by *Memphis* on the south, and by the *Mediterranean* sea on the north: and *Thebaida* (called the upper *Egypt*) stretcheth it self towards the south as far as *Syene*, the border of the *Ethiopians* or *Black-mores*. All the rest of the coast of *Africa* westward, *Phut* peopled; which brothers had not any other nation or family that dwelt between them. And in the same manner did all their sons again, and all the sons of the rest of *Noah's* children, sort themselves.

† II.

Of the time about which the name of Egypt began to be known: and of the Egyptians lunary years, which made their antiquities seem more fabulous.

THIS flourishing kingdom possess'd by *Mizraim*, changed her ancient name, and became *Egypt*, at such time as *Ægyptus* (otherwise *Ramesses*, as some think) the son of *Belus* chaced thence his elder brother *Danaus*, shifting him into that part of *Greece*, now called *Morea*, by whom the *Argives* were made *Danai* abandoning their proper names: which happened 877 years after the flood, in the time of *Joshua*, as *St. Augustine* conjectureth out of *Eusebius*. But in *Homer's Odyssey* it appeareth, that the *Egyptians* were so called at the time of the

Trojan war. And before this, *Egypt* was known by divers other names, as *Oceana*, *Aria*, *Osiriana*, &c. And *Manethon* (whom *Josephus* citeth in his first book against *Appion*) numb'reth all the kings of *Egypt* after *Moses's* departure, who consumed 393 years. By which other men conjecture, that the *Egyptians* took on them that name 330 years after *Joshua*, and about 1000 years after the flood. But where *Josephus* in the same book taketh *Israel* to be those *Hycsos*, which he also calleth *pastores* or shepherds, which are said to have reigned in *Egypt* 511 years, whom also he calleth his ancestors (meaning the ancestors of the *Jews*;) in this I am sure he was grossly deceived, or that he vainly boasted; for the *Israelites* had no such dominion as *Manethon* feigneth: nor abode in *Egypt* so long a time by many years.

Of the *Egyptian* antiquities there are many fancies in *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Diod. Siculus*, *Mela*, and others. For they affirm (saith *Pomp. Mela*) that there had reigned in *Egypt* 330 kings before *Amasis*, who was contemporary with *Cyrus*; and that they had memory and story of 13000 years; and that the stars had four times changed their course, and the sun twice set in the east. These riddles are also rise among the *Athenians* and *Arcadians*, who dare affirm that they are more ancient than *Jupiter* and the moon, whereof *Ovid*:

*Ante Jovem genitum terras habuisse feruntur
Arcades: & luna gens prior illa fuit.*

The *Arcadians* the earth inhabited
Ere yet the moon did shine, or *Jove* was bred.

But for those 13000 years it may well be true: seeing it is certain that the *Egyptians* reckon their years by months, which makes after that account not above 1000 or 1100 years, whether we take their months or lunary years to have been of the first kind of 27 days and 8 hours; or otherwise 29 days and 12 hours; or after any other of those 5 diversities of their lunary years.

† III.

Of certain vain assertions of the antiquity of the Egyptians.

Gerardus Mercator, in his chronology, reasoneth for the *Egyptians* antiquity in this manner; that the 16th *Dynasty* (where *Eusebius* begins to reckon the *Egyptians* times) had beginning with the general flood: and that therefore the first of the other fifteen reached the creation, or soon after it. To which conjecture of *Mercator*, *Pererius* maketh this answer: that therein *Mercator* was first deceived, because he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the 16th *Dynasty* was at once with the general flood: which *Eusebius* maketh 292 years after, and in the time of *Abraham*. Secondly, *Mercator* maketh the beginning of the shepherds *Dynastia* (being in number the 17th) in the time of their first king, *Saltis*, to have been in the year of the world 1846, which *Eusebius* findeth in the world's age 2140. For the 16th *Dynastia* was begun but in the 292d year after the flood, as they account, and continued 190 years. Thirdly, whereas *Mercator* maketh every *Dynastia* to endure 115 years, *Eusebius* reckoneth many of them at less than 100 years: for the 28th had but 6 years; the 29th but 20, and the 30th but 18 years.

Now *Annius*, in his supplement of *Manethon*, affirmeth, that all these 15 *Dynasties* lasted but 162 years: and that the first of the 15 began but in

the 131st year after the flood: so as where *Merca-*
tor makes all the 15 to precede the flood, and the
 16th to have been then in being at the time of the
 flood, *Annius* makes them all after it. But the
 contrariety of falshood cannot be hidden, tho' dis-
 guised. For *Annius* had forgotten his former opi-
 nion and assertion, that it was in the 131st year that
Nimrod with the sons of *Noah* came into the val-
 ley of *Shinaar*: so he forgets the time which was
 consumed in the building of *Babel*: and that be-
 fore the confusion of speech there was no disper-
 sion, nor far-off plantation at all. And tho' he ha-
 stily convey'd *Gomer* into *Italy*, and *Tubal* into
Spain, in the 10th year of *Nimrod's* reign (which
 was 10 years after his arrival into *Babylonia*) yet here-
 in he is more unadvised. For he makes *Egypt* pos-
 sess'd, and a government established in the very first
 year of the arrival of *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*, before
 all partition, or any expedition far off or near in
 question: for from thence (that is, from *Babel*) did
 the Lord scatter them upon all the earth.

† IV.

Against *Pererius*: that it is not unlikely, but that *E-*
gypt was peopled within 200 years after the crea-
 tion; at least, that both it, and the most part of
 the world, were peopled before the flood.

BUT whereas *Pererius* seeketh to overthrow
 this antiquity of the *Egyptians*, touching their
Dynasties (which *Eusebius* doth not altogether de-
 stroy, but lessen) I do not find any great strength
 in this opinion of *Pererius* (to wit) that it was either
 unlikely or impossible that *Egypt* should be peopled
 within 100 or 200 years after *Adam*, in the first
 age. And whereas he supposeth that it was not
 inhabited at all before the general flood, I do veri-
 ly believe the contrary: and that not only of *E-*
gypt, but the better part of all the world was then
 peopled: *Pererius's* words are these: *Quomodo e-*
nim primos mundi ducentos, vel etiam centum annos
Adami proles adeo multiplicari potuit, ut ad Aegyptum
usque habitandum & complendum propagata sit, &c.
 For how could the children of *Adam* be so multi-
 plied in the first two hundred, or in the first hun-
 dred years of the world, and so propagated as to
 inhabit and fill *Egypt*? for allowing this, saith *Pe-*
rerius, we must also confess, that there were then
 both the *Affyrians*, and other nations.

Now seeing the scriptures are silent herein, and
 that it is no point of our saving belief, it is lawful
 for every man to be guided in this and the like
 questions by the best reason, circumstance, and
 likelihood; and herein, as in the rest, I protest
 that I do not gainsay any man's opinion out of
 any crossing or cavilling humour: for I think it
 the part of every Christian, rather to reconcile dif-
 ferences, where there is possibility of union, than
 out of froward subtilty, and prejudicate resolved-
 ness, to maintain factions needless, and dangerous
 contentions.

First therefore to this opinion, that *Egypt* was
 not planted so soon after *Adam*, no, not at all be-
 fore the flood, I say there is no reason why we
 should give a less increase to the sons of *Adam*, than
 to the sons of *Noah*. For their length of life, which
 exceeded those which came after the flood double,
 and (after a few years) treble, is an infallible proof
 of their strength and ability, to beget many chil-
 dren: and at that time they observed no degrees of
 kindred, nor consanguinity. And that there was
 a speedy increase of people, and in great numbers,
 it may in some sort appear by this, that *Cain*, who
 (being fearful that the death of *Abel* would have
 been revenged on him) withdrew himself from the

rest, which were afterwards begotten, and dwelt in
 the land of *Nod*, and there by the help of his
 own issues, built a city (called *Enoch*) after the
 name of his first-born. Now if it be gathered that
Nimrod came into the valley of *Shinaar* with so
 many multitudes, as sufficed to build the city and
 tower of *Babel*: and that to this increase there was
 given but 130 years by *Berosus*, and after the ac-
 count of the scriptures (reckoning, as it is common-
 ly understood, by the birth of *Arphaxad*, *Selah*,
Heber, and *Phaleg*) but 101 years: I see no cause
 to doubt, but that in the infancy of the first age,
 when the bodies of men were most perfect, even
 within 130 years (the same, if, not a greater) num-
 ber might be increased: and so within 70 years af-
 ter (that is, by such time as the world had flood
 200 years) as well *Affyria*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, might
 be possess'd before the flood, as they were within
 the same or less time after it. Neither doth it agree
 with the circumstance, or true story of the *Baby-*
lonian and *Affyrian* empire, that all those people,
 which were increased in the first 100 or 130 years
 after the flood, came into *Shinaar* and *Babylonia*.
 For that ever *Noah* himself came out of the east,
 as there is no scripture or authority to prove it, so
 all probable conjecture and reason it self denies it.
 Again, those multitudes and powerful numbers,
 which *Semiramis* (but the 3d from *Nimrod*) found
 in *India*, considered with her own army of three
 millions (and she left not all her kingdoms emp-
 ty) do well prove, that if the world had such
 plenty of people in so few years after the flood,
 it might also be as plentifully filled in like time be-
 fore it. For after their own account *Ninus* go-
 verned *Babylonia* and *Affyria* but 292 years after the
 flood of *Noah*. And these troops of *Semiramis*
 were gathered out of all those eastern kingdoms,
 from *Media* to the *Mediterranean* sea; when there
 had now pass'd from the flood to the time of this
 her invasion, somewhat less or more than 360 years:
 for much more time the true chronology cannot al-
 low; tho' I confess, that in respect of the strange
 greatness of *Semiramis's* army, and the incredible
 multitudes gathered, this is as short a time as
 can well be given. And if but one half be true
 of that which is said, that her army consisted of
 1300000 footmen, and 500000 horsemen, it must
 needs be, that long before *Semiramis's* reign, the
 greatest part of *Asia* (whence her huge army was
 gathered) was full of people: yea *Arabia* it self
 (much part whereof is barren) must long before
 this time of *Semiramis* have been plentifully peopled;
 when *Ninus* having a determination to make him-
 self master of all nations, entered notwithstanding
 in league with the king thereof: whom therefore he
 either feared, or sought his assistance. And if *Ara-*
bia were then so well replenished, I see no cause but
Egypt might also be peopled. Now if we may
 believe *Trogus Pompeius* (epitomiz'd by *Justin*,
 lib. 1.) *Egypt* was a most flourishing and magnifi-
 cent nation before *Ninus* was born. For these be
 his own words, speaking of *Ninus*: *Inter quidem*
temporibus antiquioribus Vexoris rex Aegypti, &c.
 But there were in times more ancient *Vexoris* king
 of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* king of the *Scythians*: of
 which the one invaded *Pontus*, the other *Egypt*.
 And how full of people all that part of the world
 was, the conquests of *Ninus* witness, who subdued
 with no small force the *Armenians*, the *Medes*, and
 afterwards the *Bastrians*; yea, all that whole body
 of *Asia* on this side *India*. For *Diodorus* out of *Ctesias*
 numb'reth the armies, wherewith *Ninus* invaded *Zo-*
roaster, at 1700000 footmen, and 200000 horse-
 men: and the stories generally shew, that though
Zoroaster's army was far short of this, yet it was
 greater

greater than any that those parts of the world ever since beheld. But to what end should I seek for foreign authority? for no man doubteth, but that *Egypt* was possess'd by *Mizraim*, the son of *Ham*; and that it was an established kingdom, filled with many cities in *Abraham's* time, the scriptures tell us. And sure to prepare and cultivate a desolate and overgrown ground, to beautify it with many cities, laws, and policies, cannot be esteemed a labour of a few days: and therefore it must be inhabited in a less time than 200 years after the flood; and in the same time, if not in a shorter, before the flood. For if so many millions of men were found within 300 years after the general flood; so as not only *Babylon*, and *Affyria*, *Bactria*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Palestina*, yea, the far-off *Libya* on the one side, and *India* on the other, and *Scythia*, inferior to neither, were all filled: into what small corners could then all those nations be compress'd, which 1656 years brought forth before the flood? Even necessity, which cannot be resisted, cast the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the known world; especially, where death forbore the father, and made no place for the son, till he had beheld living nations of his own body,

† V.

Of some other reasons against the opinion of Pererius:

FOR what a strange increase did the long lives of the first age make, when they continued 800 or 900 years. Surely, we have reason to doubt that the world could not contain them, rather than that they were not spread over the world. For let us now reckon the date of our lives in this age of the world: wherein if one exceed 50 years, ten for one are cut off in that passage, and yet we find no want of people; nay, we know the multitude such, as if by wars or pestilence they were not sometimes taken off by many thousands, the earth with all the industry of man could not give them food. What strange heaps then of souls had the first ages, who enjoyed 800 or 900 years as afore-said! These numbers, I say, cannot be counted or conceived. For it would come to the same reckoning in effect, as if all those which have been born in *Britain* since three or four hundred years before the *Norman* conquest (saving such as by accident or by violence were cut off) were now alive; and if to these there were added as many as by *polygamy* might have been increased. For (to omit that the giants and mighty ones of the first age observed no law of matrimony) it is to be thought, that those lovers of the world and of pleasure, when they knew the long and liberal time which nature had given them, would not willingly or hastily present themselves to any danger which they could fly from or eschew. For what human argument hath better persuasion to make men careless of life, and fearless of death, than the little time which keeps them asunder, and that short time also accompanied with so many pains and diseases, which this envious old age of the world mingleth together, and soweth with the seeds of mankind.

Now if that *Berosus* or *Annus* may be alledged for sufficient authors, whom *Pererius* himself in this question citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Josephus* confirmed, that the city of *Enoch* was seated near *Libanus* in *Syria*: and if other parts of *Syria* were peopled in *Cain's* time, I see no cause why *Palestina* (which is also a province of *Syria*) and *Egypt*, which neighboureth it, could be left desolate both all the life-time of *Cain*, and all those times between his death and the flood, which were by estimation 700 or 800 years. And sure, tho' this

fragment of *Berosus*, with *Annus's* comment, be very ridiculous in many places (the ancient copies being corrupted or lost) yet all things in *Berosus* are not to be rejected. Therefore *St. Jerome* for such authors gives a good rule: *Bona eorum eligamus, vitamus contraria*; Let us chuse what is good in them, and reject the rest. And certainly in the very beginning of the first book, *Berosus* agreeth, in effect, with *Moses*, touching the general flood: and in that first part *Berosus* affirmeth, that those mighty men and giants which inhabited *Enoch*, commanded over all nations, and subjected the universal world: and tho' that phrase [*of all the world*] be often used in the scriptures for a part thereof; as in the second of the *Acts*: *That there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, men that feared God of every nation under heaven*: yet by words which follow in *Berosus*, it is plain that his words and sense were the same: for he addeth from the sun's rising to the sun's setting, which cannot be taken for any small part thereof. Again, we may safely conjecture, that *Noah* did not part and proportion the world among his sons at adventure, or left them as discoverers, but directed them to those regions which he formerly knew had been inhabited. And it cannot be denied that the earth was more passable and easy to travel over before the flood, than after it. For *Pererius* himself confesseth, that *Attica* (by reason of mud and slime which the water left upon the earth) was uninhabited 200 years after *Ogyges's* flood, whereby we may gather that there was no great pleasure in passing into far countries after the general deluge, when the earth lay, as it were, inclosed for 100 or 130 years together. And therefore was the face thereof in all conjecture more beautiful, and less cumbersome to walk over in the first age, than after the general overflowing.

† VI.

Of the words of Moses, Gen. x. verse the last, whereupon Pererius grounded his opinion.

LASTLY, whereas *Pererius* draws this argument out of the last verse of the tenth of *Genesis*, *And out of these were the nations divided after the flood: Quo significatur talem divisionem non fuisse ante diluvium*; By which it appeareth, saith *Pererius*, that there was no such division before the flood: which he also seeketh to confirm out of the 11th of *Genesis*, because the division of tongues was cause of the dispersion of the people. This consequence, *Quo significatur, &c.* seemeth to me very weak; the text itself rather teacheth the contrary: *For out of these, saith Moses, were the nations divided in the earth after the flood*; inferring, that before the flood the nations were divided out of others, tho' after the flood out of these only. But whatsoever sense may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawn to the times before the flood, or to any plantation or division in that age: for if there were none else among whom the earth could be divided after the flood, but *Noah's* sons, wherein doth that necessary division controul the planting of the world before it? And whereas it is alledged that the confusion of speech was the cause of this dispersion, it is true, that it was so for that present; but if *Babel* had never been built, nor any confusion of languages at all, yet increase of people and time would have enforce'd a farther-off and general plantation: as *Berosus* (*lib. 3.*) says well, *Ad comparandas novas sedes necessitas compellebat*; They were driven by necessity to seek new habitations. For we find, as it is before said, that within 300 years after the flood, there were gathered together

gether into two armies, such multitudes as the valley about *Babylon* could not have sustained those numbers with their increase for any long time: all *Asia* the greater and the lesser; all *Scythia*, *Arabia*, *Palestina*, and *Egypt*, with *Greece*, and the islands thereof; *Mauritania* and *Libya* being also at that time fully peopled. And if we believe *Berosus*, then not only those parts of the world, but (within 140 years after the flood) *Spain*, *Italy* and *France* were also planted: much more then may we think, that within 1656 years before the flood, in the time of the chief strength of mankind, they were replenish'd with people. And certainly seeing all the world was overflown, there were people in all the world which offended.

† VII.

A conclusion resolving of that which is most likely, touching the Egyptian antiquities: with somewhat of Phut (another son of Ham) which peopled Libya.

Therefore for the antiquity of the *Egyptians*, as I do not agree with *Mercator*, nor judge with the *Vulgar*, which give too much credit to the *Egyptian* antiquities: so I do not think the report of their antiquities so fabulous, as either *Pererius* or other men conceive it. But I rather incline to this, that *Egypt* being peopled before the flood, and two or three hundred years more or less after *Adam*, there might remain unto the sons of *Mizraim* some monuments (in pillars or altars of stone or metal) of their former kings or governors: which the *Egyptians* having added to the list and roll of their kings after the flood, in succeeding time (out of the vanity of glory, or by some corruption in their priests) something beyond the truth might be inserted. And that the memory of antiquity was in such sort preserved, *Berosus* affirmeth it of the *Chaldeans*, and so doth *Epigenes*. For they both write, that the use of letters and the art of *astronomy* was known to the *Babylonians* 3634 years before *Alexander's* conquest: and this report *Annius* findeth to agree and reach to the time of *Enoch*, who was born 1034 years before the flood, and wrote of the world's destruction, both by water and fire; as also of *Christ's* coming in judgment; as *St. Jude* hath witnessed. But leaving these antiquities to other mens judgments, and every man to his own reason, I will conclude this plantation of *Egypt*. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by *Mizraim*, and that it took the name of *Egypt* from *Aegyptus* the son of *Belus*, as aforesaid. Being divided into two regions, that part from *Memphis* or *Nicopolis* to the *Mediterranean* sea, was called the inferiour *Egypt*; surnamed also *Delta*; because the several branches of *Nilus* breaking asunder from one body of the river, gave it the form of the *Greek* letter *Delta*, which is the form of a triangle. That branch, which ran toward the north-east and embraced the sea, next unto the desarts of *Sur* and *Pbaran*, had on it the city of *Pelusium*, where *Senacherib* was repulsed: the other branch, which yielded it self to the salt-water towards the north-east, is beautified by that famous city of *Alexandria*: the upper part of *Egypt* is bounded between *Memphis* and *Syene* near *Ethiopia*, and had the name of *Thebaida*, of that ancient city of *Thebes*, which (according to *Homer*) was adorned with 100 gates: and therefore called *Civitas centum portarum*, and by the *Greeks* *Diospolis*; in the scriptures *No-bamon*, which signifieth multitudes of inhabitants, exceeding belief. ^a *Josephus* calls *Egypt* *Merjin* of *Mizraim*: and ^b *He-*

rodotus affirms, that it had once the name of *Thebais*.

Phut the third son of *Ham* took the next portion of land to his brother *Mizraim*, and inhabited *Libya*, whose people were anciently called *Phutæi*, saith ^c *Josephus*, and *Pliny* mentioneth the river *Fut* in *Mauritania*: which river from the mountain *Atlas*, known to the inhabitants by the name of *Dyris*, he maketh to be distant the space of 200 miles. It also appeareth in the 30th chapter of *Ezekiel*, that *Phut*, *Chush* and *Lud* were *contermini* and associates with the *Egyptians*.

S E C T. XII.

Of the eleven sons of Canaan, the fourth son of Ham.

† I.

Of the bounds of the land of Canaan; with the names of his eleven sons.

CANAN, the fourth son of *Ham*, possess'd all that region called by the *Romans* *Palestina*; in the scriptures *Galilea*, *Samaria* and *Judea*; in the latter times known by the name of the *Holy Land* and *Jury*; the limits whereof are precisely set down by *Moses*, *Genesis* 10. Then the border of the *Canaanites* was from *Zidon* as thou goest to *Gerar* until *Azzah*, and as thou goest unto *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*, and *Admah*, and *Zeboim*, even unto *Lasha*. Now howsoever these words of the *Hebrew* text [as thou goest] be converted, *Moses's* meaning was, that *Gerar* was the south bound of *Canaan*, and *Zidon* the north; *Sodom* and *Gomorrha* the east, and the other cities named, stood on the frontiers thereof. For *Gerar* standeth in a right line from *Gaza*, in the way of *Egypt*, the uttermost territory of *Canaan* southward: and this was properly the land of *Canaan*.

Now the sons of *Canaan* which possess'd this country, and inhabited some part of the borders thereof, were in number eleven:

1. *Zidon*.
2. *Heth* or *Chethus*.
3. *Jebusi* or *Jebuseus*.
4. *Emori* or *Emoreus*, or *Amoreus*.
5. *Girgeshi* or *Girgeseus*.
6. *Hevi* or *Chiveus*.
7. *Arki* or *Harkeus*.
8. *Sini* or *Sineus*.
9. *Arvadi* or *Arvadaeus*.
10. *Zamari* or *Samareus*, or *Tzemarius*.
11. *Hamathi* or *Hamathæus*, or *Chamathæus*.

Of which the most renowned were the *Hethites*, *Gergesites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Jebusites*, and *Perizzites*: which *Perizzites* were descended of *Zamari* or *Samareus*, or from some of his.

† II.

Of the portions of Zidon and Heth.

ZIDON the first-born of *Canaan*, built the famous city of *Zidon* in *Phenicia*, which afterward fell in partition to the tribe of *Asher*: for *Asher*, *Zabulon* and *Naphtali* had a great part of the ancient *Phenicia* distributed among them; but the *Asherites* could never obtain *Zidon* itself.

The second son of *Canaan* was *Heth* or *Cethus*: of whom came the *Hethites*, or *Hittites*, one of those seven principal nations (commanders of *Canaan*) appointed by God to be rooted out: namely,

^a *Joseph. l. 1. Ant. c. 7.*

^b *Herodot. Euterpe.*

^c *Lib. 5. c. 1.*

the *Gergesites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites* and *Hevites*, and the *Jebusites*. The *Hittites* inhabited about *Bersabe*, and towards *Hebron*, near the torrent *Besor*, and about ^a*Gerar*, which *Moses* maketh the uttermost limit of *Canaan*, having the desert of *Pharan* to the south: for about *Bersabe* (otherwise *Puteus juramenti*) four miles from *Gaza* dwelt *Heth* and his posterity, as far to the north-east as *Hebron*, and *Mamre*; and of *Ephraim* the *Hittite* did ^b*Abraham* buy the field of *Sarah's* burial. Of which nation *Rebecca* bewailed herself to *Isaac*, saying, *That she was weary of her life for the daughters of Heth*. The giants *Anakim* were of these *Hittites*, a strong and fierce nation, whose entertainments by the kings of *Israel* against them, the *Syrians* greatly fear'd: as in the second of the *Kings*; ^d*Israel hath hired against us the kings of the Hittites*.

† III.

Of the Jebusites and Amorites.

JE B U S E U S the third son of *Canaan*, of whom came the *Jebusites*, and whose principal seat was *Jebus*, afterwards *Jerusalem*, were also a valiant and stubborn nation, and held their city and the country near it, till such time as *David* by God's assistance recovered both: yet were not the *Jebusites* extinguished, but were tributaries to *Solomon*.

Amoreus was the fourth son of *Canaan*, of whom the *Amorites* took name, who inhabited that land to the east of *Jordan* below the sea of *Galilee*, having *Arnon* and the mountains of *Galaad* on the east, and *Jordan* on the west; of whom *Og*, king of *Basan*, and *Sihon*, overthrown by *Moses*, were princes.

The *Amorites* had also many other habitations dispersed within the bounds of *Canaan*: as behind *Libanus* in the edge of *Cœlesyria*, or *Syria Libanica*. They had also their being in the mountains of ^e*Juda*, and in *Idumæa* near the *Metropolis* thereof, called *Duma*. And hereof it came, that all the *Canaanites* were sometimes called *Amorites*: as in *Genesis* xv. *For the wickedness of the Amorites is not yet full*. And that this was also a powerful nation, we find in the prophet *Amos*; ⁱ*Yet destroyed I the Amorite before them, whose height was like the height of a cedar, and he was strong as the oaks*.

† IV.

Of the Gergesites, Hevites and Harkites.

TH E fifth son of *Canaan* was *Gergeseus* or *Gergeson*, otherwise *Girgasi*, who inhabited on the east-side of the lake of *Tiberias*, or the sea of *Galilee*, where *Ptolemy* sets the city *Gerasa*, which *Josephus* calls *Gesera* in the territory of *Decapolis*. Here it was that *Christ* dispossest the possess'd with devils; and the *Gergesites* desired him to depart their coasts; because their swine filled with the evil spirits drowned themselves in the sea of *Galilee*. *Gergeseus* also built *Berytus*, sometime *Geris*, afterwards *Fœlix Julia*, three miles from the river *Adonis* in *Phœnicia*, in which the *Romans* held a garrison, and to which *Augustus* gave many large privileges.

Heveus the sixth son, and father of the *Hevites*, inhabited under *Libanus* near *Emath*. These *Hevites*, howsoever the *Caphthorim* expelled a good part of them (as in *Deuteronomy* the second is remembered) yet many of them remained all the war of *Joshua*, and afterwards to the time of *Solomon*. For God was not pleased utterly to root out these

nations, but they were sometimes made tributaries to the *Israelites*, and at other times served, in their falling away from the true worship of God) to afflict them: for as it is written *Judges* iii. *They remained to prove Israel by them, whether they would obey the commandments of God*.

The seventh son was *Araceus* or *Harki*, who between the foot of *Libanus* and the *Mediterranean* sea, over-against *Tripolis*, built the city of *Archas*, *Arce*, or *Arca*, afterwards *Arachis*.

† V.

Of Sini and Arvadi.

SI N E U S the eighth son, *Hierosolymitanus* sets at *Caparorsa*, which *Ptolemy* finds in *Judea*, not far from *Jebus*; to the south thereof, saith *Junius*. But it is more probable, that *Sineus* founded *Sin*, which *St. Jerome* calls *Sim*; *Ptolemy*, *Simyra*; *Mela* and *Pliny*, *Simirus*; *Brochard*, *Sycon* (called *Synochis*) near *Arca*. *Pererius* thinks that *Sineus* inhabited the deserts of *Sinai*, or thereabouts; but hereof there is no other certainty than the report of *Brochard*, who took view of all these places, affirming that *Sineus* built *Synochis*, as *Zidon* built *Zidon*. There is also another nation of *Sini*, written with the letter *C*, otherwise *Kenai*, who descended of *Hobab* the son of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, who assisted the *Israelites*, in their conduction thro' the wilderness of *Pharan*. But these *Cinai* were admitted among the *Israelites*, and had a portion of land with the ^b*Naphtalims*, besides their habitations with the *Amalekites*: against these *Cinai* *Balaam* prophesied, that they should be destroyed by the *Assyrians*.

The ninth son was *Aradeus* or *Arvadeus*, who in the isle of ^c*Aradus* built the city *Arados*: opposite against which island, on the main of *Phœnicia*, they founded another city of that name, which for opposition was afterwards called *Antaradus*. To this city came *St. Peter*, saith *Clement*, and in this isle preached the gospel; and founded a church in honour of our lady: but we find no such work of his in the *Acts* of the *Apostles*. Both these two were very famous, and places of skilful seamen, whom *Ezekiel* remembreth in his prophecies against the *Tyrians*. ⁱ*The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy mariners*.

† VI.

Of Zemari.

OF *Samareus* or *Zemari*, the tenth son, there are divers opinions. Some think that he inhabited in *Cœlesyria* at *Edeffa*, and founded *Samaraim*, which in *Joshua* is placed in the tribe of *Benjamin*. There is also *Samaraim* (of the same orthography) upon the mountains of *Ephraim*, saith ^b*Beroaldus*, mentioned in the second of *Chronicles* xiii. 4. which the *Latin* converteth amiss, saith he, by *Semerom*. The *Hierosolymitan* paraphrast makes *Samareus* (of whom were the *Perizzites*) the parent of the *Emiffani*, which *Pliny* calls the *Hemissen*, in *Cœlesyria*; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited those other places before remembered. But that they founded *Samaria*, both the *Hebrew* orthography, and this place in the first of *Kings* (speaking of *Omri*) disproveth. ⁱ*And he bought the mountain Samaria, or Shemerom, of one Shemer, for two talents of silver, and built in the mountain: and called the name of the city which he built, after the*

^a Gen. 10. 19. ^b Gen. 23. ^c Gen. 27. 46. ^d 2 Kings 7. 6. ^e Deut. 1. Num. 13. ^f Amos 2. ^g Judg. 4. *Joshua* 19. 32. ^h Gul. Tyr. Vitr. ⁱ Ezek. 27. 8. ^k Beroald. in Chron. l. 4. ^l 1 Kings 16. 24.

name of *Shemir*, lord of the mountain *Samaria*. But of all these places I shall speak more at large in the conquest of the *Holy Land* by the children of *Israel*. Of whomsoever the *Samaritans* were descended, sure I am, that they were ever a perfidious nation, and base: for as long as the state of the *Jews* stood up, they always called themselves *Jews*; when it suffered or sunk, they then utterly denied to be of that nation or family; for at such time as they were returned from their first captivity, they became a mix'd nation; partly of the colonies of the *Affyrians*, and partly of the naturals.

† VII.

Of *Hamathi*.

THE last of *Canaan's* sons was *Hamatheus*, or (according to the *Hebrew*) *Hamathi* of *Hamath*, saith *Beroaldus*, of which (the aspiration taken away) the same is pronounced *Emath*, whereof *Hamatheus* was present. *Josephus* and *St. Jerome* confound *Emath* with *Antioch*, not that *Antioch* which standeth on the river *Orontes* on the frontier of *Comagena*, between the mountain *Cassius* and the province of *Pieria*, and *Seleucis*, of which *St. Peter* was bishop, and in which *St. Luke* and *Ignatius* were born: but *Antioch* surnamed *Epiphania*, as *Beroaldus* supposeth, which standeth between *Apamea* and *Emesa* in *Cassiotis*. Yet indeed *Emath* cannot be taken for either; for both that *Antioch* upon *Orontes*, and that which neighboureth *Emesa*, are farther off seated from *Canaan*, than ever any of those nations stragled. And whereas *St. Jerome* setteth *Emath*, which he confoundeth with *Epiphania*, in the tribe of *Naphtali*; it is manifest that *Epiphania*, which standeth to the north of *Emesa*, hath all the province of *Laodicea* between it and any part of the land divided. And if *Libanon* it self were not shared among the tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong unto them: for both the provinces *Laodicea* and *Libanica* are between *Epiphania* and any part of the *Holy Land*, and therefore *Emath* so taken could not be a part of *Naphtali*, as in the 13th of *Joshua* is directly proved. For *Joshua* counting the lands that remained unpossess'd, reckoneth all mount *Libanon* towards the sun-rising, from *Baal-gad* under mount *Hermion*, until we come to *Hamath*. And this reason, among others, is used, that *Emath* was not in *Nephtalim*, or any way belonging to the children of *Israel*: because *David* accepted the presents of *Tobu* a king of *Emath*, and therewithal conditions of peace; which he would not have done, if that territory had ever belonged to the children of *Israel*, but would have recovered it without composition, and by strong hand, as he did the rest. But this argument, as I take it, hath no great weight: for if the promise which God made be considered, as it is written in *Deuteronomy*, then might *Emath* be comprehended, tho' seated altogether without the bounds of the land promised, according to the description of *Moses* and *Joshua*; for *Emath* is indeed situate on the other side of the mountain of *Hermion*, which joineth to *Libanus*, and is otherwise called *Iturea*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Joshua* xix. 35. and written in the *Latin* version *Emath*; therein, saith *Beroaldus*, was *St. Jerome* mistaken. *Emath* or *Iturea* is that over the mountains, and the city in *Nephtalim* should be written *Hamath*; and so the *Septuagint*, understanding the difference, write it *Ammath* and not *Emath*, the same which indeed belonged to the *Nephtalims*, seated on the south-side of *Libanus* to the east of

Affedim: which *St. Jerome* writes *Emath*, *Josephus* *Hamath*, others *Emathin*, or *Amatheos*, and the people *Amathein*; of which, as I take it, *Rabshakeh* vaunteth in the second of *Kings*; *Where is the God of Hamath?*

SECT. XIII.

Of the sons of *Chush*, excepting *Nimrod*, of whom hereafter.

The sons of <i>Chush</i> were	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Seba,} \\ \textit{Havila,} \\ \textit{Sabta,} \\ \textit{Raama,} \\ \textit{Sabteca,} \\ \textit{Nimrod.} \end{array} \right\}$	And the sons of <i>Raama</i> were	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Sheba} \\ \text{and} \\ \textit{Dedan.} \end{array} \right\}$
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† I.

That most of the sons of *Chush* were seated in *Arabia the happy*: and of the *Sabeans* that robbed *Job*: and of the queen that came to *Solomon*.

SEBA or *Saba* was the eldest son of *Chush*, the eldest son of *Ham*, to make a difference between him and his nephew *Sheba*, the son of his brother *Raama*, or *Regma* (or *Ragma*, after *Montanus*) his name is written with a single [S] *Samech*, and *Sheba* the son of *Regma* with an [S] aspirate, which is the *Hebrew* *Schin*. *Seba* the eldest son of *Chush*, *Regma* his brother, and *Sheba* the son of *Regma*, possess'd both the shores of *Arabia Felix*. *Saba* took that part toward the *Red* sea, as nearest his father *Chush*, and the land of the *Chusites*: *Regma* and *Sheba*, the east coast of the same *Arabia*, which looketh into the gulf of *Persia*; of which *Pliny*: *Sabæi Arabum populi propter thura clarissimi ad utraque maria porrectis gentibus habitant*; The *Sabeans*, people of *Arabia*, famous for their frankincense, extending their nations, dwell along both the seas, to wit, the *Persian* and the *Arabian* or *Red* sea. This country was afterwards called *Arabia a populi mixtione*, saith *Possellus*. To this agreeth *Ptolemy*, who setteth the city of *Saba* towards the *Arabian* or *Red* sea, and the city *Rhegama* towards the *Persian*, with whom also we may leave *Sabta*: for so much *Montanus* gathereth out of *Ptolemy*, because he remembreth a nation (called *Stabæi*) near the *Persian* sea; and *Massabatæ* which descended of them. But *Montanus* hath sent *Regma*, or (as he calls him *Rhama*) into *Carmania*, for which I see no reason. *Josephus*, who only attended his own fancies, hath banished *Saba* or *Seba* to the border of *Ethiopia*. But *Beroaldus* thinks it strange, that the *Sabæi*, which stole away *Job's* cattle, should run thro' all *Egypt*, and all *Arabia Petraea*, and find out *Job* in *Traconitis* between *Palestina* and *Cœlesyria* 1200 miles off. Now as this conjecture was more than ridiculous, so do I think, that neither the *Sabæi* on the *Red* sea, nor those toward the *Persian* sea, could by any means execute the stealth upon *Job*, whichsoever *Beroaldus* shall take for nearest. But these were the *Sabæi* of *Arabia* the desert, where *Guilandinus Melchior* affirmeth out of his own experience, that the city *Saba* is seated: the same which *Ptolemy* calls *Save*, now *Semiscasac*: and from this *Saba* in *Arabia* the desert, came those magi or wisemen which worshipped Christ, saith *Melchior*, whose words are these: *The magi came neither out of Mesopotamia (as Chrysostome, Jerome, and Ambrose supposed) nor out of Arabia the happy, as many wise men do believe, but out of Saba in Arabia the desert: which city when myself was there, was (as I*

judged it) called *Sēmīscāfāc*. And to approve this opinion of *Guilandinus*, it appeareth that the *Sabæi* were neighbours to *Job*, and lay fit to invade and rob him. For both the other nations (as well those on the *Persian* sea, as those on the *Red* sea) are so disjoined with large desarts, as there is no possibility for strangers to pass them, especially with any numbers of cattle, both in respect of the mountains, of the sands, and of the extream want of water in those parts: *Ubi nec homines nec bestię videntur, nec aves, imo nec arbores, nec germen aliquod, sed non nisi montes saxosi, altissimi, asperrimi*; Where there are found neither men nor beast, no not so much as birds, or trees, nor any pasture, or grafs, but only sharp, and high, stony, and craggy mountains. *Be-roaldus* and *Pererius* conceive that the queen of *Saba* which came to visit *Solomon*, was of the *Sabæi* on the east side of *Arabia Fœlix*; but the contrary seemeth more probable, that she was queen of *Saba* towards the *Red* sea: for *Solomon* at that time commanding all that part of *Arabia Petrea*, betwixt *Idumæa* and the *Red* sea, as far down as *Midian* or *Madian*, and *Ezion Gaber*: and this queen of *Saba*, which inhabited the west part of *Arabia Fœlix*, being his neighbour, might without any far travel enter his territories, free from all danger of surprize by any other prince or nation.

But to avoid tediousness, it is manifest that *Seba* or *Saba*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, or *Rhegma*, with his sons *Sheba* and *Dedan*, and *Sabteca*, were all the possessors of *Arabia* the happy and the desert: only *Havila* and *Nimrod* dwelt together on the east side of *Chush*, who held *Arabia Petrea*. Now for *Sabta*, there is found of his name the city of *Sabbatha* or *Sabota* in the same *Arabia*: of which both ^a*Pliny* and *Ptolemy*; who withal nameth *Sabotale*, within the walls whereof there were sometimes found sixty temples. *Ezekiel* joineth the father and the son together, ^b*The merchants of Sheba and Raama were thy merchants*. And that they were the eastern *Arabians* their merchandize witnesseth, formerly repeated in the chapter of *Paradise*. For *Josephus's* fancies, that *Saba* was the parent of the *Ethiopians* about *Meroe*, and *Sabta* of the *Ethiopian* *Astablari*, they be not worthy any farther answer than hath already been given: especially seeing these cities, preserving the memory of the names of *Saba* and of *Sabta* in *Arabia*, were yet remaining in *Ptolemy's* time, tho' in some letters changed. As also in the coasts adjoining, the names of other of the brethren of the family of *Chush*, with little alterations are preserved. In *Arabia* the desert is found the city *Sabæ* or *Save* (now *Sēmīscāfāc*) with the city of *Rhegana* for *Rhegma*; and the nation by *Ptolemy* himself called *Raabenī* of *Raamah*. In *Arabia* the happy is found the city of *Rhegama*, and *Rabana*, which also keepeth the sound of *Rhegma*, the city of *Saptba* or *Saptab*, not far from the east coast of *Arabia*: as also the *Metropolis* and chief city, in the body of the south part of *Arabia*, called without difference or alteration *Sabatha*; and to the west of *Sabatha* towards the *Red* sea the great city of *Saba*; and the nation adjoining, *Sabæi*: and to the south thereof again towards the straight entrance of the *Red* sea, the region of *Sabæ*. To all these his brothers and nephews which were seated on the east side of *Arabia*, *Havilah* by the passage of *Tigris* was a neighbour, to whom he might pass by boat even unto *Rhegma* the city of *Raama* or *Rhegma*, set near the river of *Lar* towards the mouth of the *Persian* sea, which stood in *Ptolemy's* time.

† II.

Josephus's opinion of *Dedan*, one of the issue of *Chush*, to have been seated in west *Ethiopia*, disproved out of *Ezekiel* and *Jeremy*.

AND whereas *Josephus* (whom in this *St. Jerome* followeth, as not curious herein) sent *Dedan* the son of *Raamah* into west *Ethiopia*, it is strange that *Ezekiel* should couple *Sheba*, *Raamah*, and *Dedan* together; *Dedan* in the 15th verse, and *Sheba* and *Raamah* in the 22d verse, to be the merchants of *Tyre*, if *Dedan* had dwelt in west *Ethiopia*, which is distant from *Raamah* and *Sheba* (the habitation of his father and brother) above 4000 miles. Besides which the merchandize that the *Dedanites* brought to *Tyre* doth not make them naked *Black-mores*. For they of *Dedan* (saith *Ezekiel*) were thy merchants in precious cloths for thy chariots; and these western *Ethiopians* never saw cloth, till the *Portugals* seeking those coasts traded with them: the merchandize of the country being hides, elephants teeth, some gold and amber, civit cats, and rice, but nothing at all of any manufacture: and all these they exchanged for linen, or iron chiefly.

But in those days the west part of *Africa* within the body of the land was known only by imagination: and, being under the burnt zone was held uninhabitable. And therefore that the negroes of west *Ethiopia*, which inhabit about *Serra*, *Liona*, or *Niger*, could either pass by sea or land to *Tyre* in the bottom of the *Mediterranean* sea, were a strange, or rather a foolish fancy. Now to put it out of dispute that *Dedan* also dwelt by the rest of the children of *Chush*, which seats they held by that name in the time of *Jeremy* the prophet, let us hear *Jeremy's* own words: *Fly ye inhabitants of Dedan, for I have brought the destruction of Esau upon him*. Hereby it appeareth that *Dedan* was a neighbour to the *Idumeans*: and *Idumæa* is a province of *Arabia Petrea*: and *Dedan* which dwelt on the north part of *Arabia Fœlix*, joined in that part to *Petrea*, the seat of his grand-father *Chush*; which neighbourhood and fellowship of *Dedan* and the *Idumeans* is also confirmed by *Ezekiel*; ^c*I will stretch out mine hand upon Edom, and destroy man and beast out of it, and I will make it desolate from Teman: and they of Dedan shall fall by the sword*.

SECT. XIV.

Of the issue of Mizraim: of the place of Jeremy, chap. ix. ver. 7.

AFTER *Chush* it followeth to speak of *Mizraim's* sons, whose names (saith ^a*St. Augustine*) were plural, to signify the nations which came from them. *Ludim* the eldest son of *Mizraim* was the father of the *Libyans* in *Africa*: and the rest of his brothers dispersed themselves into all regions adjoining. Among the sons of *Shem* there is also *Lud*; but he is differenced from *Lud* the son of *Mizraim* by the singular number: the son of *Shem* being written *Lud*, the son of *Mizraim* *Ludim*: and yet these names and nations are often confounded, notwithstanding the apparent difference both of names and nations. For that *Ludim* the son of *Mizraim* was the parent of the *Libyans* in *Africa*, and that he was seated not far from *Mizraim* his father, appeareth by the prophet *Jeremy*, who joineth them in this sort together, ^b*Come up ye horses, and rage ye chariots, and let the valiant men come forth, the Black-mores and the Libyans which bear the shield: for those nations assisted the Egyptians being of one parent descended*.

^a *Plin. l. 12. c. 14. Ptol. Tab. 6. Afric.* ^b *Ezek. 27. 22.* ^c *Ezek. 15. 15.* ^d *The termination im in the Hebrew, is commonly a sign of the plural number, as aim of the dual.* ^e *Jer. 46. 9.*

And in *Ezekiel*, *Phut* and *Lud* are joined together. *Ethiopia* (or *Chush*) saith *Ezekiel* c. xxx. ver. 5. *And Phut and Lud, and all the common people, and the men of the land that are in league shall fall with them by the sword: which is as much to say, as the sons of Chush (which were the Chusites) the sons of Mizraim (which were the Egyptians) and the Libyans (descended of his son Lud) with other the inhabitants of Egypt and Africa shall fall together. Hierosolymitanus finds also in Africa a nation of the Lydians. And I believe it: because Jeremy joineth the Libyans and Lydians together in the place before remembred. But Libya in Africa is by the Hebrews called Ludim (saith Arias Montanus) tho' 2 Chron. xii. 3. they seem to be called Lubim or Lubai, a name somewhat nearer the word Lybies, and by which it may seem that the truer writing is, not Libyes, but Lybies. Neither is it here to be omitted, that Pintus (upon the 30th of *Ezekiel*) understandeth that which is spoken of in the 5th verse of *Lud*, not to be meant of the Libyans at all: for he will have this threatening to be meant against the people of Lyda, a city, saith he, between Egypt and Palestina, which opinion I could not mislike, if the city of Lyda were so seated. But Lyda (which should be written Lydda with a double D, and is the same city which was afterwards Diospolis, in which St. Peter cured Eneas of the palsy) standeth near the torrent Gaas, not far from Joppe, the port of Jerusalem. Yet it is not impossible but that this city might have Lud for the founder. For there are many cities of one name founded in all the regions of the world, and far asunder; as after the names of Alexander, Seleucus, and Antiochus, many cities called Alexandria, Seleucia, and Antiochia, so of divers others. St. Jerome maketh Lehabim to be the father of Libya who was the 3d son of Mizraim: and so doth Posseilus; and either opinion may be true.*

The rest of Mizraim's sons have no proper countries given them in the scriptures, saving Caslubim and Caphtorim, of whom came the Philistines, whom the scriptures call Peleset.

These Caslubim inhabited Cassiotis, a region lying in the entrance of Egypt from Palestina, in which the lake Sirbonis and the mountain Cassius are found: not far from whence Pompey was buried.

Caphtorim seated near Caslubim in that tract of Egypt called Sethrotis, not far from Pelusium. Strabo calls it Sethrotis; Stephanus and Pliny, Sethroitis, of the city Sethron: which Ortelius takes to be the same which Ptolemy calls *Hercules parva*. Of the Caslubim and Caphtorim came the Philistines, which are called by the Septuagint *Allophyli*, which is, *Alienigenæ*, strangers, or of a strange kindred. These Philistines inhabited the south part of the holy land towards Egypt, of whom Palestina took name. For the Hebrews (saith Isidore) do not use the letter [P] but instead of it [Ph.] Their principal cities were Gaza, Ascalon, Azotus, Geth, and Accaron: and the people of them called Gazæi, Ascalonitæ, Azotii, Gethæi, and Accaronitæ. Isidore affirms, that Ascalon was first called Philistim: and of that city the country adjoining. But where Isidore had it I know not.

The first known king of the Philistines was that Abimelech, who had a liking to Abraham's wife; with whom Abraham made a covenant and league. This Abimelech dwelt indeed at this time in Gerar; but it is written that he was also king of the Philistines, in these words: "Wherefore Isaac went to Abimelech king of the Philistines unto Gerar. Now in regard that this or some ancients Abimelech go-

verned the commonwealth greatly to his glory, the rest of his successors called themselves by the same name. The Philistines commanded that tract of land upon the Mediterranean sea to the northward, from the castle of Pilgrims (otherwise Casarea Palestina or Straton's tower) which was the south border of Phenicia, to Gaza, or to the river of Egypt. The Anakims, or strong giants, were of these Philistines, and Goliath was of Geth, one of the five cities above-named. They had sometimes five kings, saith Liranus. They mastered the Israelites at several times above 150 years, and kept them tributaries, till they were weakened by Sampson and Samuel; but in the end this yoke was taken off by David, and laid on themselves.

It is objected, that because these cities and the countries adjoining were held by the sons of Mizraim, therefore did the Israelites dispossess the sons of Mizraim, and not of Canaan, by forcing those places.

To this saith Pererius, that altho' the Palestines or Philistines held it in the time of Joshua, yet at the time of the promise it was possess'd by the Canaanites; as in the 2d of Deuteronomy. The Hevites dwelt in the villages unto Gaza. And what marvel if (the Canaanites being the greater part) the denomination were from them? for that the Philistines were of Caphtor, and so of Mizraim, and not of Canaan, besides Moses, the prophet Jeremy witnesseth: "The Lord will destroy the Philistines, the remnant of the issue of Caphtor: and in like manner in Amos, the Philistines are said to be the reliques of Caphtorim: "Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor, and Aram from Kir? so I read this place with divers of the learned. For whereas the Vulgar hath, & Palestinos de Cappadocia, & Syros de Cyrene, this conversion Beroaldus condemneth; where Caphtor is taken for Cappadocia, and Cyrene for Kir. For Cyrene is a city directly west from Egypt, between Ptolemais or Barce and Apollonia; but Kir in Asia under the Assyrians: Junius hath it Kir, and not Cyrene; and so hath the Geneva. But Pererius calls Caphtorim Cappadocia, according to the Vulgar translation, to which he is bound: and yet it is not altogether improbable if he mean Cappadocia in Palestina, and not that "Cappadocia by the sea Pontus in the north of Asia the less. For whether they inhabited Sethreites, or Cappadocia of Palestina, it is not certainly known. And sure in this manner he may expound Cappadocia to be ambiguous, as well as he doth Cyrene: taking it here not for Cyrene in Africa, but for a place in Media. For it is written in the 2d of Kings, that Teglatphalasser king of the Assyrians carried away the inhabitants of Damascus into Kir: and so Josephus seems to understand this Kir, for Cyrene in Media, calling this Cyrene Media superior: for it was the manner and policy of the Assyrians to transplant the people conquered by them, as they did the Samaritans or Israelites, and other nations. And hereof it came that Kir was called Syro-Media: because the Syrians by the Assyrians were therein captived.

SECT. XV.

Of the issue of Sem.

† I.

Of Elim, Assur, Arphaxad, and Lud.

IT remaineth lastly to speak of the sons of Sem, who were these:

* Basil upon the 33d Psalm. Jerome upon the 20th of Ezekiel. Book, Chap. vii. Sed. iii. † 5. * 2 Kings 16. 9.

b Jer. 47. 4. c Amos 9. 7. d Of which see in the second

1. *Alam*, or *Elam*.
2. *Ashur*.
3. *Arphaxad*.
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

The posterity of *Sem*, *Moses* recounteth after the rest: because from them he proceedeth in order with the genealogy and story of the *Hebrews*. For of *Sem* was *Abraham* descended.

Of these five sons the scriptures remember the length of the life of *Arphaxad* only, and only the children of him and *Aram*, the rest are barely spoken of by rehearsal of their names, saving that it may be gathered, that *Assur* (who was supposed to found *Nineveh*) was also said to be the father of the *Assyrians*, whose issues of *Cham* instantly contended for the empire of the east: which sometimes the *Assyrians*, sometimes the *Babylonians* obtained, according to the virtue of their princes. This is the common opinion, which also teacheth us, that all the east parts of the world were peopled by *Assur*, *Elam* and *Lud* (saving *India*) which I believe *Noah* himself first inhabited: and to whom *Ophir* and *Havilah* the sons of *Joſtan* afterwards repaired. *Hi filii Sem ab Euphrate fluvio partem Asiæ usque ad oceanum Indicum tenuerunt*; These sons of *Sem* (saith *St. Jerome*) held all those regions from *Euphrates* to the *Indian* ocean.

Of ^a *Elam* came the *Elamites*, remembred, *Aët* ii. 9. and the princes of *Persia*; which name then began to be out of use and lost, when the *Persians* became masters of *Babylonia*: the east *Monarchy* being established in them. Some prophane writers distinguish *Elam* from *Persia*, and make the *Elamites* a people apart. But *Susa* (which the scriptures call *Susan*) in *Elam* was the king's seat of *Persia* (witness *Daniel* viii. 2.) *And I saw* (saith he) *in a vision, and when I saw it, I was in the palace of Susan, which is in the province of Elam*. This city is embraced by the river *Euleus* (according to ^b *Ptolemy*) in *Daniel*, *Ulai*: and seated in the border of *Susana*.

Ashur (as most historians believe) the 2d son of *Sem*, was father of the *Assyrians*, who disdaining the pride of *Nimrod*, parted from *Babel*, and built *Nineveh*, of equal beauty and magnitude with *Babylon*, or exceeding it. But we shall in due place disprove that opinion. Every man's hand hath been in this story, and therefore I shall not need herein to speak much: for the *Assyrians* so often invaded and spoiled the *Israelites*, destroy'd their cities, and led them captives, as both in divine and human letters there is large and often mention of this nation.

But howsoever *Herodotus* and *D. Siculus* extend this empire, and honour this nation with ample dominion; yet was not the state of the *Assyrians* any such power, after such time as *Sardanapalus* lost the empire. For *Senacherib*, who was one of the powerfullest princes among them, had yet the mountain *Taurus* for the utmost of his dominion towards the north east, and *Syria* bounded him towards the west, notwithstanding those vaunts of *Senacherib* in *Isaiah* xxxvii. 11. *Have the gods of the nations delivered them whom my fathers have destroyed? as Gozan, and Haran, and Reseph, and the children of Eden which were at Telassar. Where is the king of Hamath, and the king of Arphad, and the king of the city Sepharvaim, Hena and Ivah?* all these indeed were but petty kings of cities, and small countries; as *Haran*, in *Mesopotamia*: *Reseph*, in *Palmyrena*: *Hamath*, or *Emath*, in *Iturea* under

Libanus: the isle of *Eden*: *Sepher*, and others of this sort. Yea *Nabuchodonosor*, who was most powerful, before the conquest of *Egypt* had but *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Syria*, with *Palestina* and *Phenicia* parts thereof. But in this question of *Assur*, I will speak my opinion freely when I come to *Nimrod*, whose plantation I have omitted among the rest of the *Chusites*, because he established the first empire: from whom the most memorable story of the world taketh beginning.

Of *Arphaxad* came the *Chaldeans*, saith *S. Jerome*, and *Josephus*, but it must be those *Chaldeans* about *Ur*: for the sons of *Cham* possess'd the rest. It is true that he was the father of the *Hebrews*: for *Arphaxad* begat *Shela*, and *Shela* *Heber*, of whom hereafter.

And that *Lud*, the 4th son of *Shem*, gave name to the *Lydians* in *Asia* the less, is the common opinion, taken from *Josephus* and *St. Jerome*; but I see not by what reason he was moved to straggle thither from his friends.

† II.

Of *Aram* and his sons.

A *Ram*, the 5th and last son of *Shem*, was the parent of the *Syrians*: of which ^c *Damascus* was head. Their name was changed from *Aram* or *Aramites* by *Syrus* (saith ^d *Eusebius* out of *Josephus*) which *Syrus* lived before *Moses* was born; the same which others call the son of *Apollo*. *Mesopotamia* also being but a province of *Syria*, had the name of *Aram Nabaraiim*, which is as much to say, as *Syria duorum fluviorum*, *Syria* compassed with two rivers (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. The scriptures call it *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Padan Aram*, and the *Greeks* *Mesopotamia* simply.

^e *Arise and get thee to Padan Aram* (saith *Isaac* to *Jacob*) *to the house of Bethuel thy mother's father, and thence take thee a wife*. *Strabo* also remembreth it by the ancient name of *Aram* or *Aramea*, as these his own words converted witness. ^f *Quos nos Syros vocamus, ipsi Syri Aramenios & Arameos vocant*; those which we call *Syrians* (saith he) themselves call *Aramenians* and *Arameans*.

Against this opinion that *Aram* the son of *Sem*, was the father and denominator of the *Syrians* in general (and not only of those in *Syria Inter-amnis*, which is *Mesopotamia*) some read *Gen.* xxii. 21. *Kemuel*, the father of the *Syrians*: where others out of the original read *Kemuel*, the son of *Aram*. Neither is it any inconvenience for us to understand the word [*Aram*] here, not for the nation, but for the name of some one of note; the rather, because in the history of *Abraham* and *Isaac* (which was in time long before *Kemuel's* posterity could be famous) we find *Mesopotamia* called *Aram*; and that with an addition: sometimes with *Nabaraiim*, and sometimes of *Padan*, to distinguish it from another *Aram*, which (as it seems) then also was called *Aram*. For whereas *Junius* thinks in his note upon *Gen.* xxv. 20. that *Padan Aram* ought to be restrained to some part of *Mesopotamia* (to wit) to that part which *Ptolemy* calls *Ancobaritis* (so called from the river *Chaboras*, which dividing it, runneth into *Euphrates*) the promiscuous use of *Padan Aram*, and *Aram Nabaraiim* (which latter appellation questionless comprehends the whole *Mesopotamia*) may seem to refute this opinion: especially seeing the signification of this appellation agreeth with the whole region. For it signifieth as much as the yoke of *Syria*, which name agrees with this region: because the two rivers (as it were) yoked together go along it. The reliques

^a *Joseph* Ant. l. i. c. 7. ^b *Ptol.* Asia. Tab. 5. ^c *Isa.* 7. 8. ^d *Euseb.* 10. 6. ^e *Gen.* 28. 2. See *Gen.* 25. 20. *also* *Deut.* 23. 4. *Judg.* 3. *Paral.* i. 19. *Psal.* 59. ^f *Strab.* l. i.

of the name *Padan* appear in the name of two cities in *Ptolemy*, called *Aphadana* (as *Junius* hath well noted) the one upon *Chaborus*, the other upon *Euphrates*.

The sons
of *Aram* were $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Uz or Hus,} \\ \text{Hul,} \\ \text{Gether, and} \\ \text{Mesch or Mes.} \end{array} \right.$

Uz or *Hus* inhabited about *Damascus*, and built that city, say *Josephus* and ^a *St. Jerome*. But *Tostatus* mistaking this opinion, both in them and in *Lyra*, who also followeth *Josephus*, affirmeth that *Abraham's* steward *Eliezer* was the founder thereof; tho' it were likely that *Hus*, the eldest son of *Aram* dwelt near unto his father, who inhabited the body of *Syria*. For *Hus* was a region of the same, adjoining to *Arabia* the desert, and to *Batanea* or *Traconitis*: whereof the prophet *Jeremy*: ^b *Rejoyce and be glad O daughter of Edom that dwellest in the land of Hus. Hus* therefore is seated beyond *Jordan*, in the east region of *Traconitis*, adjoining to *Basan*, having *Batanea* *Gaulonitis*, and the mountain *Seir* to the east, *Edrai* to the south, *Damascus* north, and *Jordan* west: having in it many cities and people, as may also be gathered out of *Jeremy*. ^c *And all sorts of people: and all the kings of the land of Hus.* In this region dwelt *Job*, descended of *Hus*, the son of *Nabor*, the brother of *Abraham* (saith *St. Jerome*) and married *Dinah* the daughter of *Jacob*, saith *Philo*.

Hul the 2d son of *Aram*, *St. Jerome* makes the father of the *Armenians*: and *Gether* the 3d son, parent to the *Armenians* or *Carians*: which opinion (because I find not where to set him) I do not disprove, tho' I see no reason why *Gether* should leave the fellowship of his own brethren, and dwell among strangers in *Asia* the less. *Junius* gives *Hul* (whom he writes *Chul*) the desert of *Palmyrena*, as far as *Euphrates*, where *Ptolemy* setteth the city of *Cholle*.

Gether (saith *Josephus*) founded the *Bactrians*: but *Josephus* gave all *Noah's* children feathers, to carry them far away in all haste. For mine own opinion, I always keep the rule of neighbourhood, and think with *Junius* (to wit) that *Gether* seated himself near his brothers, in the body of *Syria*, and in the province of *Cassiotis*, and *Seleucis*, where *Ptolemy* placeth *Gindarus*, and the nation by *Pliny* called *Gindareni*.

Junius also giveth to *Mes* or *Mesch* the north part of *Syria*, between *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*, near the mountain *Mafius*. The certainty of those plantations can no otherwise be known than by this probability, that *Aram* the father (of whom that great region took name) planted his sons in the same land about him: for he wanted no scope of territory for himself and them; neither then when the world was newly planted, nor in many hundred years after: and therefore there is no reason to cast them into the desert parts of the world, so far asunder. And as necessity and policy held them together for a while: so ambition (which began together with angels and men) inhabiting the hearts of their children set them asunder. For altho' these sons of *Aram*, and the sons of the rest of *Noah's* children, kept themselves within the bounds of some one large kingdom; yet therein every one also sought a province apart, and to themselves; giving to the cities therein built, their own names, thereby to leave their memory to their posterity: the use of letters being then rare, and known to few.

In this sort did the pride of the *Spaniards* in *America* cast them into so many provinces: every one emulating and disdaining the greatness of others, as they are thereby to this day subject to invasion, expulsion, and destruction: so as (*Novæ Hispania*, and *Peru* excepted, because those countries are unaccessible to strangers) an easy force will cast them out of all the rest.

Mes, the 4th son, is made the parent of the *Meonians*: ^d of whom something hath been spoken already. *Arphaxad*, the 3d son of *Shem*, begat *Shelah* and *Heber*. *Heber* had two sons, *Phaleg* and *Joflan*: and in *Phaleg's* time was the earth divided.

† III.

Of the division of the earth in the time of Phaleg, one of the sons of Heber, of the issue of Sem.

THE many people which at the division (at *Phaleg's* birth) were then living, and the thorough plantation of all the east part of the world (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the earth were divided at either. The *Hebrews* (saith *Pererius* out of *Sedar Holam*, one of their chronicles) affirm that this partition happened at the death of *Phaleg*: and *Phaleg* was born in the year after the flood 101, and lived in all 239 years, which numbers added, make 340. And therefore was it so many years after the flood, ere the children of *Noah* severed themselves. But to this opinion of the *Hebrews*, and the doubt they make how in so few years as 101 (the time of *Phaleg's* birth) so many people could be increased; *Pererius* gives this answer, That if 70 persons of the family of *Jacob* increased to 600000 fighting men in 215 years (besides women, children, and impotent persons) how much more is it likely, that so soon after the flood the children of *Noah* might in a shorter time bring forth many multitudes, having received the blessing of God, *Increase and multiply, and fill the earth?* What strength this answer hath, let others judge: for the children of *Israel* were 70, and had 215 years time: and the sons of *Noah* were but three, and had but 101 years time, to the birth of *Phaleg*.

Others conceive that *Phaleg* took that name after the division, in memory thereof: as ^e *Josephus* and *St. Augustine*, who reason in this manner. If the division were at *Phaleg's* death (which happened in the year, which is commonly held to be the 48th of *Abraham*, but was by more likely computation 12 years before his birth) then was the division 38 years after *Ninus*, who governed 52 years: in the 43d year of whose reign *Abraham* was born. But when *Ninus* began to rule the *Assyrians* 80 years before this division (as this division is placed by the *Hebrews*, *Jerome* and *Chrysostom*) then was the earth so peopled in all the east and northern parts, as greater numbers have not been found at any time since. For *Ninus* associated to himself *Ariæus* king of *Arabia*, a people who at that time (saith *Diodorus Siculus*) *plurimum opibus atque armis præstabant*, exceeded both in riches and bodies of men, subdued many cities in *Armenia*; received *Barzanis* into grace; then invaded *Media*, and crucified *Pharnus* the king thereof, with his wife and seven children; vanquished all those regions between *Nilus* and *Tanais*, the *Egyptians*, *Phenicians*, the kingdoms of *Syria*, and all the nations of *Persia*, to the *Hyrcanian* sea. For the numbers which followed *Ninus* (already remembered out of *Ctesias*) against *Zoroaster*, and

^a Hieron. in Trid. Hebraic. ^b Jer. Lam. 4. 21. ^c Jer. 25. 20. ^d Chap. viii. Sec. 7. ^e Joseph. l. 1. Ant. Aug. de Civitate Dei, l. 16. c. 11. ^f Perer. in Gen. l. 15. c. 10.

others: and *Zoroaster* on the other side, who made resistance with 400000, prove it sufficiently, that if the division had not happened before the death of *Phaleg*, there had needed no division at that time at all. For some of them were so ill satisfied with their partitions, as they fought to be masters of all; and greater armies were there never gathered than by *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: wherefore in this opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

But for that conceit, that if the division had been made at the birth of *Phaleg*, there were not then sufficient numbers born to fill the earth: it was never meant that the earth could be filled every where at the very instant, but by time and degrees: and surely whatsoever men's opinions have been herein, yet it is certain, that the division of tongues and of men must go near together with the ceasing of the work at *Babel*: and that the enterprise of *Babel* was left off instantly upon the confusion of languages, where followed the execution of the division; and so neither at the birth nor death of *Phaleg*: for *Phaleg* was born in the year 101 after the flood, which was the year that *Nimrod* came into *Shinaar*, or 10 years after he arrived, saith *Berosus*.

Now if it be objected that *Phaleg* (the etymology of whose name signifieth division) must have lived without a name, except the name had been given him at the time of this confusion and partition. To this objection it may be answered, that the change of names upon divers accidents is not rare in the scriptures: for *Jacob* was called *Israel* after he had wrestled with the angel; *Abraham* was first *Abram*, and *Edom* *Esau*; and that *Phaleg* being a principal man in this division had his first name upon this accident changed, it is most probable.

And lastly, whereas the *Hebrews*, *St. Jerome* and *Chrysostom* account *Heber* for a great prophet, if that by giving his son the name of *Phalog*, he foretold the division which followed. To this I say, I do not find that *Heber* deserved any such honour, if he had thereupon so called his son: for division and dispersion followeth increase of people of necessity; and this prophecy (if any such had been) might also have reference to the division, which afterwards fell among the *Hebrews* themselves.

But if we give a reasonable time to the building of the tower and city of *Babel*, in which time many people (by reason and by demonstrative proof) might be increas'd: and that upon the fall thereof the confusion and division followed (whereupon *Phaleg* took name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monstrous.

† IV.

Of the sons of *Joctan*, the other son of *Heber*.

- The sons of
Joctan were
1. *Elmodad*.

2. *Saleph*, or *Salep*, or *Sheleph*.

3. *Asamath*, or *Chatzar*.

4. *Jare*, or *Jaraab*, or *Jerath*.

5. *Madoram*.

6. *Uzal*, or *Uxal*.

7. *Dicklach*, or *Dicla*.

8. *Obal*, or *Ebal*, or *Hobal*.

9. *Abimaol*.

10. *Sheba*, or *Seba*.

11. *Ophir*, or *Opir*.

12. *Havilah*, or *Chavila*, and

13. *Jobab*.

ALL those sons of *Joctan*, according to *St. Jerome*, dwelled in the east parts of the world,

or *India*, even from the river *Copbe* or *Choas*, which is one of the branches or heads of *Indus*.

But the certain places of those thirteen sons cannot be gathered out of the scriptures, the words of *Moses* being general. ^a *And their dwelling was from Mesha as thou goest unto Sephar a mount in the east*. Of all these thirteen sons, there were only three memorable, to wit, *Sheba*, *Ophir* and *Havilah*. Concerning whose names, to avoid confusion, it is to be observed, that among the sons of *Chush*, two of them had also the names of *Soba* and *Havilah*. *Abraham* had also a third *Saba* or *Sheba*, his grandchild by his wife *Ketura*. But *Seba* the son of *Chush*, and *Sheba* the son of *Rhegma* his nephew, we have left in *Arabia Fœlix*: and *Havilah* the son of *Chush* upon *Tigris*. *Saba* the grand-child of *Abraham* was (as some have thought, the father of the *Sabeans* in *Persia*: of which nations *Dionysius de orbis situ* maketh mention. *Primum Sabæi; post hos sunt Passagardæ, prope vero hos sunt Tasci*: The first are *Sabeans*; after these be *Passagardæ*; and near these the *Tasci*. And whereas it is written: ^b *But unto the sons of the concubines which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son (while he yet lived) eastward to the east country*: hereupon it is supposed, that this *Saba* the son of *Abraham* wandered into *Persia*: for *Persia* was accounted the furthest east country in respect of *Judea*; which also *Ovid* setteth under the sun-rising. Yet seeing the rest of *Abraham's* sons seated themselves on the borders of *Judea*, I rather chuse to leave *Saba* the son of *Abraham* in *Arabia* the desert, where *Ptolemy* setteth a city of that name.

But *Saba* the son of *Joctan*, the son of *Heber*, as I conceive, inhabited *India* it self. For ^d *Dionysius Afer* in his *Periægesis*, or description of the world, which he wrote in *Greek* verse, among the regions of *India* findeth a nation called the *Sabæi*. *Taxilus hos inter medios habitatque Sabæus*; In the midst of these dwell the *Sabæi*, and the *Taxili*, saith this *Dionysius*.

† V.

Of *Ophir* one of *Joctan's* sons, and of *Peru*, and of that voyage of *Solomon*.

OPHIR also was an inhabitant of the *East-Indies*, and, as *St. Jerome* understands it, in one of the islands plentiful with gold, which are now known by the name of *Molucca*. *Josephus* understands *Ophir* to be one of those great head-lands in *India*, which by a general name are called *Chersonesi*, or *Peninsule*; of which there are two very notorious, *Calicut* and *Malacoe*. *Pererius* takes it rightly for an island, as *St. Jerome* doth, but he sets it at the head-land of *Malacca*: but *Ophir* is found among the *Moluccas* farther east.

Arias Montanus out of *2 Chronicles* iii. 6. gathers, that *Ophir* was *Peru* in *America*, looking into the west ocean, commonly called *Mare del Sur*, or the south sea; by others, *Mare pacificum*. The words in *2 Chronicles* are these: *And he overlaid the house with precious stones for beauty; and the gold was gold of Parvaim*. *Junius* takes this gold to be the gold of *Havilah*, remembered by *Moses* in the description of *Paradise*: *And the gold of that land is good*: finding a town in *Characene* a province of *Susiana* called *Barbatia*, so called, as he thinks, by corruption for *Parvaim*: from whence those kings subjected by *David*, brought this gold, with which they presented him; and which *David* preserved for the enriching of the temple.

But this fancy of *Peru* hath deceived many men before *Montanus* and *Plessis*, who also took *Ophir*

^a Gen. 10. 30. ^b Gen. 25. 6. ^c Metam. l. 1. ^d Τῶν δὲ μέσσι ναύταις Σαβαὶ καὶ Ταξιλοι ἀνδρες. ^e Gen. 2. 11, 12.
Plin. l. 6. c. 28.

for *Peru*. And that this question may be a subject of no farther dispute, it is very true, that there is no region in the world of that name: sure I am, at least, that *America* hath none, no not any city, village or mountain so called. But when *Francis Pizarro* first discovered those lands to the south of *Panama*, arriving in that region which *Atabaliba* commanded, a prince of magnificence, riches and dominion inferior to none, some of the *Spaniards* utterly ignorant of that language, demanding by signs, as they could, the name of the country, and pointing with their hand athwart a river, or torrent, or brook that ran by, the *Indians* answered *Peru*, which was either the name of that brook, or of water in general. The *Spaniards* thereupon conceiving that the people had rightly understood them, set it down in the diurnal of their enterprize, and so in the first description made, and sent over to *Charles* the emperour, all that west part of *America* to the south of *Panama* had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued ever since, as divers *Spaniards* in the *Indies* assured me; which also *Acosta* the *Jesuite*, in his natural and moral history of the *Indies*, confirmeth. And whereas *Montanus* also findeth, that a part of the *Indies*, called *Jucatan*, took that name of *Jotzan*, who, as he supposeth, navigated from the utmost east of *India* to *America*: it is most true, that *Jucatan*, is nothing else in the language of that country, but [*What is that?*] or [*What say you?*] For when the *Spaniards* asked the name of that place (no man conceiving their meaning, one of the savages answered *Jucatan*, which is, *What ask you?* or, *What say you*. The like happened touching *Paria*, a mountainous country on the south side of *Trinidad* and *Margarita*: for when the *Spaniards* inquiring, as all men do, the names of those new regions which they discovered, pointed to the hills afar off, one of the people answered, *Paria*, which is as much to say, as high hills or mountains. For as *Paria* begins that marvellous ledge of mountains, which from thence are continued to the *Strait of Magellan*; from eight degrees of north latitude to fifty two of south; and so hath that country ever since retained the name of *Paria*.

The same happened among the *English*, which I sent under Sir *Richard Greenville* to inhabit *Virginia*. For when some of my people asked the name of that country, one of the savages answered, *Wingandacon*, which is as much to say, as, *You wear good cloaths*, or gay cloaths. The same happened to the *Spaniard* in asking the name of the island *Trinidad*: for a *Spaniard* demanding the name of that self place which the sea incompassed, they answered *Caeri*, which signifieth an island. And in this manner have many places newly discovered been intitled, of which *Peru* is one. And therefore we must leave *Ophir* among the *Moluccas*, whereabouts such an island is credibly affirmed to be.

Now altho' there may be found gold in *Arabia* it self (towards *Persia*) in *Havilah*, now *Susiana*, and all along that *East-Indian* shore; yet the greatest plenty is taken up at the *Philippines*, certain islands planted by the *Spaniards* from the *East-Indies*. And by the length of the passage which *Solomon's* ships made from the *Red* sea (which were three years in going and coming) it seems they went to the uttermost east, as the *Moluccas* or *Philippines*. Indeed these that now go from *Portugal*, or from hence, finish that navigation in two years, and sometimes less: and *Solomon's* ships went not above a tenth part of this our course from hence. But we must consider, that they evermore kept the coast, and crept by the shores, which made the way ex-

ceeding long. For before the use of the compass was known, it was impossible to navigate athwart the ocean; and therefore *Solomon's* ships could not find *Peru* in *America*. Neither was it needful for the *Spaniards* themselves, had it not been for the plenty of gold in the *East-India* islands, far above the mines of any one place of *America*, to sail every year from the west part of *America* thither, and there to have strongly planted, and inhabited the richest of those islands: wherein they have built a city called *Manilia*. *Solomon* therefore needed not to have gone farther off than *Ophir* in the east, to have sped worse: neither could he navigate from the east to the west in those days, whereas he had no coast to have guided him.

Tostatus also gathereth a phantastical opinion out of *Rabanus*, who makes *Ophir* to be a country, whose mountains of gold are kept by griffins: which mountains *Solinus* affirmeth to be in *Scythia Asiatica*, in these words. *Nam cum auro & gemmis affluant, griphes tenent universa, alites ferocissimæ, Arimaspi cum his dimicant, &c.* For whereas these countries abound in gold, and rich stone, the griffins defend the one and the other, a kind of fowl the fiercest of all other; with which griffins a nation of people, called *Arimaspi*, make war. These *Arimaspi* are said to have been men with one eye only, like unto the *Cyclopes* of *Sicilia*; of which *Cyclopes* *Herodotus* and *Aristeus* make mention: and so doth *Lucan* in his third book, and ^a *Valerius Flaccus*, and ^b *Diodorus Siculus* in the story of *Alexander Macedon*. But for mine own opinion, I believe none of them. And for these *Arimaspi*, I take it, that this name signifying one-eyed was first given them by reason that they used to wear a vizard of defence, with one sight in the middle to serve both eyes; and not that they had by nature any such defect. But *Solinus* borroweth these things out of *Pliny*, who speaks of such a nation in the extreme north, at a place called *Gisolithron*, or the cave of the north-east wind. For the rest, as all fables were commonly grounded upon some true stories, or other things done, so might these tales of the griffins receive this moral. That if those men, which fight against so many dangerous passages for gold, or other riches of this world, had their perfect senses, and were not deprived of half their eye-sight (at least of the eye of right reason and understanding) they would content themselves with a quiet and moderate estate; and not subject themselves to famine, corrupt air, violent heat, and cold, and to all sorts of miserable diseases. And tho' this fable be feigned in this place, yet if such a tale were told of some other places of the world, where wild beasts or serpents defend mountains of gold, it might be avowed. For there are in many places of the world, especially in *America*, many high and impassable mountains which are very rich and full of Gold, inhabited only by tygers, lions, and other ravenous and cruel beasts: unto which if any man ascend (except his strength be very great) he shall be sure to find the same war, which the *Arimaspi* make against the griffins: not that the one or other had any sense of the gold, or seek to defend that metal, but being disquieted, or made afraid of themselves or their young ones, they grow enraged and adventurous. In like sort it may be said that the *Alegartos*, which the *Egyptians* call the *Crocodiles*, defend those pearls which lie in the lakes of the inland: for many times the poor *Indians* are eaten up by them, when they dive for the pearl. And though the *Alegartos* know not the pearl, yet they find favour in the

^a Flaccus, l. 6. ^b Diod. Sicul. l. 16

flesh and blood of the *Indians*, whom they devour.

+ VI.

Of Havilah the son of Joctan, who also passed into the East-Indies : and of Mesha and Sepher named in the bordering of the families of Joctan : with a conclusion of this discourse touching the plantation of the world.

OF *Havilah* the son of *Joctan* there is nothing else to be said, but that the general opinion is, that he also inhabited in the *East-Indies* in the continent, from which *Ophir* pass'd into the islands adjoining. And whereas *Ganges* is said to water *Havilah*, it is meant by *Havilah* in the *East-Indies*, which took name of *Havilah* the son of *Joctan* : but *Havilah*, which *Pison* compasseth, was so called of *Havilah*, the son of *Chus*, as is formerly proved by this place of scripture : *" Saul smote the Amalekites from Havilah, as thou comest to Shur, which is before Egypt. But that Saul ever made war in the East-Indies, no man hath suspected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirteen sons of Joctan, these three Saba, Havilah, and Ophir ; tho' at the first seated by their brethren about the hill Masius, or Mesh, Gen. x. 30. to wit, between Cilicia and Mesopotamia ; yet at length either themselves or their issues removed into the East-Indies, leaving the other families of Joctan, to fill the countries of their first plantation, which the scripture defines to have been from Mesh unto Sephar. And altho' St. Jerome takes Mesh to be a region of the East-Indies, and Sephar a mountain of the same (which mountain Montanus would have to be the Andes in America) those fancies are far beyond my understanding. For the word [east] in the scriptures, where it hath reference to Judea, is never farther extended than into Persia. But Mesh is that part of the mountain of Masius in the north of Mesopotamia, out of which the river Chaboras springeth, which runneth by Charran : and in the same region we also find for Sephar (remembered by Moses) Sipphara by Ptolemy, standing to the east of the mountain Masius ; from whence Joctan having many sons, some of them might pass into India, hearing of the beauty and riches thereof. But this was in process of time.*

The other fashion of planting I understand not, being grounded but upon mens imaginations, contrary to reason and possibility. And that this mountain in the east was no farther off than in those regions before remembered, it appeareth by many places of the scripture where the same phrase is used : as in *Numbers xxiii. 7. Balac the king of Moab hath brought me from Aram, out of the mountain of the east ;* which was from the east part of *Mesopotamia*. For *Balac* brought *Balaam* out of *Mesopotamia* (witness this place of *Deuteronomy xxiii. 4.*) *Because they hired Balaam the son of Beor, of Pethor in Aram Nabaraiim, to curse thee : for Aram Nabaraiim was Syria fluviorum, which is Mesopotamia, as aforesaid.*

This plantation of the world after the flood doth best agree, as to me it seems, with all the places of scripture compared together. And these be the reports of reason and probable conjecture ; the guides which I have followed herein, and which I have chosen to go after, making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their own fancies, be they ancient or modern. Neither have I any end herein, private or publick, other than the discovery of truth. For as the partiality of man to himself hath disguis'd all things, so the factious and hire-

ling historians of all ages (especially of these latter times) have, by their many volumes of untrue reports, left honour without a monument, and virtue without memory : and instead thereof, have erected statues and trophies to those, whom the darkest forgetfulness ought to have buried, and covered over for evermore. And altho' the length and dissolving nature of time hath worn out or changed the names and memory of the world's first planters after the flood (I mean the greatest number and most part of them) yet all the footsteps of antiquity (as appears by that which hath been spoken) are not quite worn out nor overgrown : for *Babylon* hath to this day the sound of *Babel* ; *Phenicia* hath *Zidon*, to which city the eldest son of *Canaan* gave name ; so hath *Cilicia* *Tharsis* ; and the *Armenians*, *Medes*, *Hiberians*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, the *Syrians*, *Idumeans*, *Libyans*, *Moors*, and other nations, have preserved from the death of forgetfulness some signs of their first founders and true parents.

CHAP. IX.

Of the beginning and establishing of Government.

SECT. I.

Of the proceeding from the first government under the eldest of families to regal, and from regal absolute to regal tempered with laws.

IT followeth now to intreat how the world began to receive rule and government, which (while it had scarcity of people) underwent no other dominion than paternity and eldership. For the fathers of nations were then as kings, and the eldest of families as princes. Hereof it came, that the word [elder] was always used both for the magistrate, and for those of age and gravity : the same bearing one signification almost in all languages. For in *Numbers xi.* God commanded *Moses* to gather together 70 of the elders of the people, and governors over them : the *Hebrew* bearing the same sense, which the *Latin* word *Senes* or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in *Susannah, Then the assembly believed them as those that were the elders and judges of the people.* And so in the words of those false judges and witnesses to *Daniel, Shew it unto us, seeing God hath given thee the office of an elder.* *Demosthenes* useth the same word for the magistrate among the *Grecians*. *Cicero* in *Cato*, giveth two other reasons for this appellation : *Apud Lacedemonios qui amplissimum magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam appellantur Senes :* Among the *Lacedemonians* the chief magistrates, as they are, so are they called Eldermen : and again, *Ratio & prudentia nisi essent in senibus non summum concilium majores nostri appellassent Senatum ;* If reason and advisement were not in old men, our ancestors had never called the highest council by the name of a senate.

But tho' these reasons may well be given, yet we doubt not but in this name of [elders] for governors or counsellors of state, there is a sign that the first governors were the fathers of families ; and under them the eldest sons. And from thence did the *French*, *Italian* and *Spaniard*, take the word [Signor] and out of it [Seignoury] for lordship and dominion : signifying, according to *Loyseau*, puissance in propriety, or proper power. The kinds of this Seignoury, *Seneca* makes two : the one, *Potestas aut imperium*, Power or command : the other, *Proprietas aut dominium*, Propriety or mastership :

the correlative of the one is the subject, of the other the slave. *Ad Cæsarem*, saith he, *potestas omnium pertinet, ad singulos proprietas*; Cæsar hath power over all, and every man proprietor in his own. And again, *Cæsar omnia imperio possidet, singuli dominio*; Cæsar holdeth all in his power, and every man possesseth his own. But as men and vice began abundantly to increase, so obedience (the fruit of natural reverence, which but from excellent seed seldom ripeneth) being exceedingly overshadowed with pride and ill examples, utterly withered and fell away. And the soft weapons of paternal persuasions (after mankind began to neglect and forget the original and first giver of life) became in all over-weak, either to resist the first inclination of evil, or after (when it became habitual) to constrain it. So that now, when the hearts of men were only guided and steered by their own fancies, and tofs'd to and fro' on the tempestuous seas of the world, while wisdom was severed from power, and strength from charity; * Necessity (which bindeth every nature but the immortal) made both the wise and foolish understand at once, that the estate of reasonable men would become far more miserable than that of beasts, and that a general flood of confusion would a second time overflow them, did they not by a general obedience to order and dominion prevent it. For the mighty, who trusted in their own strengths, found others again (by interchange of times) more mighty than themselves: the feeble fell under the forcible; and the equal from equal received equal harmis. Inasmuch, that licentious disorder (which seemed to promise a liberty upon the first acquaintance) proved upon a better trial, no less perilous than an unendurable bondage.

These arguments by necessity propounded, and by reason maintained and confirmed, persuaded all nations which the heavens cover, to subject themselves to a master, and to magistracy in some degree. Under which government, as the change (which brought with it less evil, than the former mischiefs) was generally pleasing: so time (making all men wise that observe it) found some imperfection and corrosive in this cure. And therefore the same necessity which invented, and the same reason which approved sovereign power, bethought it self of certain equal rules, in which dominion (in the beginning boundless) might also discern her own limits. For before the invention of laws, private affections in supreme rulers, made their own fancies both their treasurers and hangmen: measuring by this yard, and weighing in this balance both good and evil.

For as wisdom in eldership preceded the rule of kings, so the will of kings forewent the inventions of laws. *Populus nullis legibus tenobatur: arbitria principum pro legibus erant*; The people were not governed by any other laws than the wills of princes. Hereof it followed, that when kings left to be good, neither did those mens virtues value them, which were not fancied by their kings, nor those mens vices deform them that were. *Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt*; Love sees one while too much, another while stark nothing. Hence it came to pass, that after a few years (for direction and restraint of royal power) laws were established: and that government which had this mixture of equality (holding in an even balance supreme power and common right) acquired the title of regal; the other (which had it not) was known for tyrannical: the one God established in favour of his people; the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancy of this regal authority, princes, as they were chosen for their virtues only, so did they measure their powers by a great deal of moderation. And therefore (saith *Fabius Pictor*) *Principes, quia iusti erant, & religionibus dediti, jure habiti Dii & dicti*; Princes, because they were just and religious, were rightly accounted and called Gods.

And tho' (speaking humanly) the beginning of empire may be ascribed to reason and necessity; yet it was God himself that first kindled this light in the minds of men, whereby they saw that they could not live and be preserved without a ruler and conductor: God himself by his eternal providence having ordained kings; and the law of nature leaders and rulers over others. For the very bees have their prince, the deer their leaders; and cranes (by order imposed) watch for their own safety. *The most High beareth rule over the kingdoms of men; and appointeth over it whomsoever he pleaseth.* ^d *By me*, saith *Wisdom*, spoken by the Son of God) *kings reign; by me princes rule; and it is God* (saith *Daniel*) *that setteth up kings, and taketh away kings*: and that this power is given from God, Christ himself witnesseth, speaking to *Pilate*, *'Thou couldest have no power at all against me except it were given thee from above.*

It was therefore by a threefold justice that the world hath been governed from the beginning, to wit, by a justice natural: by which the parents and elders of families governed their children, and nephews, and families, in which government the obedience was called natural piety: again, by a justice divine, drawn from the laws and ordinances of God; and the obedience hereunto was called conscience: and lastly, by a justice civil, begotten by both the former; and the obedience to this we call duty. That by these three those of the eldest times were commanded; and that the rule in general was paternal, it is most evident: for *Adam* being lord over his own children, instructed them in the service of God his Creator; as we read, *Cain* and *Abel* brought oblations before God, as they had been taught by their parent, the father of mankind.

SECT. II.

Of the three commendable sorts of government with their opposites: and of the degrees of human society.

WHAT other policy was exercised, or state founded after such time as mankind was greatly multiplied before the flood, it cannot be certainly known, tho' it seems by probable conjecture, that the same was not without kings in that first age: it being possible that many princes of the *Egyptians* (remembered among their antiquities) were before the general flood; and very likely, that the cruel oppressions in that age proceeded from some tyranny in government, or from some rougher form of rule, than the paternal.

^B *Berosus* ascribeth the rule of the world in those days to the giants of *Libanus*, who mastered (saith he) all nations from the sun-rising to the sun-set. But in the second age of the world, and after such time as the rule of eldership failed, three several sorts of government were in several times established among men, according to the divers natures of places and people.

The first, the most ancient, most general, and most approved, was the government of one, ruling by just laws, called *Monarchy*: to which *Tyranny* is opposed, being also a sole and absolute rule, exercised according to the will of the com-

* *Necessitas est firmum judicium, & immutabilis providentiæ potestas.*

^b *De aureo seculo*, par. 1.

^c *Dan.* 5. 21.

^d *Prov.*

^e *Dan.* 2. 21. ^f *John* 19. 21. ^g *Beros.* l. 1.

mander, without respect or observation of the laws of God or men. For a lawful prince or magistrate (saith *Aristotle*) is the keeper of right and equity: and of this condition ought every magistrate to be, according to the rule of God's word. ^a *Judges and officers shalt thou make thee in thy cities: and these shall judge the people with righteous judgment.*

The second government is of divers principal persons established by order, and ruling by laws, called *Aristocracy*, or *Optimum potestas*; to which *Oligarchy* (or the particular faction and usurpation of a few great ones) is opposed: as the *Decemviri*, or *Triumviri*, and the like.

The third is a state popular (or government of the people) called *Democratia*, to which is opposed *Ochlocratia*, or the turbulent unjust ruling of the confused multitude, seditiously swaying the state, contrary to their own laws and ordinances. These three kinds of government are briefly express'd by *Tholosanus*: *Unius, paucorum, & multorum*; Of one, of few, of many.

Now as touching the beginning and order of policy since the second increase of mankind, the same grew in this sort: first of all, every father, or eldest of the family, gave laws to his own issues; and to the people from him and them increased. These, as they were multiply'd into many households (man by nature loving society) joined their cottages together in one common field or village, which the *Latins* call *Vicus*, of the *Greek* οἶκος, which signifieth a house, or of the word [*Via*] because it hath divers ways and paths leading to it. And as the first house grew into a village, so the village into that which is called *Pagus* (being a society of divers villages) so called of the *Greek* πῆχυς, which signifieth a fountain: because many people (having their habitations not far asunder) drank of one spring or stream of water. To this word the *English* hundreds, or (as some think) shires answereth not unfitly.

But as men and impiety began to gather strength, and as emulation and pride between the races of the one and the other daily increased: so both to defend themselves from outrage, and to preserve such goods as they had gathered, they began to join and set together divers of their villages, environing them first with banks and ditches, and afterwards with walls: which being so compassed were then called *Oppida*; either *ab opponendo se hostibus*, because walls were opposed against enemies, or *ab opibus*, because thither they gathered their riches for safety and defence: as also they were called *Urbes*, *ab orbe*; because when they were to build a city, they made a circle with a plough (saith *Varro*) therewith measuring and compassing the ground which they went to inclose or fortify. And altho' *Urbs* and *Civitas* be often confounded, yet the difference was anciently in this, that *Urbs* signified no other than the very walls and buildings, and *Civitas* was taken for the citizens, inhabiting therein: so called of *Civis*; and that, *ab eo quod multitudo coivit*, of coming together. But all inhabitants within these walls are not properly citizens, but only such as are called free-men; who bearing proportionably the charge of the city, may by turns become officers and magistrates thereof: the rest go under the name of subjects, tho' citizens by the same general name of subjects are also known. For every citizen is also a subject, but not every subject a citizen: perhaps also some citizen (as the chief magistrate, if he be to be termed one of the citizens) is no subject; but of this we need not stand to

inquire. The word [magistrate] is taken *a magistro*, from a master, and the word [master] from the adverb *magis* (as also *magisteria*, precepts of art) or else from the *Greek* word [*megistos*:] and so the *Greeks* call them *megistanes*, whom the *Latins* call *magnates* or *magistratus*.

The office and duty of every magistrate *Aristotle* hath written in few words: ^b *A magistrate or prince, saith he, is the keeper of right and equity; but the same is best taught by St. Paul, who expresseth both the cause efficient and final, that is, by whom magistrates and princes are ordained, together with their duties and offices.* ^c *A magistrate is the minister of God for thy wealth; but if thou do evil, fear: for he beareth not the sword for nought. For he is the minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth evil.* He also teacheth in verse 1, 2. *That every soul ought to be subject to the higher powers, because they are by God ordained; and that whosoever resisteth that power, resisteth God, the giver and fountain thereof: and shall not only be therefore subject to the judgment and condemnation of man, but of God: For ye must be subject, saith he, not because of wrath only, but also for conscience sake.* ver. 5.

The examples are not to be numbred of God's punishments upon those that have resisted authority, by God ordained and established. Neither ought any subject therefore to resist the power of kings, because they may be taxed with injustice or cruelty: for it pleaseth God sometimes to punish his people by a tyrannous hand: and the commandment of obedience is without distinction. The prophets and *Christ* himself subjected themselves to the power of magistracy. *Christ* commanded that all due to *Cesar* should be given unto him: and he pay'd tribute for himself and *Peter*. ^d *Jeremy* commanded the *Israelites* (even those that were captives under heathen kings) to pray for them, and for the peace of *Babylon*. So ^e *Abraham* pray'd for *Abimelech*; and *Jacob* blessed the king of *Egypt*. *And it is acceptable in the sight of our Saviour, saith Paul, that ye make supplications and prayers for kings, and for all that are in authority: and if for such kings as were idolatrous, much more for Christian kings and magistrates.* And so much did *St. Chrysostom* in his homily to the people, prefer *monarchical* government, as he rather commended the rule of kings (tho' tyrants) than that they should be wanting: *Præstat regem tyrannum habere, quam nullum*; better a tyrannous king, than no king: To which also *Tacitus* subscribeth: *Præstat* (saith *Tacitus* in the first of his history) *sub malo principe esse, quam nullo*; It is better to have a bad prince than none at all. And be they good kings (which is generally presupposed) then is there no liberty more safe, than to serve them: *Neque enim libertas tutior ulla est, saith Claudian, quam domino servire bono*; No liberty, saith he, more safe for us than to be servants to the virtuous. And certainly howsoever it may be disputed, yet is it safer to live under one tyrant, than under 100000 tyrants: under a wise man that is cruel, than under the foolish and barbarous cruelty of the multitude. For as *Agésilas* answered a citizen of *Sparta* that desired an alteration of the government, that kind of rule which a man would disclaim in his own house, were very unfit to govern great regions by.

Lastly, as many fathers erected many cottages for their many children: and as (for the reason before remembered) many households joined themselves together, and made villages; many villages made cities: so when these cities and citizens joined

^a Deut. 16. 18.

^b Ethic. 5.

^c Rom. 13. 4

^d Jerem. 29. 7

^e Gen. 20. 17. 27. 10.

together, and established laws by consent, associating themselves under one governor and government, they so joined were called a commonwealth: the same being sometimes governed by kings; sometimes by magistrates; sometimes by the people themselves.

S E C T. III.

Of the good government of the first kings.

NOW this first age after the flood, and after such time as the people were increased, and the families became strong, and dispersed into several parts of the world, was by ancient historians called golden: ambition and covetousness being as then but green, and newly grown up, the seeds and effects whereof were as yet but potential, and in the blowth and bud. For while the law of nature was the rule of man's life, they then sought for no larger territory than themselves could compass and manure: they erected no other magnificent buildings, than sufficient to defend them from cold and tempest: they cared for no other delicacy of fare, or curiosity of diet, than to maintain life: nor for any other apparel than to cover them from the cold, the rain and the sun.

And sure if we understand by that age (which was called golden) the ancient simplicity of our forefathers, this name may then truly be cast upon those elder times: but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether the same may be attributed more to any one time than to another (I mean to one limited time, and none else) it may be doubted. For good and golden kings make good and golden ages; and all times have brought forth of both sorts. And as the infancy of empire (when princes play'd their prizes, and did then only woo men to obedience) might be called the golden age: so may the beginning of all princes times be truly called golden: for be it that men affect honour, it is then best purchased; or if honour affect men, it is then that good deservings have commonly the least impediments: and if ever liberality overflow her banks and bounds, the same is then best warranted both by policy and example. But age and time do not only harden and shrink the openest and most jovial hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it, layeth princes torn estates before their eyes, and withal persuadeth them to compassionate themselves. And altho' there be no kings under the sun whose means are answerable unto other men's desires; yet such as value all things by their own respects, do no sooner find their appetites unanswered, but they complain of alteration, and account the times injurious and iron. And as this falleth out in the reign of every king; so doth it in the life of every man, if his days be many: for our younger years are our golden age; which being eaten up by time, we praise those seasons which our youth accompanied: and indeed the grievous alterations in our selves, and the pains and diseases which never part from us but at the grave, make the times seem so differing and displeasing: especially the quality of man's nature being also such, as it adareth and extollet the passages of the former, and condemneth the present state how just soever. *"Fit humane malignitatis vitio, ut semper vetera in laude, presentia in fastidio sint;* It comes to pass, saith Tacitus, by the vice of our malignity, that we always extol the time past, and hold the present fastidious. For it is one of the errors of way-ward age: *Quod sint laudatores temporis acti;* That they are praisers of forepassed times, forgetting this advice of Solo-

mon: *^b Say not then, why is it that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not inquire wisely of this thing:* to which purpose Seneca, *Majores nostri questi sunt, & nos querimur, posterique rentur, everfos esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum, & in omne nefas labi;* Our ancestors have complained, we do complain, our children will complain, that good manners are gone, that wickedness doth reign, and all things grow worse and worse, and fall into all evil. These are the usual discourses of age and misfortune. But hereof what can we add to this of Arnobius: *"Nova res quandoque vetus fiet, & vetus temporibus quibus cepit nova fuit & repentina;* Whatsoever is new, in time shall be made old: and the ancientest things when they took beginning were also new and sudden. Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentments of present times have made golden, this we may set down for certain, that as it was the virtue of the first kings, which, after God, gave them crowns: so the love of their people thereby purchased, held the same crowns on their heads. And as God gave the obedience of subjects to princes: so (relatively) he gave the care and justice of kings to the subjects; having respect, not only to the kings themselves, but even to the meanest of his creatures. *^c Nunquam particulari bono servit omne bonum;* The infinite goodness of God doth not attend any one only: for he that made the small and the great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which kings have of all theirs, which makes them beloved of all theirs; and by a general love it is, that princes hold a general obedience: for *Potestas humana radicitur in voluntatibus hominum;* All human power is rooted in the will or dispositions of men.

S E C T. IV.

Of the beginning of nobility: and of the vain vaunt thereof without virtue.

AND with this supreme rule and kingly authority began also other degrees and differences among subjects. For princes made election of others by the same rule, by which themselves were chosen; unto whom they gave place, trust and power. From which employments and offices sprung those titles, and those degrees of honour, which have continued from age to age to these days. *"But this nobility, or difference from the vulgar, was not in the beginning given to the succession of blood, but to succession of virtue, as hereafter may be proved. Tho' at length it was sufficient for those, whose parents were advanced, to be known for the sons of such fathers: and so there needed then no endeavour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excel, upon whom glory or worldly nobility necessarily descended: Yet hereof had nobility denomination in the beginning, that such as excelled others in virtue were so called: Hinc dictus nobilis, quasi virtute præ aliis notabilis.* But after such time as the deserved honour of the father was given in reward to his posterity, St. Jerome judged of the succession in this manner: *Nihil aliud video in nobilitate appetendum, nisi quod nobiles quadam necessitate constringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent;* I see no other thing to be affected in nobility, than that noblemen are by a kind of necessity bound not to degenerate from the virtue of their ancestors. For if nobility be *virtus & antique divitiæ*, virtue and ancient riches, then to exceed in all those things which are *extra hominem*, as riches, power, glory, and the like,

^a Tacit. in Dial. de Orat. ^b Eccles. 7. 10. ^c Arnob. l. 2. ^d Wisd. 6. 7. ^e Verus nobilis non nascitur, sed fit

do no otherwise define nobility, than the word *animal* alone doth define a reasonable man. Or if honour, according to *L. Vives*, be a witness of virtue and well-doing: and nobility, after *Plutarch*, the continuance of virtue in a race or lineage: then are those, of whom virtue is extinguished, but like unto painted and printed papers, which ignorant men worship instead of Christ, our Lady, and other Saints: men, in whom there remain but the dregs and vices of ancient virtue: flowers and herbs, which by change of soil and want of manuring are turned to weeds. For what is found praise-worthy in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure fountains, if in all the rest of their course they run foul, filthy, and defiled? ^a *Ex terra fertilis producitur aliquando cicuta venenosa, & ex terra sterili pretiosum aurum*; Out of fruitful ground ariseth sometimes poisoning henbane: and out of barren soil precious gold. For as all things consist of matter and form, so doth *Charron* (in his chapter of nobility) call the race and lineage but the matter of nobility: the form (which gives life and perfect being) he maketh to be virtue and quality, profitable to the commonweal. For he is truly and entirely noble, who maketh a singular profession of publick virtue, serving his prince and country, and being descended of parents and ancestors that have done the like. And altho' that nobility, which the same author calleth personal (the same which our selves acquire by our virtue and well-deservings) cannot be ballanced with that which is both natural by descent, and also personal; yet if virtue be wanting to the natural, then is the personal and acquired nobility by many degrees to be preferred: for, saith *Charron*, this honour, to wit, by descent, may light upon such an one, as in his own nature is a true villain. There is also a third nobility which he calleth nobility in parchment, bought with silver or favour: and these be indeed but honours of affection, which kings with the change of their fancies wish they knew well how to wipe off again. But surely if we had as much sense of our degenerating in worthiness, as we have of vanity in deriving our selves of such and such parents, we should rather know such nobility (without virtue) to be shame and dishonour, than nobleness, and glory to vaunt thereof. ^b *What calamity is wanting (saith Bernard) to him that is born in sin, of a putshare body and barren mind?* for (according to the same father) *Dele fucum fugacis honoris hujus, & male coronata nitorem glorie, &c.* Wipe away the painting of this fleeting honour, and the glittering of the ill crowned glory, that then thou may'st consider thy self nakedly: for thou camest naked out of thy mother's womb. Camest thou thence with thy mitre, or glittering with jewels, or garnished with silks, or adorned with feathers, or stuffed with gold? if thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consideration as certain morning clouds, which do or will soon pass over, thou shalt meet with a naked, and poor, and wretched, and miserable man, and blushing because he is naked, and weeping because he is born, and repining because he is born to labour, and not to honour.

For as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference between it and dust: which if ^c *thou dost not believe* (saith St. *Chrysostom*) *look into the sepulchres and monuments of thy ancestors, and they shall easily persuade thee by their own example, that thou art dust and dirt: so that if man seem more noble and beautiful than dust, this proceedeth not*

from the diversity of his nature, but from the cunning of his Creator.

^d For true nobility standeth in the trade
Of virtuous life; not in the fleshly line:
For blood is brute, but gentry is divine.

And howsoever the custom of the world have made it good, that honours be cast by birth upon unworthy issues: yet *Solomon* (as wise as any king) reprehendeth the same in his fellow princes. ^e *There is an evil (saith he) that I have seen under the sun, as an error that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth. Folly is set in great excellency.*

CHAP. X.

Of Nimrod, Belus and Ninus: and of memorable things about those times.

SECT. I.

That Nimrod was the first after the flood that reigned like sovereign lord: and that his beginning seemeth to have been of just authority.

THE first of all that reigned, as sovereign lord after the flood, was *Nimrod*, the son of *Chus*, distinguished by *Moses* from the rest (according to St. *Augustine*) in one of these two respects: either for his eminency, and because he was the first of name, and that took on him to command others: or else in that he was begotten by *Chus*, after his other children were also become fathers; and of a later time than some of his grandchildren and nephews. Howsoever, seeing *Moses* in express words calleth *Nimrod* the son of *Chus*, other mens conjectures to the contrary ought to have no respect. This empire of *Nimrod*, both the fathers, and many later writers, call tyrannical: the same beginning in *Babel* (which is) confusion. But it seemeth to me, that *Melancthon* conceived not amiss hereof: the same exposition being also made by the author of that work called *Onomasticum Theologicum*, who affirms that *Nimrod* was therefore called *Amarus Dominator*, a bitter or severe governor, because his form of rule seemed at first far more terrible than paternal authority. And therefore is he in this respect also called a mighty hunter: because he took and destroy'd both beasts and thieves. But St. *Augustine* understands it otherwise, and converts the word [*ante*] by [*contra*] affirming therein, that *Nimrod* was a mighty hunter against God, *Sic ergo intelligendus est gigas ille, venator contra Dominum*; So is that giant to be understood, a hunter against the Lord. But howsoever this word [*a mighty hunter*] be understood; yet it rather appeareth, that as *Nimrod* had the command of all those, which went with him from the east into *Shinaar*: so this charge was rather given him, than by him usurped. For it no where is found, that *Noah* himself, or any of the sons of his own body, came with this troop into *Babylon*: no mention at all being made of *Noah* (the years of his life excepted) in the succeeding story of the *Hebrews*: nor that *Sem* was in this disobedient troop, or among the builders of *Babel*.

The same is also confirmed by divers ancient historians, that *Nimrod*, *Suphne*, and *Jochan* were the captains and leaders of all those which came from the east. And tho' *Sem* came not himself so

^a Pint. in Ezek. ^b Bernard. 1. 2. de Consider. ad Eugen. Pap. ^c Chrysost. homil. 2. de incomposita Dei natura, con. 5.

^d Phaer. ^e Eccles. 10.

far west as *Shinaar* (his lot being cast on the east parts) yet from his son's nephew *Heber*, the name and nation of the *Hebrews* (according to the general opinion) took beginning, who inhabited the southermost parts of *Chaldea* about the city of *Ur*; from whence *Abraham* was by God called into *Charan*, and thence into *Canaan*.

And because those of the race of *Sem* which came into *Chaldea* were no partners in the unbelieving work of the tower: therefore (as many of the fathers conjecture) did they retain the first and most ancient language, which the fathers of the first age had left to *Noah*; and *Noah* to *Sem* and his issues. ^a *In familia Heber remansit hæc lingua*; In the family of *Heber* this language remained (saith St. *Augustine* out of *Epiphanius*;) and this language *Abraham* used: yea, it was anciently and before the flood the general speech: and therefore first called (saith *Cælestinus*) *lingua humana*, the human tongue.

We know that *Goropius Becanus* following *Theodoret*, *Rabbi Moses*, *Aegyptius*, *Vergara*, and others, is of another opinion; but howsoever we determine of this point, we may with good probability resolve, that none of the godly seed of *Sem* were the chief leaders of this presumptuous multitude. And seeing it is not likely but that some one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by just authority, than by violence of usurpation.

S E C T. II.

That Nimrod, Belus and Ninus, were three distinct persons.

BEnzo, and out of him *Naclerus*, with others, make many *Nimrods*. *Eusebius* confounds him with *Belus*; and so doth St. *Jerome* upon *Osea*: and these words of St. *Augustine* seem to make him of the same opinion. ^b *Ibi autem Ninus regnabat post mortem patris sui Beli, qui primus illic regnaverat 65 annos*; There did *Ninus* reign after the death of his father *Belus*, who first governed in *Babylon* 65 years. But it could not be unknown to St. *Augustine*, that *Nimrod* was the establisher of that empire: *Moses* being plain and direct therein. For the beginning of *Nimrod's* kingdom (saith he) was *Babel*, *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*, in the land of *Shinaar*: wherefore *Nimrod* was the first king of *Babel*. And certainly it best agreeth with reason, that *Ninus* was the third, and not one with *Nimrod*, as *Mercator* (led by *Clement*) supposed: for in *Ninus's* time, the world was marvellously replenished. And if St. *Augustine* had undoubtedly taken *Belus* for *Nimrod*, he would have given him the name which the scriptures give him, rather than have borrowed any thing out of prophane authors. And for those words of St. *Augustine* (*qui primus illic regnaverat*, who was the first that reigned there) supposed to be meant by *Belus*: those words do not disprove that *Nimrod* was the founder of the *Babylonian* empire. For altho' *Julius Cesar* overthrew the liberty of the *Roman* commonwealth, making himself perpetual dictator; yet *Augustus* was the first established emperor, and the first that reigned absolutely by sovereign authority over the *Romans*, as an emperor. The like may be said of *Nimrod*, that he first brake the rule of eldership and paternity, laying the foundation of sovereign rule, as *Cesar* did; and yet *Belus* was the first, who peaceably, and with a general allowance, exercised such a power. *Pererius* is of

opinion, that *Belus* and *Nimrod* were the same, because many things are said of them both agreeing in time: for it was about 200 years after the flood, as they account, that *Belus* reign'd: but such agreement of times prove it not. For so *Edward III.* and his grandchild *Richard II.* were kings both in one year; the one died, and the other in the same year was crowned king.

And yet the opinion, that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were one, is far more probable than that of *Mercator*, who makes *Ninus* and *Nimrod* to be the same. For it is plain, that the beginning of *Nimrod's* kingdom was *Babel*, and the towns adjoining: but the first and most famous work of *Ninus* was the city of *Nineveh*.

Now whereas *D. Siculus* affirmeth that *Ninus* overcame and suppress'd the *Babylonians*, the same rather proveth the contrary, than that *Ninus* and *Nimrod* were one person. For *Ninus* established the seat of his empire at *Nineveh* in *Assyria*, whence the *Babylonians* might (perchance) in disdain thereof fall from his obedience, whom he recovered again by strong hand; which was easy: *Babylon* being not walled till *Semiramis's* time.

—————*Dicitur altam*

Coctilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis urbem.

Semiramis with walls of brick the city did inclose.

Further, where it is alledged, that as the scriptures call *Nimrod* mighty: so *Justin* hath the same of *Ninus*, which is one of *Mercator's* arguments: it may be answered, that such an addition might have been given to many other kings as well. For if we may believe *Justin*; then were *Vexoris* king of *Egypt*, and *Tanaïs* of *Scythia*, mighty kings before *Ninus* was born. And if we may compare the words of *Moses* (touching *Nimrod*) with the undertakings of *Ninus*, there will be found great difference between them. For whereas *Mercator* conceiveth that it was too early for any that lived about the time of the confusion of languages, to have invaded and mastered those cities so far removed from *Babel*, namely *Erec*, *Accad* and *Chalne*: which work he therefore ascribeth to *Ninus*, as a man of the greatest undertaking; and consequently would have *Nimrod* to have been long after the time, in which we suppose he flourished; and both those names of *Nimrod* and *Ninus* to belong to one person, to wit, to *Ninus*: to these things to make some answer. First, I do not find that supposition true, that ever *Nimrod* invaded any of these cities; but that he founded them and built them from the ground, being the first after the flood, that conducted the children of *Noah* into those parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hands.

Besides, whereas these cities in many mens opinions are found to stand far away from *Babylon*, I find no reason to bring me to that belief. The city of *Accad* which the *Septuagint* calls *Archad*, and *Epiphanius* *Arphal*; *Junius* takes to be *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*: for the region thereabout, the *Cosmographers* (saith he) call *Accabene* for *Accadene*. Others understand *Nisibis* and *Nineveh* to be one city: so do *Strabo* and *Stephanus* confound it with *Charran*; but all mistaken. For *Nisibis*, *Accad*, and *Charran* are distinct places. Tho' I cannot deny *Accadene* to be a region of *Mesopotamia*, the same which *Arias Montanus* out of St. *Jerome* calls *Achad*: and so do the *Hebrews*

^a Aug. de Civitate Dei, l. 6. c. 11. ^b De Civitate Dei

also call *Nisibis*, which seemeth to be the cause of this mistaking. As for the city of *Erec*, which the *Septuagint* call *Orech*, St. *Augustine* *Oreg*, and *Pagninus Erec*, this place *Junius* understands for *Arraca* in *Susiana*: but there is also a city in *Comagena* called *Arace*: and indeed likelihood of name is no certain proof, without the assistance of other circumstances.

Concerning the third city (called *Chalneb*) some take it for *Calanisis*: of which ^a *Am. Marcellinus*. St. *Jerome* takes it for *Selencia*; *Hierosolymitanus* for *Ctesiphon*: others do think it to be the *Agrani* upon *Euphrates*, destroy'd and razed by the *Persians*. But let *Moses* be the moderator and judge of this dispute, who teacheth us directly, that these cities are not seated in so divers and distant regions; for these be his words: *And the beginning of his kingdom* (speaking of *Nimrod*) *was Babel, Erec, Accad, and Chalneb, in the land of Shinaar*: so as in this valley of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*, or *Chaldea* (being all one) we must find them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) think with *Viterbiensis*, that these four made but one *Babylon*, than that they were cities far removed, and in several provinces, did not the prophet *Amos* precisely distinguish *Chalne* from *Babylon*. Go you (saith *Amos*, vi. 2.) *to Chalne, and from thence go you to Hamath, and then to Gath of the Philistines*. The *Geneva* translation favouring the former opinion, to set these cities out of *Shinaar*, hath a marginal note expressing that *Shinaar* was here named: not that all these cities were therein seated, but to distinguish *Babylon* of *Chaldea*, from *Babylon* in *Egypt*; but I find little substance in that conceit. For sure I am, that in the beginning of *Nimrod's* empire, there was no such *Babylon*, nor any city at all to be found in *Egypt*: *Babylon* of *Egypt* being all one with the great city of *Cairo*, which was built long after, not far from the place where stood *Memphis* the ancient city, but not so ancient as *Babylon* upon *Euphrates*. Now that *Chalne* is situate in the valley of *Shinaar*, it hath been formerly proved in the chapter of *Paradise*. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrary, from the remote situation of these three cities from *Babylon*, we may continue in our opinion, that *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were distinct and successive kings.

SECT. III.

That Nimrod, not Assur, built Nineveh: and that it is probable out of Isaiah xxiii. 13. that Assur built Ur for the Chaldees.

NOW as of *Nimrod*: so are the opinions of writers different touching *Assur*, and touching the beginning of that great state of *Babylon* and *Assyria*: a controversy wearisomely disputed without any direct proof, conclusion, or certainty. But to me (of whom, where the scriptures are silent, the voice of reason hath the best hearing) the interpretation of *Junius* is most agreeable; who besides all necessary consequence doth not disjoin the sense of the scriptures therein, nor confuse the understanding thereof. For in this sort he converteth the *Hebrew* text. *Erat enim principium regni ejus Babel, & Erec, & Accad, & Chalneb, in terra Shinaaris; e terra hac processit in Assyriam ubi edificavit Niniven*: (which is) For the beginning of his kingdom was *Babel*, and *Erec*, and *Accad*, and *Chalneb*, in the land of *Shinaar*: and he went forth of this land into *Assyria*, and built *Nineveh*. So as *Junius* takes *Assur*

in this place, not for any person, but for the region of *Assyria*: the land being so called in *Moses's* time, and before it. For certainly the other construction, (where the word [*Assur*] is taken for *Assur* the son of *Sem*) doth not answer the order which *Moses* observeth thro' all the books of *Genesis*, but is quite contrary unto it. For in the beginning of the 10th chapter he setteth down the sons of *Noah* in these words. *Now these are the generations of the sons of Noah: Shem, Ham, and Japhet, unto whom sons were born after the flood*: then it followeth immediately. *The sons of Japhet were Gomer, &c.* so as *Japhet* is last named among *Noah's* sons, be he eldest or youngest: because he was first to be spoken of: with whom (having last named him) he proceeds and sets down his issue, and then the issue of his sons: first, the issue of *Gomer*, *Japhet's* eldest son; and then speaks of *Javan* and his sons: for of the rest of that family he is silent. Anon, after he numbrells the sons of *Ham*, of which *Cush* was the eldest: and the sons of *Cush* and *Mizraim*; and afterwards of *Canaan*; leaving *Shem* for the last, because he would not disjoin the story of the *Hebrews*. But after he beginneth with *Shem*, he continueth from thence by *Arphaxad*, *Shela*, and *Heber*, unto *Abraham*; and so to *Jacob*, and the fathers of that nation. But to have brought in one of the sons of *Shem* in the middle of the generations of *Ham*, had been against order; neither would *Moses* have pass'd over so slightly the erection of the *Assyrian* empire, in one of the sons of *Shem*, if he had had any such meaning; it being the story of *Shem's* sons which he most attended. For he nameth *Nimrod* apart, after the rest of the sons of *Cush*, because he founded the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* empire: and in the 11th chapter he returns to speak of the building of *Babel* in particular, having formerly named it in the 10th chapter, with those other cities which *Nimrod* founded in *Shinaar*. And as he did in the 10th chapter, so also in the 11th he maketh no report of *Shem*, till such time as he had finish'd so much of *Nimrod* as he meant to touch: and then he beginneth with the issue of *Shem*, which he continueth to *Abraham* and *Israel*. And of *Junius's* opinion touching *Assur*, was *Calvin*: to which I conceive that *P. Comestor* in *Historia Scholastica* gave an entrance, who after he had deliver'd this place in some other sense, he useth these words. *Vel intelligendum non est de Assur filio Sem, &c. sed Assur, id est, regnum Assyriorum inde egressum est, quod tempore Sarug proavi Abrahami factum est* (which is) Or else it is not to be understood of *Assur* the son of *Shem*, &c. but *Assur* (that is the kingdom of the *Assyrians*) came from thence (*viz.* from *Babylon*) or was made out of it; which happened in the time of *Sarug* the great grandfather of *Abraham*. After which he reconcilerh the differences in this sort: If you take the ancient *Belus* (meaning *Nimrod*) to be the first erecter of the *Assyrian* empire, or the first founder thereof, it is true, *Quantum ad initium*, respecting the beginning; but others conceive, that it had beginning from *Ninus*, which is also true, *Quantum ad regni ampliationem*, regarding the enlargement of the empire. To this I may add the opinion of *Epiphanius* confirmed by *Cedrenus*, who takes *Assur* to be the son of *Nimrod*: and so doth *Metbodius*, and *Viterbiensis*, St. *Jerome* and *Cyrillus*, and now lastly, ^b *Torniellus*; who saith, he took upon him that name of *Assur* after he had beaten the *Assyrians*, as *Scipio* did of *Africanus* after his conquest in *Africa*: and that *Assur* was a common name to the kings of *Assyria*, as it appeareth by

^a Lib. 23. ^b Torniell. Annal. Sacri. in Gen. 10.

many scriptures, as *Pſalm lxxx. Iſaiab x. Hoſea v, &c.* but to help the matter, he makes *Nimrod* of the race of *Shem*, and the ſon of *Irari*. But *Rabanus Maurus*, who was archbiſhop of *Mentz* in the year of Chriſt 854, an ancient and learned writer, underſtands this place with *Comeſtor*, or *Comeſtor* with him, agreeing in ſubſtance with that tranſlation of *Junius* : to which words of *Moses* he giveth this ſenſe, *De hac terra Affyriorum pulſavit imperium, qui ex nomine Nini, Beli filii, Nilum condiderunt, urbem magnam, &c.* Out of this land grew the empire of the *Affyrians*, who built *Ninus* the great city, ſo named of *Ninus* the ſon of *Belus*. On the contrary, *Calvin* objecteth this place of *Iſaiab xxiii. 13. Behold the land of the Chaldeans, this was no people, Affur founded it by the inhabitants of the wilderneſs*; than which there is no one place in the ſcriptures that hath a greater diverſity in the tranſlation and underſtanding; inſomuch as *Michael de Palatio* upon *Iſaiab* (tho' in all elſe very diligent) paſſeth it over. But *Calvin* ſeemeth hereby to infer, that becauſe *Affur* founded the ſtate of the *Chaldeans*, therefore alſo *Affur* rather than *Nimrod* eſtabliſhed the *Affyrian* empire, and built *Nineveh*: contrary to the former tranſlation of *Junius*, and to his own opinion. Now out of the *Vulgar* (called *Jerome's* tranſlation) it may be gathered, that *Affur* both founded and ruin'd this ſtate or city of the *Chaldeans*, by *Iſaiab* remembred: unto which city, people, or ſtate, he plainly telleth the *Tyrians*, that they cannot truſt or hope for relief thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the prophet maketh this city of *Chaldea*, and that ſtate, an example unto thoſe *Phenicians*, whom in this place he foretelleth of their ruin: which city of *Chaldea* being of ſtrength, and carefully defended, was notwithstanding by the *Affyrians* utterly waſted and deſtroyed: whereby he giveth them knowledge, and foretelleth them that their own city of *Tyre* (invincible, as themſelves thought) ſhould alſo ſoon after be overturned by the ſame *Affyrians*: as indeed it was by *Nabuchodonosor*. And theſe be the words of *Jerome*; *Ecce terra Chaldeorum, talis populus non fuit, Affur fundavit eam, in captivitatem traduxerunt robuſtos ejus, ſuffoderunt domos ejus, poſuit eam in ruinam*; which is, Behold the land of the *Chaldeans*, ſuch a people there were not (or this was no people, after the *Geneva*) *Affur*, or the *Affyrians* founded it, they carried away their ſtrong men captive, they undermined their houſes, and ruined their city. The *Septuagint* expreſs it but in a part of another verſe, in theſe words; *Et in terra Chaldeorum, & hæc deſolata eſt ab Affyriis, quoniam murus ejus corruit*, making the ſenſe perfect by the preceding verſe, which altogether may be thus underſtood. *If thou go over to Chittim (which is Macedon or Greece) yet thou ſhalt have no reſt, (ſpeaking to the Tyrians) neither in the land of the Chaldeans, for this is made deſolate by the Affyrians, becauſe their walls fell together to the ground.* *Pagninus* and *Vatablus* convert it thus, *Ecce terra Chafdim, iſte populus non erat illic olim; nam Affur fundavit eam navibus, erexerunt arces illius, contriverunt ædes ejus, poſuerunt eam in ruinam*: which may be thus engliſhed. Behold the land of the *Chaldeans*, this people was not once therein inhabiting: for *Affur* built it a harbour for ſhips, they erected the towers thereof, and again brake down the houſes thereof, and ruined it. *Junius* in the place of ſhips ſets the word [*pro Barbaris*] that is, for the *Barbarians*: and the *Geneva*, by the *Barbarians*. But this is undoubted, that the prophet *Iſaiab* (as may be gathered by all the ſenſe of the chapter) did therein aſſure the *Tyrians* of their future

deſtruction, which accordingly fell on them: wherein (for the more terror) he maketh choice to note the calamities of thoſe places, cities and regions, whoſe trade the ſtate and greatneſs of the *Tyrians* was maintained; as by the *Cilicians* from *Tbarſis*; from the *Macedonians*, and other *Grecians* under the name of *Cittim*; alſo by the *Egyptians*, the *Chaldeans* and the reſt. For *Tyre* was then the mart-town of the world moſt renowned. And (as it appears in our diſcourſe of *Paradiſe*) not the leaſt part of her chief merchandiſe came in by the city *Ur*, or *Urchoa* in *Chaldea*, where the body or chief ſtream of *Euphrates* (even that ſtream which runneth thro' *Babylon* and *Otris*, which now falleth into *Tigris*) had his paſſage into the *Persian* gulf; though now it be ſtopped up. For (as we have heretofore noted) the *Arabians*, that deſcended from *Sheba* and *Raamah*, dwelling on the eaſt banks of the *Persian* gulf, trading with the *Tyrians* (as thoſe of *Eden*, *Charran* and *Chalne* did) tranſported their merchandiſe by the mouth of *Tigris*, that is, from *Teredon*, and of *Euphrates*, that is, from *Ur* or *Urchoa*; and then by *Babylon*, and thence by river and over land they conveyed it into *Syria*, and ſo to *Tyre*, as they do this day to *Aleppo*. So then *Ur* of the *Chaldees* was a port-town, and one of thoſe cities which had intelligence, trade and exchange with the *Tyrians*: for it flood by the great lakes of *Chaldea*, thro' which that part of *Euphrates* ran, which paſſage is now ſtopt up. *Ejus curſum vetuſtas abolevit* (ſaith *Niger*.) And *Pliny*, *Locus ubi Euphratis oſtium fuit, flumen ſaluſum*; Time hath worn away the channel of *Euphrates*: and the place where the mouth thereof was, is a bay of ſalt water. Theſe things being thus, certainly (not without good probability) we may expound the city of the *Chaldees*, whoſe calamities *Iſaiab* here noteth for terror of the *Tyrians* to be the city anciently called *Ur*; and by *Hecateus*, *Camerina*; by *Ptolemy*, *Urchoa*; and by the *Greeks*, *Chaldæopolis*, The city of *Chaldea*; which the ſons of *Shem*, until *Abraham's* time, inhabited. And whereas in all the tranſlations it is ſaid, that *Affur* both founded it and ruin'd it: it may be underſtood, that *Affur* the founder was the ſon of *Shem*; and *Affur* the deſtroyers were the *Affyrians*, by whom thoſe that inhabited *Ur* of *Chaldea*, were at length oppreſſed and brought to ruin: which thing God foreſeeing, commanded *Abraham* thence to *Charran*, and ſo into *Canaan*. And if the *Hebrew* word by *Vatablus* and *Pagninus* converted [*by ſhips*] do bear that ſenſe, the ſame may be the better approved; becauſe it was a port-town: and the river ſo far up as this city of *Ur*, was in ancient time navigable, as both by *Pliny* and *Niger* appeareth. And if the word [*for the Barbarians*] or [*by the Barbarians*] be alſo in the *Hebrew* text, it is no leſs manifeſt, that the moſt barbarous *Arabians* of the deſart were and are the confronting, and next people of all other unto it. For *Chaldea* is now called *Arachdar*, which ſignifieth deſart lands, becauſe it joineth to that part of *Arabia* ſo called: and *Cicero* (calling thoſe *Arabians* by the name of *Itureans*) addeth that they are of all other people the moſt ſavage; calling them, *Homines omnium maxime barbaros*.

So as this place of *Iſaiab*, which breedeth ſome doubt in *Calvin*, proveth in nothing the contrary opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former tranſlation of *Junius*, nor the interpretation of *Comeſtor* and *Rabanus*. For tho' other men have not conceived (for any thing that I have read) that *Affur* is in this place diverſly taken; (as for the ſon of *Shem*, when he is ſpoken of as a builder of *Ur*; and when, as a deſtroyer thereof, then for the *Affyrian*

fyrian nation) yet certainly the evidence of the truth, and agreement of circumstances seem to inforce it. And so this founding of the city of the *Chaldees* by *Affur* (into which the most of the posterity of *Sem* that came into *Shinaar*, and were separate for the idolatry of the *Chusites* and *Nimrodians*, retired themselves) hath nothing in it to prove that the same *Affur* built *Nineveh*, or that the same *Affur* was all one with *Ninus*; except we will make *Affur*, who was the son of *Shem*, both an idolater and the son of *Belus*. For (out of doubt) *Ninus* was the first notorious sacrificer to idols, and the first that set up a statue or image to be honoured as God. Now if *Affur* must be of that race, and not of the family of *Sem*, as he must be if he founded *Nineveh*, then all those which seek to give him the honour thereof, do him by a thousand parts more injury, by taking from him his true parent and religion.

Besides, if this supposed *Affur* whom they make the founder of *Nineveh* (and so the son of *Belus*) were any other, and not the same with *Ninus*; then what became of him? Certainly he was very unworthy and obscure, and not like to be the founder of such an empire and such a city, if no man have vouchsafed to leave to posterity his expulsion thence, and how he lost that empire again, or quitted it to *Ninus*; whose acts and conquests are so largely written, and (according to my apprehension) far differing from truth. It will therefore be found best agreeing to scripture and to reason, and best agreeing with the story of that age written by prophane authors, that *Nimrod* founded *Babel*, *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalne*, the first works and beginnings of his empire, according to *Moses*, and that these works being finish'd within the valley of *Shinaar*, he look'd farther abroad, and set in hand the work of *Ninus*, lying near unto the same stream that *Babel* and *Chalne* did: which work his grandchild *Ninus* afterwards amplified and finished, as *Semiramis* (this *Ninus*'s wife) did *Babylon*. Hence it came to pass, that as *Semiramis* was counted the foundress of the city which she only finish'd: so also *Ninus* of *Nineveh*. *Quam quidem Babylonem potuit instaurare*; She might repair or renew *Babylon*, saith St. *Augustine*. For so did *Nabuchodonosor* vaunt himself to be the founder of *Babylon* also, because he built up again some part of the wall overborn by the fury of the river: which work of his stood till *Alexander*'s time; whereupon he vaunted thus: *Is not this great Babel which I have built?*

SECT. IV.

Of the acts of Nimrod and Belus, as far as now they are known.

BUT to return to the story, it is plain in *Moses*, that *Nimrod* (whom *Philo* interpreteth *transfugium*, and *Julius Africanus* surnamed *Saturn*) was the establiher of the *Babylonian* monarchy, of whom there is no other thing written, than that his empire in the beginning consisted of those four cities before remembred, *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad* and *Chalne*: and that from hence he propagated his empire into *Affyria*; and in *Affyria* built four more cities, to wit, *Nineveh*, *Reboboht*, *Celub*, and *Resen*. And seeing that he spent much time in building *Babel* it self and those adjoining, and that his travels were many ere he came into *Shinaar*, that work of *Babel* (such as it was) with the other three cities, and the large foundation of *Ni-*

neveh, and the other cities of *Affyria* which he builded (considered with the want of materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficulty than any thing performed by his successors in many years after: to whose undertakings time had given so great an increase of people; and the examples and patterns of his beginning so great an advancement and encouragement: in whose time (saith *Glycas*) all these nations were called *Meropes*, *A sermonis linguarum terræque divisione*; By reason that the earth and the speech were then divided.

Belus or *Bel*, or *Jupiter Belus*, succeeded *Nimrod*, after he had reigned 114 years; of whose acts and undertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he spent much of his time in disburdening the low lands of *Babylon*, and drying and making firm ground of all those great fens and overflown marshes which adjoin'd unto it. For any of his wars or conquests there is no report, other than of his begun enterprize against *Sabatius* king of *Armenia*, and those parts of *Scythia* which *Berosus* calls *Scythia Saga*, whose son and successor *Barzanes* became subject and tributary to *Ninus*, that followed the war to effect, which was by his father *Belus* begun.

SECT. V.

That we are not to marvel how so many kingdoms could be erected about these times: and of Vexoris of Egypt, and Tanais of Scythia.

THAT so many kingdoms were erected in all those eastern parts of the world so soon after *Nimrod* (as by the story of *Ninus* is made manifest) the causes were threefold; namely, opportunity, example and necessity. For opportunity, being a princess liberal and powerful, bestoweth on her first entertainers many times more benefits, than either fortune can, or wisdom ought; by whose presence alone the understanding minds of men receive all those helps and supplies, which they either want or wish for: so as every leader of a troop (after the division of tongues and dispersion of people) finding these fair offers made unto them, held the power which they possess'd, and governed by discretion all those people, whom they conducted to their destin'd places. For it cannot be conceived, that when the earth was first divided, mankind straggled abroad like beasts in a desert; but that by agreement they disposed themselves, and undertook to inhabit all the known parts of the world, and by distinct families and nations: otherwise those remote regions from *Babylon* and *Shinaar*, which had kings, and were peopled in *Ninus*'s time, would not have been possess'd in many hundreds of years after, as then they were; neither did those that were sent, and travelled far off (order being the true parent of prosperous success) undertake so difficult enterprizes without a conductor or commander. Secondly, The example of *Nimrod* with whom it succeeded well, strengthened every humour that aspired. Thirdly, Necessity resolved all men by the arguments of common miseries, that without a commander and magistrate, neither could those that were laborious, and of honest dispositions, enjoy the harvest of their own travels: nor those which were of little strength, secure themselves against forcible violence: nor those which sought after any proportion of greatness, either possess the same in quiet, or rule and order their own ministers and attendants.

That these causes had wrought these effects, the

^a Dan. 4. 27.

undertakings and conquests of *Ninus* (the son of *Belus*) made it apparent : for he found every where kings and monarchs, what way soever his ambition led him in the wars.

But *Nimrod* (his grandfather) had no companion king, to us known, when he first took on him sovereignty and sole commandment of all those the children of *Noah*, which came from the east into *Babylonia* : tho' in his life-time others also raised themselves to the same estate ; of which hereafter. *Belus*, his son and successor, found *Sabatius* king of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, sufficiently powerful to resist his attempts : which *Sabatius* I take to be the same which *Justin* calls *Tanais* ; and should conjecture, that *Mizraim* had been his *Vexoris*, were it not that I vehemently suspect some error (as ^a*Justin* placeth him) in the time of that *Vexoris*, who by many circumstances seems to me rightly accounted by the judicious and learned *Reineccius* all one with the great *Sesostris*, that lived certain ages after *Ninus*. This *Belus*, the second king of *Babylon*, reigned 65 years, according to the common account.

SECT. VI.

(Of the name of *Belus*, and other names affine unto it.

WHENCE this second king and successor of *Nimrod* had the name of *Bel*, or *Belus*, question hath been made ; for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (of addition) given by *Ninus*, than assumed by *Belus* himself.

Cyrellus against *Julian* calls the father of *Ninus*, *Arbelus*, affirming that he was the first of all men that caused himself to be called a god : which were it so, then might the name of *Belus* be thence deriv'd. But *Bel*, as many learned writers have observed, signifieth the sun in the *Chaldean* tongue ; and therefore did *Ninus* and *Semiramis* give that name to their father, that he might be honoured as the sun, which the *Babylonians* worshipped as a god. And as this title was assumed in after-times by divers others of the *Chaldean* princes, and *Babylonians* *Satrapæ* : so was it used (in imitation) by the chief of the *Carthaginians* and other nations, as some historians have conceived.

To this *Bel*, or *Belus*, pertain (as in affinity) those voices of *Baal*, *Baalim*, *Belphegor*, *Beelphegor*, *Belsebub*, and *Beelsephon*. Those that are learned in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldean*, convert the word *Baal* by the *Latin*, *Princeps militiæ*, Chief in the war, tho' *Daniel* was so called (saith *Suidas*) *ob honorem explicationis arcanarum rerum* ; In honour of his expounding secrets. ^b*St. Jerome* makes *Bel*, *Beel*, and *Baal*, to have the same signification : and saith, that the idol of *Babylon* was so called, which *Ninus* in memory of his father set up to be worshipped : to which that he might add the more honour and reverence, he made it a sanctuary and refuge for all offenders. Hence (saith ^c*Lyranus*) came idolatry, and the first use of images into the world. ^d*Isidore* doth interpret *Bel* by *Vetus*, old or ancient ; adding, that as among the *Assyrians* it is taken for *Saturn* and the *Sun* : so in the *Punic* or *Carthaginian* language it signifieth God. *Glycas* makes it an *Assyrian* name properly ; and *Josephus*, a *Tyrian*. He also affirmeth, that the idol which the *Moabites* worshipped (by them erected on the mountain *Phogor*, or *Peor*, and called *Baal*) is the same which the *Latins* call *Priapus*, the God of gardens ; which also was the opinion of ^e*St. Jerome*. But that the word *Bel*, or *Beel*, was as much to say as God, appeareth by the word

Beelzebub, the idol of *Accaron*. For *Bel*, or *Beel*, foundeth [God] and *Sebub* [flies or hornets :] by which name notwithstanding the *Jews* express the prince of devils. But the prophet *Hosea* teacheth us the proper signification of this word from the voice of God himself ; And at that day (saith the Lord) thou shalt call me *Isbi*, and shalt call me no more *Baalim* : for I will take away the name of *Baalim* out of their mouths. For altho' the name of *Baal*, or *Babal*, be justly to be used towards God ; yet in respect that the same was given to idols, God both hated it and forbade it. And the using of the word *Bel* among the *Chaldeans* for the sun, was not because it properly signifieth the sun, but because the sun there was worshipped as a god : as also the fire was, *Tanquam Solis particula*. As for the words compounded (before remembred) as *Belphegor*, and *Belsephon* ; *Belsephon* is expounded out of *Facius*, *Dominus speculæ vel custodiæ* ; The lord of the watch tower, or of the guard : the other word noteth the idol, and the place wherein it was worshipped. It is also written *Belpeor* or *Baalpeor* : and *Peor*, they say, is as much as *denudavit* ; and therefore the word joined expresseth a naked image. Some there are that call this *Belus*, the son of *Saturn* ; for it was used among the ancients to name the father *Saturn*, the son *Jupiter*, and the grandchild *Hercules*. *Saturni dicuntur familiarum nobilium, regum qui urbes condiderunt senissimi ; primogeniti eorum Joves & Junones ; Hercules vero nepotes eorum fortissimi* ; The ancientest of noble families, and kings which founded cities, are called *Saturns* ; their first-born *Jupiters* and *Juno's* ; their valiant nephews *Hercules*. But this *Belus* (saith *L. Vives*) was famous by reason of his warlike son *Ninus*, who caused his father to be worshipped as a God by the name of ^f*Jupiter Babylonius*, whom the *Egyptians* (transported by the dreams of their antiquity) make one of theirs. For *Neptune*, say they, upon *Libya* the daughter of *Epaphus*, begat this *Jupiter Belus*, who was father to *Egyptus*. They add, that this *Belus* carrying a colony to the river of *Euphrates* there built a city, in which he ordained priests after the *Egyptian* manner. But were there any *Belus* the son of *Epaphus* and *Isis*, or of *Neptune* and *Libya*, or with *Eusebius* of *Telegonus*, who after the death of *Apis* married *Isis*, *Cecrops* then reigning in *Athens*, the same was not this *Babylonian Belus* of whom we speak, but rather some other *Belus*, of whom the *Egyptians* so much vaunted.

SECT. VII.

Of the worshipping of images begun from *Belus* in *Babel*.

AS for the *Babylonian Belus*, he was the most ancient *Belus*, and the inventor of *Astronomy*, if *Pliny* say true : from whence the *Egyptians* might borrow both the name and the doctrine. Some part of the temple, in which his statue or image was honoured as a god, the same author affirmeth that it remained in his time.

Of the sepulchre of *Belus*, ^h*Strabo* writeth thus. Over the river, saith he, there are gardens, where they say the ruins of *Belus's* tomb, which *Xerxes* broke up, are yet remaining. It was a square Pyramid made of brick, a furlong high, and on every side it had a furlong in breadth. It appears by ⁱ*Cyrel* against *Julian*, that he obtained divine worship yet living : for so he writes of him (calling him *Arbelus* : *Arbelus, vir superbus & arrogans, primus hominum dicitur à subditis deitatis nomen*

^a See more of this, l. 2. of this first part, c. 2. §. 6. ^b Hier. in Ose. c. 2. ^c Lyr. in sapient. Salom. c. 11. ^d Ibid. l. 3. c. 11. ^e Hier. in Ose. c. 1. & 9. ^f Auctor. de acquit. l. 1. ^g Hier. in Ose. c. 2. ^h Strabo, l. 13. c. 1. ⁱ L. 4. cont. Julian.

accepisse: perseverarunt igitur Assyrii, & finitimæ illis gentes sacrificantes ei. Arbelus, A man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the first of all men that was ever honoured by their subjects with the title of deity (or with the name of God) the *Assyrians* therefore and the bordering nations have persevered, sacrificing to him. Even *Arius* also, whom *Suidas* calls *Thuras*, who succeeded next after *Ninyas*, was made an idol-god among them, if we credit *Suidas*.

After *Ninus* (that is, after *Ninyas*) *Thuras* reigned (saith *Suidas*) whom they called after the name of the planet *Mars*; a man of shape and fierce disposition, who bidding battle to *Caucasus* of the stock of *Japhet*, slew him. The *Assyrians* worshipped him for their God, and called him *Baal* (that is) *Mars*; thus far *Suidas*. Neither is it unlikely but that many among idolatrous nations were deified in their life-times, or soon after: tho' I deny not but that the most of their images and *Statue* were first erected without divine worship, only in memory of the glorious acts of benefactors, as *Glycas* rightly conceiveth; and so afterwards the devil crept into those wooden and brazen carcases, when posterity had lost the memory of their first invention. Hereof *Isidore* speaketh in this manner. *Quos autem Pagani Deos asserunt homines fuerunt, & pro uniuscujusque vitæ meritis vel magnificentia, colit apud suos post mortem coeperunt: sed (demonibus persuadentibus) quos illi pro sua memoria honoraverunt, minores Deos existimârunt: ad ista vero magis excolenda acceperunt poetarum figmenta;* They were men, saith he, whom the *Pagans* affirmed to be Gods: and every one for his merits or magnificence began after his death to be honoured of his own. But at length (the devils persuading) they accounted them lesser gods, whose memories they honoured: and the fictions of the poets made the opinions (concerning the honours of the dead) much more superstitious.

And that the worshipping of images was brought in by the *Pagans*, and heathen nations, it is not *Isidore* alone that witnesseth; but *Gregory*: *“ Gentilitas (saith he) inventrix & caput est imaginum; Gentilism is the inventress and ground of images: and Ambrose; “ Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei; The Gentiles adore wood as it were the image of God. “ Eusebius also affirmeth as much, and calleth the worshipping of images a custom borrowed of the heathen. The like hath “ St. Augustine against Adimantus. Et verentur (saith “ Lactantius) ne religio vana sit, si nihil vident quod adorent; They fear their religion would be vain, should they not see that which they worship.*

And (out of doubt) the schoolmen shift this fearful custom very strangely. For seeing the very workmanship is forbidden, how can the heart of a wise Christian satisfy it self with the distinction of *Doulia* and *Hyperdoulia*, which can imply nothing but some difference of worshipping of those images after they are made? and it is of all things the most strange, why religious and learned men should strain their wits to defend the use of those things, which the scriptures have not only no where warranted, but expressly in many places forbidden, and cursed the practisers thereof. Yet this doctrine of the devil was so strongly and subtilly rooted, as neither the express commandment of God himself, *Thou shalt not make any graven image*, nor all the threatnings of *Moses* and the prophets after him could remove, weed it, or by fear, or by any persuasions, lead the hearts of men from it. For where shall we find words of greater weight,

or of plainer instruction than these? *Take therefore good heed to your selves (for ye saw no image in the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire) that ye corrupt not your selves, and make you a graven image, or representation of any figure, whether it be the likeness of male or female.*

And besides the express commandment, *Thou shalt make thee no graven image*, and the prohibition in many scriptures, so it is written in the book of *Wisdom*, *That the invention of idols was the beginning of whoredom: and the finding of them the corruption of life: for they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue for ever.*

And whereas the schoolmen affirm, that the prophets spake against the worshipping of the heathen idols, it is manifest that *Moses* spake of images of the living God, and not of *Baal* and the rest of that nature, *For you saw no image (saith Moses) that day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb.* Surely it was excellently said of *Basil*, *Noli aliquam in illo formam imaginari, ne circumscribas eum mente tua;* Do not imagine any form to be in God, lest thou limit or circumscribe him in thy mind too. Now, if the great *Basil* thought it a presumption unlawful to represent a pattern of the infinite God to our own thoughts and minds, how far do those men presume that put him under the greasy pencil of a painter, or the rusty ax, or other instrument of a carpenter or carver.

For as this dishonour to the infinite and incomprehensible God began in *Babel*: so did the devil transport and spread this invention into all the regions adjoining, and into *Egypt* and *Greece*.

The *Romans* for a while resisted the erection of these idols and images, refusing to set them in their temples for 170 years, observing therein the law of *Numa*: who thought it impiety to resemble things most beautiful, by things most base. But *Tarquinius Priscus* afterwards prevailing, and following the vanity of the *Grecians* (a nation of all others under the sun most deluded by *Satan*) set up the images of their Gods; which (as “ *St. Augustine* witnesseth) that learned *Varro* both bewailed, and utterly condemned: and which *Seneca* thus derideth. *Simulachra deorum venerantur, illis supplicant, genu posito illa adorant, & cum hæc suspiciant, fabros qui illa fecere contemnunt;* The images of the Gods are worshipped, those they pray unto with bended knees, those they adore; and while they so greatly admire them, they contemn the handicraftsmen that made them: which also *Sedulius* the *Poet* in this sort scoffed at.

Iheu miseri qui vana colunt, qui corde sinistro Religiosa sibi sculpunt simulachra, suumque factorem fugiunt, & quæ fecere verentur. Quis furor est? quæ tanta animos dementia ludit? Ut volucrem, turpemque bovem, torvumque draconem,

Semi-hominemque canem supplex homo pronus adoret.

Ah wretched they that worship vanities,
And consecrate dumb idols in their heart,
Whom their own Maker (God on high) despise,
And fear the work of their own hands and art.
What fury? what great madness doth beguile
Mens minds? that man should ugly shapes adore,
Of birds, or bulls, or dragons, or the vile
Half-dog half-man on knees for aid implore.

And tho' this device was barbarous, and first, and many years practised by heathen nations only,

“ *Greg. Noster.* “ *Amb. in Psal. 108.* “ *Euseb. l. 7. c. 18.* “ *Aug. c. 13.* “ *Lact. l. 2. c. 2.* “ *De Civit. Dei, l. 4. c. 31.*
till

till the *Jews* were corrupted in *Egypt*, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laugheth to scorn the ignorant stupidity of his nation: but *Justin Martyr* remembreth how the *Sibyls* inveighed against images: and *Hospinian*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the souls of men to erect and adore those Babels. *Strabo* and *Herodotus* witness, that the *Persians* did not erect or set up any statue of their gods. *Lycurgus* never taught it the *Lacedemonians*, but thought it impiety to represent immortal natures by mortal figures. *Eusebius* also witnesseth in his sixth book *de præparatione evangelica*, that it was forbidden by a law in *Serica*, or among the *Brachmans* in *India*, that images should be worshipped. The same do *Tacitus* and *Crinitus* report of the ancient *Germans*. Many other authors might be remembered that witness the disdain which the heathens themselves had of this childish idolatry: of which *Hospinian* hath written at large in his tract *de origine imaginum*. And it was truly said, *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta sunt*; All ill examples have sprung from good beginnings. The heathen at first made these *statuæ* and images, but in memory of such remarkable men, as had deserved best of their countries and commonwealths: *Effigies hominum* (saith *Pliny*) *non solebant exprimi nisi aliqua illustri causa perpetuitatem merentium*; Men were not wont to make pictures, but of men which merited for some notable cause to be perpetually remembered. And tho' of the more ancient *Papists*, some have borrowed of the *Gentiles* (as appeareth in *Lactantius*) that defence for images: That *Simulachra* are *pro clementis literarum, ut per ea discerent homines Deum invisibilem cognoscere*; Images (say they, and so before them the heathen said) are instead of letters, whereby men might learn to know the invisible God: in which understanding (perhaps) they no otherwise esteemed them than pictures indeed; yet as that of *Baal* or *Bel*, set up in memory of *Belus* the *Babylonian*,¹ became afterwards the most revered idol of the world, by which so many nations (and they which were appropriate to God himself) were misled and cast away: so those very stocks and stones, and painted canvases (called the pictures of Christ, or Lady, and others) were by thousands of ignorant people, not only adored, but esteemed to have life, motion, and understanding. *On these stocks we call* (saith the book of *Wisdom*) *when we pass through the raging waves, on these stocks more rotten than the ship that carrieth us*.

This heathen invention of images became so fruitful in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of gods, that they were forced to distinguish them into degrees and orders; as *Dii consentes, seu majorum gentium*; *selecti, patritii, insigniores, dii medii*: counselling gods, or gods of the mightiest nobility; select gods, patritian, gods of mark, and common gods (which the *Romans* called *Medioximi*) *dii infimi*, and terrestrial hero's, and multitudes of other gods: of which *St. Augustine* hath made large mention in his book *de Civitate Dei*, lib. 14. But (saith *Lactantius*) among all those miserable souls and rotten bodies, worshipped by men more like to their idols, did *Epimenides Cretenfis* (by what good angel moved I know not) erect in the *Athenian* fields, altars to the unknown God, which stood with the same title and dedication even to the times of *St. Paul*: who made them first known to whom those altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might discern the difference betwixt that light which

lighteneth every man, and the obscure and stinking mist wherein the devil had so many years led and misled them. And it sufficed not that the multitude of these gods was so great in general, or that every nation had some one which took particular and singular care of them; as *Jupiter* in *Crete*, *Isis* in *Egypt*, in *Athens* *Minerva*, in *Samos* *Juno*, in *Paphos* *Venus*, and so of all other parts; but every city, and almost every family, had a god apart. For it is written in the 2d of *Kings* xvii. 18, 31. the men of *Babel*, made *Succoth Benoth*, and the men of *Cuth* made *Nergal*, and the men of *Hamath* made *Asbima*, and the *Avims* made *Nibhaz* and *Tarrack*, and the *Sephernaims* burnt their children in the fire to *Adramelech*. All which how plainly hath the prophet *Isa.* c. xliv. derided? *Men cut down trees, rinde them, burn a part of them, make ready their meat, and warm themselves by the fire thereof, and of the residue he maketh a god, an idol, and prayeth unto it: but God hath shut their eyes from sight, and their hearts from understanding*. It is therefore safest for a Christian to believe the commandments of God so direct against idolatry, to believe the prophets, and to believe *St. Paul*, who speaketh thus plainly and feelingly. *My beloved fly from idolatry, I speak as unto them which have understanding, judge ye what I say*.

SECT. VIII.

Of the wars of Ninus: and lastly of his war against Zoroaster.

UNT O this *Belus* succeeded *Ninus*, the first that commanded the exercise of idolatry, the first that injuriously invaded his neighbour-princes; and the first that without shame or fear committed adultery in publick. But as of *Belus* there is no certain memory (as touching particulars:) so of this *Ninus* (whose story is gathered out of prophane authors) I find nothing so warrantable, but that the same may be disputed, and in the greatest part doubted. For altho' that piece of *Berosus* set out and commented upon by *Annius* hath many good things in it, and giveth great light (as *Chrytaeus* noteth) to the understanding of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Dion*, *Halicarnassæus*, and others: yet *Lodovicus Vives*, *B. Rhenanus*, and others after them, have laid open the imperfection and defects of the fragment; proving directly that it cannot be the same *Berosus* which lived in *Alexander's* time, cited by ^a *Athenæus* and *Josephus*: and whose statue the *Athenians* erected, saith *Pliny*. Yet it is from him chiefly, that many have gathered the succession of the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* princes, even from *Nimrod* to the 18th king *Ascatades*, and to the times of *Joshua*. For of *Metasthenes* an historian, of the race of the *Persian* priests, there are found but certain papers, or some few lines of the *Chaldean* and *Assyrian* monarchies: but he afterwards in the collection of the *Persian* kings is not without his errors.

Ctesias of *Cnidus* (a city adjoining to *Halicarnassus*) who lived together with *Cyrus* the younger, and with *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, gathered his history out of the *Persian* records, and reacheth as far upwards as *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and tho' in the story of *Cyrus* the younger, *Xenophon* approveth him in some things, and *Athenæus*, *Pausanias* and *Tertullian* cite him; yet so base and apparent are his flatteries of the times and princes with whom he lived, and so incredible are the numbers which he finds in the armies of *Ninus*, and especially of

^a Athen. l. 14. Joseph. cont. Appion. l. 1. & 7

Semiramis; as whatsoever his reports were, times have consumed his works, saving some very few excerptions lately published.

And therefore in things uncertain, seeing a long discourse cannot be pleasing to men of judgment, I will pass over the acts of this 3d *Assyrian*, in as few words as I can express them. St. *Augustine* affirms that *Ninus* mastered all *Asia*, *India* excepted. Others say that he won it all, save *India*, *Bactria*, and *Arabia*. For he made *Aricus* of *Arabia* the companion of his conquests, with whom he entered into a straight league of amity, because he commanded many people, and was his kinsman, and a *Chusite*, and the nearest prince confronting *Babylonia*. His first enterprise was upon *Syria*, which he might easily subdue, both because he invaded it on the sudden, and because it lay next him: and also because the *Arabians* and their king *Aricus* (which bordered *Syria*) assisted him in the conquest thereof.

The king of *Armenia*, *Barzanes*, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aid him in his war against *Zoroaster*: for from *Armenia* he bent himself that way towards the east; but that ever he commanded the lesser *Asia*, I do not believe, for none of his successors had any possession therein.

His third war was against *Pharnus*, king of the *Medes*, whom it is said that he overthrew, and cruelly murdered with his seven children, tho' others affirm that they all died in one battel against him. Whether he invaded *Zoroaster* before the building or amplifying of *Nineveh*, or after, it is uncertain. It is said that he made two expeditions into *Bactria*: and that finding little or ill success in the first, he returned, and set the work of *Nineveh* forward: and then a second time entred *Bactria* with 1700000 foot, and 200000 horse, and 10600 chariots: being encountred by *Zoroaster* with 400000. But ^a *Ninus* prevailing, and *Zoroaster* being slain, he entred farther into the country, and besieged the chief city thereof, called *Bactra* or *Bactrion* (saith ^b *Stephanus*;) which by a passage found, and an assault given by *Semiramis* (the wife of *Menon*) he entred and possessed. Upon this occasion *Ninus* both admiring her judgment and valour, together with her person and external beauty, fancy'd her so strongly, as (neglecting all princely respects) he took her from her husband, whose eyes he threatned to thrust out if he refused to consent. He therefore yielding to the passion of love in *Ninus*, and to the passion of sorrow in himself, by the strong persuasions of shame and dishonour, cast himself headlong into the water and died.

C H A P. XI.

Of Zoroaster, supposed to have been the chief author of magick arts: and of the divers kinds of magick.

S E C T. I.

That Zoroaster was not Cham, nor the first inventor of astrology, or of magick: and that there were divers great magicians of this name.

Zoroaster king of the *Bactrians*, *Vincentius* supposeth to be *Cham*, the son of *Noah*: a fancy of little probability. For *Cham* was the paternal ancestor of *Ninus*, the father of *Chus*, the grand-father of *Nimrod*, whose son was *Belus*, the father of *Ninus*. It may be that *Vincentius* had heard of that book which was called *Scripturæ*

Cham, devised by some wicked knave, and so intitled: of which *Sixtus Senensis* hath made the due mention.

It is reported by ^c *Cassianus*, that *Serenus Abbas* gave the invention of magick to *Cham*, the son of *Noah*: so did *Comestor* in his scholastical history: with art (saith he) with the seven liberal sciences he writ in fourteen pillars: seven of which were made of brass, to resist the defacing by the waters of the flood; and seven of brick against the injury of fire. There was also another devised discourse, which went under the title of *Prophetia Cham*. *Cassianus* out of *Serenus* hath somewhat like unto this of *Comestor*. These be *Cassianus's* words: *Cham (filius Noah) qui superstitionibus istis & sacrilegis fuit artibus infectus, sciens nullum se posse super hiis memorialem librum in arcam prorsus inferre, in qua erat cum patre justo, &c.* *Cham* (the son of *Noah*) who was infected with these superstitions, and sacrilegious arts, knowing that he could not bring any book or memorial of that nature into the ark, wherein he was to remain with his godly father, caused the precepts and rules thereof to be graven in metal and hard stone.

St. *Augustine* noteth, that *Zoroaster* was said to have laugh'd at his birth, when all other children weep; which presaged the great knowledge which afterwards he attained unto: being taken for the inventor of natural magick and other arts; for the corrupter, saith *Pliny* and *Justin*. But I do not think that *Zoroaster* invented the doctrine of the horoscopes or nativities: or first found out the nature of herbs, stones, and minerals, or their sympathetic or antipathetical workings; of which I know not what king of *Chaldea* is also made the inventor. I rather think that these knowledges were far more ancient, and left by *Noah* to his sons. For *Abraham* who had not any acquaintance with *Zoroaster* (as *Josephus* reporteth) was no less learned herein than any other in that age, if he exceeded not all men then living: differing from the wisdom of after-times in this, that he knew and acknowledged the true cause, and giver of life and virtue to nature and all natural things; whereas others (forgetting God's infinite, dispersed, and universal power) admired the instruments and attributed proper strength to the things themselves (from which the effects were sensible) which belonged to that wisdom, ^d *Which being one, and remaining in it self, can do all things and reneweth all.*

Now whether this *Zoroaster* (overthrown by *Ninus*) were the same which was so excellent a naturalist, it is doubted. For *Zoroaster* the magician, *Ctesias* calls *Oxyartes*, whom *Pliny* finds of a later time. And if *Zoroaster* were taken away by a spirit (being in the midst of his disciples) as some authors report, then *Zoroaster*, slain by *Ninus*, was not the magician: which is also the opinion of ^e *Scaliger*.

Again, ^f *Josephus* and *Cedrenus* affirm that *Seth* first found out the planets, or wandering stars, and other motions of the heavens: for if this art had been invented by *Zoroaster*, he could not have attained to any such excellency therein, in his own life-time; but being a man (as it seemeth) of singular judgment, he might add somewhat to this kind of knowledge, and leave it by writing to posterity.

But of this *Zoroaster* there is much dispute: and no less jangling about the word and art of magick. *Arnobius* remembreth four to whom the name of *Zoroaster*, or *Zoroastres*, was given: which by *Hermodorus* and *Dion* seemeth to be but a cognomen, or name of art, and was as much to say, as *astro-rum cultor*. The first, *Arnobius* calleth the *Bactri-*

^a Aug. de Civitate Dei. ^b Steph. de Urb. ^c Cassian. in Ocla. Col. c. 21. ^d Wicl. c. 7. ^e Scalig. in Euf. ^f Jos. l. 1. ant. c. 4.

an, which may be the same that *Ninus* overthrew: the second, a *Chaldean*, and the astronomer of *Ninus*: the third was *Zoroaster Pamphilius*, who lived in the time of *Cyrus*, and his familiar: the fourth *Zoroaster Armenius*, the nephew of *Hofstanes*, which followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*: between whom and *Cyrus* there pass'd 78 years. *Suidas* remembreth a fifth, called *Perfomedus sapiens*: and *Plato* speaketh of *Zoroaster* the son of *Oromasdes*; which *Picus Mirandula* confirmeth.

Now of what nation the first and chief *Zoroaster* was, it is doubted. *Pliny* and *Laertius* make him a *Persian*. *Gemisthius* or *Pletho*, *Ficinus* and *Steu-chius* make him a *Chaldean*. But by those books of one *Zoroaster*, found by *Picus Mirandula*, it appeareth plainly, that the author of them was a *Chaldean* by nation, tho' the word (*Chaldean*) was as often given to the learned priests peculiarly, as for any distinguishment of nations. *Porphyry* makes the *Chaldæi* and *Magi* divers; *Picus* the same. But that this *Zoroaster* was a *Chaldean* both by nation and profession, it appeareth by his books, which (saith *Picus*) were written in the *Chaldean* tongue; and the comment in the same language. Now that the *Magi* and they were not differing, it may be judged by the name of those books of *Zoroaster*, which in an epistle of *Mirandula* to *Ficinus*, he saith, to be intitled, *Patris Ezre Zoroastris & Melchior magorum oracula*.

S E C T. II.

Of the name of *Magia*: and that it was anciently far diverse from conjuring and witchcraft.

NOW for magick it self; which art (saith ^a*Mirandula*) *pauci intelligunt, multi reprehendunt*; Few understand, and many reprehend: *Et sicut canes ignotos semper allatrant*; As dogs bark at those they know not: so they condemn and hate the things they understand not: I think it not amiss (leaving *Ninus* for a while) to speak somewhat thereof.

It is true that many men abhor the very name and word [*Magus*] because of *Simon Magus*, who being indeed, not *Magus*, but *Goes*, that is, familiar with evil spirits, usurped that title. For magick, conjuring and witchery are far differing arts, whereof *Pliny* being ignorant, scoffeth thereat. For *Nero*, saith ^b*Pliny*, who had the most excellent magicians of the east, sent him by *Tyridates* king of *Armonia*, who held that kingdom by his grace, found the art after long study and labour altogether ridiculous.

^c*Magus* is a *Persian* word primitively, whereby is express'd such a one as is altogether conversant in things divine. And, as ^d*Plato* affirmeth, the art of magick is the art of worshipping God. To which effect *Apollonius* in his epistles expounding the word [*μαγικός*] saith, that the *Persians* called their gods *μάγας*: whence he addeth that *Magus* is either *ὁ κατὰ φύσιν θεός* or *θεοπροπαιδης θεός*, that is, that *Magus* is a name sometime of him that is a God by nature; sometimes of him that is in the service of God: in which latter sense it is taken, *Matt.* ch. ii. ver. 1. And this is the first and highest kind: which ^e*Piccolomini* calleth divine magick: and these did the *Latins* newly intitle *sapientes* or *wise men*: For the fear and worship of God is the beginning of knowledge. These *wisemen* the *Greeks* call *Philosophers*: the *Indians* *Brachmans*: which name they somewhat nearly retain to this day, calling their priests *Bramines*; among the *Egyptians* they were termed priests; with the *Hebrews* they were called *Cabalists*, *Prophets*, *Scribes*,

and *Pharisees*: amongst the *Babylonians* they were differenced by the name of *Chaldeans*: and among the *Persians* *Magicians*: of whom *Arnobius* (speaking of *Hofstanes*, one of the ancient magicians) useth these words, '*Et verum Deum merita majestate prosequitur, & angelos ministros Dei, sed veri, ejus venerationi novit assistere. Idem demonas prodit terrenos, vagos, humanitatis inimicos. Sophenes* (for so *M. Felix* calleth him, not *Hofstanes*) ascribeth the due majesty to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his angels are ministers and messengers which attend the worship of the true God. He also hath delivered that there are devils earthly and wandring, and enemies to mankind.

His majesty also in his first book of *Demonology*, c. iii. acknowledgeth, that in the *Persian* tongue the word [*Magus*] imports as much as a contemplator of divine and heavenly sciences, but unjustly so called, because the *Chaldeans* were ignorant of the true divinity. And it is also right which his majesty avoweth, that under the name of magick, all other unlawful arts are comprehended, and yet doth his majesty distinguish it from necromancy, witchcraft, and the rest: of all which he hath written largely and most learnedly. For the magick which his majesty condemneth, is of that kind whereof the devil is a party. *Daniel*, in his 2d chapter, nameth four kinds of those wisemen: *Arioli*, *Magi*, *Malefici*, & *Chaldæi*. *Arioli* the old *Latin* translation calleth *Sophistas*: *Vatablus* and *Pagninus*, *Genethliacos*, or *Physicos*, or *Philosophers*, or (according to the note of *Vatablus*) *Naturalists*: *Nempe sunt Magi apud Barbaros, quod philosophi apud Græcos (scilicet) divinarum humanarumque rerum scientiam profitentes*; For the *Magi* are the same with the *Barbarians*, as the *Philosophers* are with the *Greeks*, that is, men that profess the knowledge of things both divine and human. The *Greek* and the *English* call them incanters; *Junius* magicians; *Castalion* conjecturers: in the *Syrian* they are all four by one name called *Sapientes Babylonis*, The wisemen of *Babel*.

The second sort *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Junius*, and our *English* call *Astrologers*, *Jerome* and the *Septuagint*, *Magicians*.

The third kind are *Malefici*, or *Venefici*; in *Jerome*, *Pagnin*, and the *Septuagint*, *Witches*, or *Poisoners*; in *Junius*, *Præstigiatores*, or *Sorcerers*, as in *English*.

That witches are rightly so called *Venefici*, or *Poisoners*; and that indeed there is a kind of *Malefici*, which without any art of magick or necromancy, use the help of the devil to do mischief, his majesty confirmeth in the first chapter of his second book: speaking also in the fifth chapter of their practice, to mix the powder of dead bodies with other things by the devil prepared; and at other times to make pictures of wax, or clay, or otherwise (as it were *Sacramentaliter*) to effect those things, which the devil by other means bringeth to pass.

The fourth, all translators call *Chaldeans*: who took upon them to foretel all things to come, as well natural as human, and their events: and this they vaunted to perform by the influences of the stars by them observed, and understood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are the corruptions, which have made odious the very name of magick, having chiefly sought (as is the manner of all impostures) to counterfeit the highest and most noble part of it, yet so as they have also crept into the inferiour degrees.

A second kind of magick was that part of *Astro-*

^a Pic. Mir. fol. 81. ^b Plin. l. 30. hist. nat. ^c Porphyr. & Apul. ^d Plato. in Alcib. ^e Piccol. de defin. Prov. 1. 7. John Hug. Lincol. ^f In Octavio Minutio Felicio cum Arnobio, pag. 360. ^g Demonolog. l. 2. c. 1.

logy, which had respect to sowing and planting, and all kinds of agriculture and husbandry : which was a knowledge of the motions and influences of the stars into those lower elements.

Philo Judeus goeth farther, affirming that by this part of *magick* or *astrology*, together with the motions of the stars and other heavenly bodies, *Abraham* found out the knowledge of the true God, while he lived in *Chaldea* : *Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognovit Creatorem* (saith *Jo. Damascen.*) Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the creature. *Josephus* reporteth of *Abraham*, that he instructed the *Egyptians* in arithmetick and astronomy, who before *Abraham's* coming unto them knew none of these sciences.

And so doth *Archangelus de Burgo* in defence of *Mirandula* against *Garfias*. *Alexander & Eupolemon dicunt, quod Abraham sanctitate & sapientia omnium præstantissimus Chaldeos primum, deinde Phœnices, demum Aegyptios sacerdotes astrologiam & divina docuerit : Alexander* (saith he) meaning *Alexander Polyhistor*, and *Eupolemon* affirm, that *Abraham* the holiest and wisest of men did first teach the *Chaldeans*, then the *Phœnicians*, lastly the *Egyptian* priests astrology and divine knowledge.

The third kind of magick containeth the whole philosophy of nature ; not the brablings of the *Aristotelians*, but that which bringeth to light the inmost virtues, and draweth them out of nature's hidden bosom to human use, *Virtutes in centro centri latentes* ; Virtues hidden in the center of the center, according to the chymists. Of this sort were *Albertus*, *Arnoldus de villa Nova*, *Raymond*, *Bacon*, and many others : and before these, in elder times, and who better understood the power of nature, and how to apply things that work to things that suffer, were *Zoroaster* before spoken of : *Apolonius Tyaneus* remembred by *St. Jerome* to *Paulinus* ; in some mens opinion *Numa Pompilius* among the *Romans* : among the *Indians*, *Thespion* : among the *Egyptians*, *Hermes* : among the *Babylonians*, *Budda* : the *Thracians* had *Zamolxis* : the *Hyperboreans* (as is supposed) *Abbaris* : and the *Italians*, *Pet. Aponensis*. The magick which these men profess'd is thus defin'd. *Magia est connexio à viro sapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus, sibi congruenter respondentibus, ut inde opera prodeant non sine eorum admiratione qui causam ignorant* : Magick is the connexion of natural agents and patients, answerable each to other, wrought by a wise man to the bringing forth of such effects, as are wonderful to those that know not their causes. In all these three kinds which other men divide into four, it seemeth that *Zoroaster* was exceedingly learned ; especially in the first and highest. For in his oracles he confesseth God to be the Creator of the universal : he believeth of the Trinity, which he could not investigate by any natural knowledge : he speaketh of angels, and of *Paradise* : approveth the immortality of the soul : teacheth truth, faith, hope, and love, discoursing of the abstinence and charity of the *magi* : which oracles of his, *Pfellus*, *Picinus*, *Patritius*, and others have gathered and translated.

Of this *Zoroaster*, *Eusebius* in the theology of the *Phœnicians* using *Zoroaster's* own words : *Hæc ad verbum scribit* (saith *Eusebius*) *Deus primus incorruptibilium, sempiternus, ingenuus, expers partium, sibi ipsi simillimus, bonorum omnium auriga, munera non expetens, optimus, prudentissimus, pater juris, sine doctrina justitiam perdoctus, natura perfectus, sapiens, sacræ naturæ unicus inventor, &c.*

Thus writeth *Zoroaster*, word for word. God the first incorruptible, everlasting, unbegotten, without parts, most like himself, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the best, the wisest, the father of right, having learn'd justice without teaching, perfect wise by nature, the only inventor thereof.

Sixtus Senensis,¹ speaking of the wisdom of the *Chaldeans*, doth distinguish those wise men into five orders, to wit, *Chascedim*, or *Chaldeans* : *Asaphim*, or *Magicians* : *Chartumim* ; (which he translates *Arioli* or *Sophists*) *Mechasphim*, or *Malefici*, or *Venefici*, *Witches*, or *Poisoners* ; and *Gazarim Augures*, or *Aruspices*, or *Diviners*.

Chascedim were those which had the name of *Chaldeans*, which were astronomers ; *Hi cælorum motus diligentissime spectarunt* ; These did most diligently contemplate the motions of the heavens : whom *Philo* in the life of *Abraham* describeth.

Asaphim were in the old *Latin* translation called philosophers : of the *Septuagint* and of *Jerome*, magicians : *Qui de omnium tam divinarum quam humanarum rerum causis philosophati sunt* ; Who discoursed of the causes of all things, as well divine as human : of whom *Origen*, makes *Balaam* the son of *Beor*, to be the first : but *Laertius* ascribeth the invention of this art to *Zoroastres* the *Persian*.

Chartumim, or *inchanters*, the disciples (saith *St. Augustine*, *Pliny* and *Justin*) of another *Zoroastres* : who corrupted the admirable wisdom of the *magi*, which he received from his ancestors.

Mecasphim, or *Venefici*, or *Witches*, are those of which we have spoken already out of his majesty's book of *Demonology*.

Gazarim, or *Aruspices*, after *St. Jerome*, which divine from the entrails of beasts slain for sacrifices : or by *Gazarim* others understand *Augures*, who divine by the flying, singing, or feeding of birds.

By this distinction we may perceive the difference between those wise men which the kings of *Babylon* entertained ; and that the name and profession of the *magi* among the ancient *Persians* was most honest. For as *Peucer* truly observeth, *Præerant religioni Persicæ, ut in populo Dei Levitæ, studiisque veræ philosophiæ dediti erant : nec quisquam Rex Persarum poterat esse, qui non antea magorum disciplinam scientiamque percipisset*. The *magi* (saith he) were the chief ministers of the *Persian* religion, as the *Levites* among God's people, and they were given to the studies of true philosophy : neither could any be king of the *Persians*, who had not first been exercised in the mysteries and knowledge of the *magi*. *Sixtus Senensis* in the defence of *Origen* against *Polychronius* and *Theophilus* hath two kinds of magick ; his own words are these : *Et ne quem moveant præmissa Polychronii & Theophili testimonia, sciendum est duplicem esse magiam ; alteram ubique ab Origene damnatam, quæ per sœdera cum demonibus inita aut vere aut apparenter operatur ; alteram ab Origene laudatam, quæ ad prælicen naturalis philosophiæ pertinet docens admirabiles res operari ex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad invicem agentium ac patientium* : That the testimonies of *Theophilus* and *Polychronius*, saith he, may not move any man, it is to be understood that magick is of two sorts, the one every where condemned by *Origen* ; which worketh (whether truly or seemingly) by covenants made with devils : the other commended by *Origen* ; which appertaineth to the prælic part of natural philosophy, teaching to work admirable things by the mutual application of natural virtues, agent and suffering reciprocally. This partition *Jerome* doth embrace in the first of

¹ De vit. sanct. Glyc. Annal. fol. 180. ² See upon his Comment in Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 18 c. 2. ³ Toto in mundo lucet Trias, cujus Monas est princeps. Cuncta namque perfecti pater, & mundi tradidit secundæ. ⁴ Pfell. & Picin. ⁵ De præp. evang. l. 1. c. 7. ⁶ Lib. 2. fol. 46. ⁷ Laert. l. 1. ⁸ Peucer de divinat. in c. de mag. fol. 135, & 136. ⁹ Bib. l. 6 fol. 424.

his commentaries upon *Daniel*; where considering of the difference which *Daniel* makes between these four kinds of wise men formerly remembred, he useth this distinction; *Quos nos Hæriolos, cæteri ἐπαοιδῆς (id est) Incantatores interpretati sunt, videntur mihi esse qui verbis rem peragunt; magi, qui de singulis philosophantur; malefici, qui sanguine utuntur & victimis, & sæpe contingunt corpora mortuorum: porro in Chaldeis Genethliacos significari puto, quos vulgo mathematicos vocant. Consuetudo autem communis magos pro maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem suam, eo quod sint philosophi Chaldeorum: & ad artis hujus scientiam reges quoque & principes ejusdem gentis omnia faciunt; unde & in nativitate Domini Salvatoris ipsi primum ortum ejus intellexerunt, & venientes in sanctam Bethlehem adoraverunt puerum, stella desuper ostendente.* They whom we call forcerers, and others interpret inchanters, seem to me such as perform things by words; magicians, such as handle every thing philosophically; witches, that use blood and sacrifices, and often lay hands on the body of the dead: further, among the *Chaldeans* I take them to be signified by the name of conjecturers upon nativities, whom the vulgar call mathematicians. But common custom takes magicians for witches, who are otherwise reputed in their own nation: for they are the philosophers of the *Chaldeans*: yea kings and princes of that nation do all that they do according to the knowledge of this art: whence at the nativity of the Lord our Saviour they first of all understood his birth, and coming unto holy *Bethlehem* did worship the child, the star from above shewing him unto them. By this therefore it appeareth that there is great difference between the doctrine of a magician, and the abuse of the word. For tho' some writers affirm, that *Magus hodie dicitur, qui ex fœdere factò utitur diaboli opera ad rem quamcunque*; That he is called a magician now-a-days, who having entered league with the devil, useth his help to any matter; yet (as our Saviour said of divorce) it was not so from the beginning. For the art of magick is of the wisdom of nature; other arts which undergo that title were invented by the falshood, subtlety and envy of the devil. In the latter there is no other doctrine, than the use of certain ceremonies *per malam fidem*, by an evil faith: in the former no other ill, than the investigation of those virtues and hidden properties which God hath given to his creatures, and how fitly to apply things that work to things that suffer. And tho' by the *Jews* those excellent magicians, philosophers and divines, which came to worship our Saviour *Christ*, were termed *Mechaschephim*, or *Mecasphim*; yet had they no other reason than common custom therein. *Consuetudo autem communis magos pro maleficis accipit*; Common custom, saith ^a St. *Jerome*, understandeth witches under the name of magicians: and antiquity, saith ^b *Peter Martyr*, by the word [*magi*] understood good and wise men. *Quid igitur expavescis magi nomen formidolose, nomen evangelio gratiosum, quod non maleficum & veneficum, sed sapientem sonat & sacerdotem?* O thou fearful one, saith *Ficinus*, why doubtest thou to use the name of *Magus*, a name gracious in the gospel, which doth not signify a witch or conjurer, but a wise man and a priest? For what brought this slander to that study and profession but only idle ignorance, the parent of causeless admiration? *Causa fuit mirificentia quorundam operum, quæ revera opera naturalia sunt: veruntamen quia procuratione demonum naturas ipsas vel conjungentium, vel commiscuentium, vel aliter*

ad operandum expedientium facta sunt, opera demonum credebantur ab ignorantibus hæc. De operibus hujusmodi est magia naturalis, quam necromantiam multi improprie vocant. The marvellousness of some works, which indeed are natural, hath been the cause of this slander: but because these works have been done by procurement of devils joining the natures together, or mingling them, or howsoever fitting the natures to their working, they were thought the works of the devils by the ignorant. Among these works is natural magick, which men call very improperly necromancy.

Mirandula in his *Apology* goeth further: ^c For by understanding, saith he, the uttermost activity of natural agents we are assisted to know the divinity of *Christ*: for otherwise (to use his own words) *Ignoratis terminis potentie & virtutis rerum naturalium, stat nos dubitare illa eadem opera, quæ fecit Christus, posse fieri per media naturalia*; The terms or limits of natural power and virtue not understood, we must needs doubt whether those very works which *Christ* did, may not be done by natural means: after which he goeth on in this sort: *Ideo non hæretice, non superstitiose dixi, sed verissime & Catholice, per talem magiam adjuvari nos in cognoscenda divinitate Christi*; Therefore I said not heretically, not superstitiously, but most truly and catholickly, that by such magick we are furthered in knowing the divinity of *Christ*. And seeing the *Jews* and others the enemies of *Christian* religion, do impudently and impiously object, that those miracles which *Christ* wrought were not above nature, but by the exquisite knowledge thereof performed: *Mirandula*, a man for his years fuller of knowledge than any that this latter age hath brought forth, might with good reason avow, that the uttermost of nature's works being known, the works which *Christ* did, and which (as himself witnesseth) no man could do, do manifestly testify of themselves, that they were performed by that hand which held nature therein but as a pencil, and by a power infinitely supreme and divine: and thereby those that were faithless, were either converted or put to silence.

SECT. III.

That the good knowledge in the ancient magick is not to be condemned; tho' the devil here as in other kinds, hath sought to obtrude evil things under the name and colour of good things.

SEEING therefore it is confessed by all of understanding, that a magician (according to the *Persian* word) is no other than *Divinorum cultor & interpres*; A studious observer and expounder of divine things: and the art itself (I mean the art of natural magick) no other, *Quam naturalis philosophiæ absoluta consummatio*, Than the absolute perfection of natural philosophy. Certainly then it proceedeth from ignorance, and no way forteth with wise and learned men *promiscue*, and without difference and distinction, to confound lawful and praise-worthy knowledge with that impious, and, to use *St. Paul's* words, *With those beggarly rudiments*, which the devil hath shuffled in, and by them bewitcheth and besootheth graceless men. For if we condemn natural magick, or the wisdom of nature, because the devil, who knoweth more than any man, doth also teach witches and poisoners the harmful parts of herbs, drugs, minerals, and excrements: then may we by the same rule condemn the physician, and the art of healing. For the devil also in the oracles of *Amphib-*

^a Hieron. in Dan

^b Pet. Mart. loc.

^c Mar. Ficin. part prim. fol 573.

^d Gul. Parisien. de lege, c. 14.

^e Fol. 80.

raus, Amphiloehus, Trophonius, and the like, taught men in dreams, what herbs and drugs were proper for such and such diseases. Now no man of judgment is ignorant, that the devil from the beginning hath sought to thrust himself into the same employment among the ministers and servants of God, changing himself for that purpose into an angel of light. He hath led men to idolatry as a doctrine of religion; he hath thrust in his prophets among those of the true God; he hath corrupted the art of astrology, by giving a divine power to the stars, teaching men to esteem them as gods, and not as instruments. And (as ^a *Bunting* observeth) it is true that judicial astrology is corrupted with many superstitions: but the abuse of the thing takes not away the art; considering that heavenly bodies (as even general experience sheweth) have and exercise their operation upon the inferior. For the sun, and the star of *Mars* do dry; the moon doth moisten, and govern the tides of the sea. Again, the planets, as they have several and proper names, so have they several and proper virtues: the stars do also differ in beauty and in magnitude; and to all the stars hath God given also their proper names, which (had they not influences and virtues different) needed not. ^b *He counteth the number of the stars, and calleth them by their names.* But into the good and profitable knowledge of the celestial influences, the devil ceaseth not to shuffle in his superstitions: and so to the knowledge of the secret virtues of nature hath he fastned his doctrine of characters, numbers and incantations; and taught men to believe in the strength of words and letters: (which without faith in God are but ink or common breath) thereby either to equal his own with the all-powerful word of God, or to diminish the glory of God's creating word, by whom are all things.

Moreover, He was never ignorant, that both the wise and the simple observe when the sea-birds forsake the shores and fly into the land, that commonly some great storm followeth; that the high flying of the kite and the swallow betokeneth fair weather; that the crying of crows and bathing of ducks foreshew rain: for they feel the air moistened in their quills. And it is written in *Jeremy* the prophet, *'Even the fowl in the air knoweth her appointed times, and the turtle, and the crane, and the swallow.'* Hereupon this enemy of mankind working upon these, as upon the rest of God's creatures, long time abused the heathen, by teaching them to observe the flying of fowls, and thereby to judge of good or ill success in the war: and withal to look into their entrails for the same, as if God had written the secrets of unsearchable providence in the livers and bowels of birds and beasts. Again, because it pleased God sometimes by dreams, not only to warn and teach his prophets and apostles, but heathen princes also; as ^c *Abimelech* to restore *Sarah* to *Abraham*; because he admonished *Joseph*, and by dream informed *Jacob*, *Laban*, *Pharaoh*, *Solomon*, *Paul*, *Ananias*, the *Magi* of the east, and others. For as it is remembered in *Job*: ^e *In dreams and visions of the night when sleep falleth upon men, &c. then God openeth the ears, that he might cause man to return from his enterprise*: therefore, I say, doth the devil also practise his divinations by dreams, or alter ^f *Parisiensis*, *Divinitatis imitationes*, His mock divinity. This in the end grew so common, as *Aristides* compiled an *Ephemerides* of his own dreams: *Mithridates*

of those of his concubines. Yea, the *Romans* finding the inconvenience hereof, because all dreams, without distinction of causes, were drawn to divination, forbade the same by a law, as by the words of prohibition, ^g *Aut narrandis somniis occultam aliquam artem divinandi*, it may appear. Likewise by the law of God in *Deuteronomy* xiii. seducing dreamers were ordered to be slain. Yet it is not to be contemned that *Marcus Antonius* was told a remedy in his dream for two grievous diseases that oppress'd him; nor that of *Alexander Macedon* for the cure of *Ptolemy's* poison'd wound; nor that which ^h *St. Augustine* reporteth of a *Millanoise*, whose son (the father dead) being demanded a debt already paid, was told by his father in a dream where the acquittance lay to discharge it; nor that of *Astyages* of his daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reason of all which, forasmuch as the cause is not in ourselves, this place denieth dispute.

SECT. IV.

That Daniel's misliking Nabuchodonosor's condemning of the magicians doth not justify all their practices.

BUT it may be objected, that if such divinations as the heathens commonly used were to be condemned in them, who took on them very many and strange revelations: how came it to pass that *Daniel* both condemned the hasty sentence of *Nabuchodonosor* against the magicians of *Chaldea*, and in a sort forbade it? especially considering that such kind of people God himself commanded to be slain. To this divers answers may be given. First, It seemeth that *Daniel* had respect to those *Chaldeans*, because they acknowledged that the dream of the king, which himself had forgotten, could not be known to any man by any art, either natural or diabolical: *For there is no other (said the Chaldeans) that can declare it before the king, except the Gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh*: and herein they confessed the power of the ever-living God.

Secondly, It may be conjectured, and that with good reason, that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any evil or unlawful arts, but were merely magicians and naturalists: and therefore when the king commanded to kill all, *Daniel* persuaded the contrary, and called it a hasty judgment, which proceeded with fury without examination. And that some of those mens studies and professions were lawful, it may be gathered by *Daniel's* instructions: For himself had been taught by them, and was called chief of the inchanters; of which some were termed *Soothsayers*, others *Astrologians*, others *Chaldeans*, others *Magi* or *Wise men*: and therefore of distinct professions.

Thirdly, *Daniel* misliked and forbade the execution of that judgment, because it was unjust. For howsoever those men might deserve punishment for the practice of unlawful arts (tho' not unlawful according to the law of that state) yet herein they were altogether guiltless. For it exceeded human power to pierce the king's thought, which the devil himself could not know. So then in *Daniel's* dislike, and hindering of the execution of sentence of death pronounced against the magicians, there is no absolute justifying of their practice and profession.

^a Bunt. in Chron. ^b Psal. 147. 4. ^c Jer. 8. 7. ^d Gen. 12. 17. ^e Job 33. 17. ^f G. Parisien. de leg. 24. cap. ^g Codex de malefic. & mathemat. leg. & accepta. ^h Aug. de cura pro mortuis agenda. ⁱ Deut. 13. and 18. Levit. 24.

SECT. V.

The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemn the right use of them.

NOTwithstanding this mixture every where of good with evil, of falshood with truth, of corruption with cleanness and purity: the good, the truth, the purity in every kind may well be embraced: as in the ancient worshipping of God by sacrifice, there was no man knowing God among the elders, that therefore forbore to offer sacrifice to the God of all power, because the devil in the image of *Baal, Astaroth, Chemoth, Jupiter, Apollo*, and the like, was so adored.

Neither did the abuse of astrology terrify *Abraham* (if we may believe the most ancient and religious^a historians) from observing the motions and natures of heavenly bodies; neither can it deter wise and learned men in these days from attributing those virtues, influences, and inclinations to the stars and other lights of heaven, which God hath given to those his glorious creatures.

The sympathetical and antipathetical working of herbs, plants, stones, minerals, with their other utmost virtues sometimes taught by the devil, and applied by his ministers to harmful and uncharitable ends, can never terrify the honest and learned physician or magician from the using of them to the help and comfort of mankind: neither can the illusions whereby the devil betrayeth such men as are fallen from God, make other men reject the observation of dreams; so far as with a good faith and a religious caution they may make use of them.

Lastly, The^b prohibition to mark flying of fowls (as signs of good or evil success) hath no reference at all to the crying of crows against rain, or to any observation not superstitious, and whereof a reason or cause may be given. For if we confound arts with the abuse of them, we shall not only condemn all honest trades and interchange among men (for there are that deceive in all professions) but we shall in a short time bury in forgetfulness all excellent knowledge and all learning, or obscure and cover it over with a most scornful and beggarly ignorance: and (as *Pliny* teacheth) we should shew ourselves *Ingratos erga eos, qui labore curaque lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce*; Unthankful we should shew ourselves toward those, who with pains and care have discovered unto us light in this light.

Indeed not only these natural knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant; but the mathematicks also and professors thereof; tho' those that are excellently learned judge of it in this sort. *In speculo mathematico verum illud, quod in omni scibili queritur, relucet; non modo remota similitudine, sed fulgida quadam propinquitate*; In the glass of the mathematicks, that truth doth shine, which is sought in every kind of knowledge; not in an obscure image, but in a near and manifest representation.

SECT. VI.

Of the divers kinds of unlawful magick.

IT is true that there are many arts, if we may so call them, which are covered with the name of magick, and esteemed abusively to be as branches of that tree, on whose root they never grew. The first of these hath the name of *Necromancy* or *Goetia*: and of this again there are divers kinds. The one is an invocation at the graves of the dead, to whom the devil himself gives answer instead of those that seem to appear. For certain it is, that

the immortal souls of men do not inhabit the dust and dead bodies, but they give motion and understanding to the living: death being nothing else but a separation of the body and soul: and therefore the soul is not to be found in the graves.

A second practice of those men, who pay tribute, or are in league with Satan, is that of conjuring or of raising up devils, of whom they hope to learn what they list. These men are so distracted, as to believe that by terrible words they make the devil to tremble; that being once impaled in a circle (a circle which cannot keep out a mouse) they therein, as they suppose, insconce themselves against that great monster. Doubtless they forgot that the devil is not terrified from doing ill, and all that is contrary to God and goodness; no, not by the fearful word of the Almighty: and that he feared not to offer to sit in God's seat; that he made no scruple to tempt our Saviour Christ, whom himself called the Son of God. So, forgetting these proud parts of his, an unworthy wretch will yet resolve himself, that he can draw the devil out of hell, and terrify him with a phrase: whereas in very truth, the obedience which devils seem to use, is but thereby to possess themselves of the bodies and souls of those which raise them up; as his majesty in his book aforementioned hath excellently taught, *That the devil's obedience is only secundum quid, scilicet, ex pacto; respective, that is, upon bargain.*

I cannot tell what they can do upon those simple and ignorant devils, which inhabit^d *Jamblicus's* imagination; but sure I am, the rest are apt enough to come uncalled: and always attending the cogitations of their servants and vassals, do no way need any such enforcement.

Or it may be that these conjurers deal altogether with *Cardan's* mortal devils, following the opinion of^e *Rabbi Avornathan* and of *Porphyrius*, who taught that these kind of devils lived not above a thousand years: which *Plutarch*, in his treatise *De oraculorum defectione*, confirmeth, making example of the great god *Pan*. For were it true, that the devils were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by them, then would they always fear those words or threats, by which at other times they are willingly mastered. But the^f familiar of *Simon Magus*, when he had lifted him up in the air, cast him headlong out of his claws, when he was sure he should perish with the fall. If this perhaps were done by St. *Peter's* prayers (of which St. *Peter* no where vaunteth) yet the same prank at other times upon his own accord the devil play'd with^g *Theodotus*: who transported (as *Simon Magus* was supposed to have been) had the same mortal fall that he had. The like success had *Budas*, a principal pillar of the *Manichean* heresy, as^h *Socrates* in his ecclesiastical history witnesseth: and for a manifest proof hereof, we see it every day, that the devil leaves all witches and forcerers at the gallows, for whom at other times he maketh himself a *Pegasus*, to convey them in haste to places far distant, or at least makes them so think: ⁱ *For to those that received not the truth, saith St. Paul, God shall send them strong illusions.* Of these their supposed transportations (yet agreeing with their confessions) his majesty, in the 2d book and the 4th chapter of the *Demonology*, hath confirmed by unanswerable reasons, that they are merely illusive. Another sort there are who take on them to include spirits in glasses and crystals: of whom *Cusanus*: ^k *Latui sunt incantatores, qui in ungue & vitro volunt spiritum includere: quia spiritus non clauditur corpore*; They are foolish inchanters which will

^a Euseb. ex Artapan. & Polyhill. ^b Deut. 18. 10. ^c Cusan. Comp. Theolog. c. 1. ^d Sunt in mundo genus quoddam potestatum valde divinum, indiseretum & inconsideratum; & quod neque verum a falso, neque possibile discernit ab impossibili. L. Vives in cap. 11. l. 10. ^e Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 10. ^f Cusan. exer. l. 2. ^g Euseb. hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 16. ^h Lib. 1. c. 21. ⁱ 2 Thess. 2. ^k Exercit. l. 2.

shut up their spirits within their nails or in a glass; for a spirit cannot be inclosed by a body.

There is also another art besides the aforementioned, which they call *Theurgia*, or white magick; a pretended conference with good spirits or angels, whom by sacrifice and invocation they draw out of heaven, and communicate withal. But the administering spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due unto their Creator: so seeing they are most free spirits, there is no man so absurd to think (except the devil have corrupted his understanding) that they can be constrained or commanded out of heaven by threats. Wherefore let the professors thereof cover themselves how they please by a professed purity of life, by the ministry of infants, by fasting and abstinence in general; yet all those that tamper with immaterial substances and abstract natures, either by sacrifice, vow, or enforcement, are men of evil faith, and in the power of Satan. For good spirits or angels cannot be constrained; and the rest are devils which willingly obey.

Other sorts there are of wicked divinations: as by fire, called *Pyromantia*: by water, called *Flydromantia*: by the air, called *Matæotechnia*, and the like.

The last, and, indeed, the worst of all other is fascination or witchcraft: the practisers whereof are no less envious and cruel, revengeful and bloody, than the devil himself. And these accursed creatures having sold their souls to the devil, work two ways; either by the devil immediately, or by the art of poisoning. The difference between necromancers and witches, his majesty hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a sort) command, the other obey the devil.

There is another kind of petty witchery (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of beasts and birds, of which ^a *Pythagoras* was accused, because an eagle lighted on his shoulder in the *Olympian* fields. But if the same exceeded the art of falconry, yet was it no more to be admired than *Mahomet's* dove, which he had used to feed with wheat out of his ear: which dove, when it was hungry, lighted on *Mahomet's* shoulder, and thrust his bill therein to find his breakfast: *Mahomet* persuading the rude and simple *Arabians*, that it was the Holy Ghost that gave him advice. And certainly if *Banks* had lived in elder times, he would have shamed all the enchanters in the world: for whosoever was most famous among them, could never master or instruct any beast as he did his horse.

For the drawing of serpents out of their dens, or killing them in their holes by enchantments (which the *Marfians*, a people of *Italy*, practised. ^b *Colubros disrumpit Marfia cantu*, Inchanting *Marfia* makes the snakes to burst.) That it hath been used, it appears *Psalms* lviii. 6. tho' I doubt not, but that many impostures may be in this kind; and even by natural causes it may be done. For there are many fumes that will either draw them out or destroy them; as womans hair burnt, and the like. So many things may be laid in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I find no other magick or enchantment, than to draw out a mouse with a piece of toasted cheese.

SECT. VII.

Of divers ways by which the devil seemeth to work his wonders.

BUT to the end that we may not doat with the *Manichees*, who make two powers of Gods:

that we do not give to the devil any other dominion than he hath (not to speak of his ability, when he is the minister of God's vengeance, as when *Egypt*, according to *David*, was destroyed by evil angels) he otherwise worketh but three ways: the first is, by moving the cogitations and affections of men: the second, by the exquisite knowledge of nature: and the third, by deceit, illusion, and false semblance. And that they cannot work what they would, *G. Parisiensis* giveth three causes: the first a natural impotency: the second, their own reason dissuading them from daring over much, or indeed (and that which is the only certain cause) the great mercy of the Creator, ^c *Tenens eos ligatos* (saith the same author) *velut immanissimas belluas*. *St. Augustine* was of opinion, that the frogs which *Pharaoh's* forcerers produced were not natural, but that the devil (by betraying of their senses that looked on) made them appear to be such. For as *Vairus* observeth, those frogs of the enchanters were not found corrupted as those of *Moses* were, which might argue that they were not creatures indeed. Hereof saith *St. Augustine*, *Nec sane demones naturas creant, sed quæ a Deo creatæ sunt commutant, ut videantur esse quod non sunt*; The devils create not any natures, but so change those that are created by God, as they seem to be that which they be not: of which in the 83d question he giveth the reason, *Dæmon quibusdam nebulis implet omnes meatus intelligentiæ, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis solet*; that is, The devil fills with certain clouds all passages of the understanding, by which the beam of the mind is wont to open the light of reason.

And as *Tertullian* in his book *de anima* rightly conceiveth, if the devil can possess himself of the eyes of our minds, and blind them, it is not hard for him to dazle those of the body. For (out of doubt) by the same way that God passeth out, the devil entreth in, beginning with the fancy, by which he doth more easily betray the other faculties of the soul: for the ^d fancy is most apt to be abused by vain apprehensions.

Aquinas on the contrary held that those frogs were not imaginary, but such indeed as they seemed: not made *magicæ artis ludibrio*, which indeed agreeth not with the art, but (according to *Thomas*) *per aptam & idoneam agentium & patientium applicationem*, By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients. And this I take to be more probable. For *Moses* could not be deceived by that sleight of false semblance; and *St. Augustine* in another case like unto this, to wit, of the turning of *Diomedes's* companions into birds, *per activa cum passivis*, inclineth rather to this opinion: tho' I am not persuaded that *St. Augustine* believed that of *Diomedes*. And this opinion of *Thomas*, *G. Parisiensis*, a man very learned, also confirmeth. For speaking of natural magick, he useth these words. ^e *De hujusmodi autem operibus est subita generatio ranarum, & pediculorum, & vermium, aliorumque animalium quorundam: in quibus omnibus sola natura operatur, verum adhibitis adiutoriis, quæ ipsa semina naturæ confortant & acunt, ita ut opus generationis tantum accelerent, ut eis qui hoc nesciunt non opus naturæ videatur (quæ tardius talia efficere consuevit) sed potentia dæmonum, &c.* to which he addeth: *Qui autem in hiis docti sunt talia non mirantur, sed solum Creatorem in hiis glorificant*; In such works, saith he, the sudden generation of frogs, and lice, and worms, and some other creatures is: in all which nature alone worketh; but by means strengthening the seeds of nature, and quickning them; in such wise that they

^a *Alian.* l. 6. not. Hist. ^b *Lucil.* in Satyr. ^c *Gul. Parif.* de universo, p. 2. c. 70. ^d *Maxima vis est phantasiæ ad errores*
^e *De leg.* c. 24. fol. 67.

so hasten the work of generation, that it seemeth to the ignorant not to be the work of nature, which usually worketh more leisurely, but they think it is done by the powers of devils. But they who are learned in these arts marvel not at such working, but glorify the Creator. Now by these two ways, the devils do most frequently work, to wit, by knowing the uttermost of nature; and by illusion: for there is no incomprehensible or unsearchable power, but of God only.

For shall we say, he caused sometimes thunders, lightnings, and tempests; and can infect the air, as well as move it or compress it; who knows not that these things are also natural? or may it be objected that he foretelleth things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illusion? it is true, that he sometimes doth it; but how? in elder ages he stole his knowledge out of the predictions of the prophets: and he foretold the death of *Saul*, at such time as he was in his own possession and power to dispose of. And he that hath lived from the infancy of the world to this day, and observed the success of every council: he that by reason of his swift motions can inform himself of all places, and preparations: he that is of counsel with all those that study and practise subversion and destruction: he that is prince of the air, and can thence better judge, than those that inhabit the earth: if he should not sometimes, yea if he should not very oftentimes, guess rightly of things to come (where God pleaseth not to give impediment) it were very strange. For we see that wise and learned men do oftentimes by comparing like causes conceive rightly of like effects, before they happen: and yet where the devil doubteth, and would willingly keep his credit, he evermore answereth by riddles, as,

Cræsus Halym penetrans magnam subvertit opum vim.

If *Cræsus* over *Halys* go,
Great kingdoms he shall overthrow.

Which answer may be taken either way: either for the overthrow of his own kingdom, or of his enemies. And thus far we grant the devil may proceed in predictions, which otherwise belong to God only; as it is in *Isaiah*, *Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods: shew us at all times and certainly what is to come.* ^b *Solius enim divine intelligentie ac sapientie est occulta nosse & revelare*; It is only proper to God's understanding and wisdom to know and reveal hidden things.

SECT. VIII.

That none was ever raised from the dead by the power of the devil: and that it was not the true Samuel which appeared to Saul.

TO conclude, it may be objected that the devil hath raised from the dead: and that others by his power have done the like, as in the example given of *Samuel* raised by the witch of *Endor*: which were it true, then might it indeed be affirmed that some of the devil's acts exceeded all the powers of nature, false semblance, and other illusions. ^c *Justin Martyr* was sometimes of the opinion, that it was *Samuel* indeed: and so was *Ambrose*, *Lyra*, and *Burgensis*; from which authorities those men

borrow strength which so believe. But *Martyr* changed his opinion: and so did *St. Augustine*, who at first seemed to be indifferent: for in his questions upon the Old and New Testament, he accounteth it detestable to think that it was *Samuel* which appeared: and these be his words elsewhere to the same effect: *In requie sunt animæ piorum a corpore separate, impiorum autem pœnas luunt, donec istarum ad vitam æternam, illarum vero ad æternam mortem quæ secunda dicitur corpora reviviscant*; The souls of the godly separated from their bodies are at rest, but those of the wicked suffer punishment, till the bodies of the just rise to eternal life, and of the wicked to an eternal and second death.

And (besides ^d *St. Augustine*) *Justin Martyr*, *Hilarius*, *Tertullian*, *Athanasius*, *Chrysostom*, and others, believed firmly, and taught it: that the souls of men being once separate from their bodies, did not wander on the earth at all. *Credere debemus* (saith *Cyril*) *quum a corporibus sanctorum animæ abierint, tanquam in manus charissimi patris Bonitati divine commendari*; We must believe when the souls of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the divine Goodness as into the hands of a most dear father. If then they be in heaven, the power of the devil cannot stretch so high: if in hell, *ab inferno nulla est redemptio*, from hell there is no redemption. For there are but two habitations after death; *Unum* (saith *Augustine*) *in igne æterno*; *alterum in regno æterno*; The one in eternal fire; the other in God's eternal kingdom. And tho' it be written in *Jure Pontificio*, that many there are who believe that the dead have again appeared to the living; yet the Gloss upon the same text finds it ridiculous. ^e *Credunt & male, quia sunt phantasmata* (saith the Gloss;) They believe, and they believe amiss, because they be but phantasms, or apparitions. For whereas any such voice hath been heard, saying, I am the soul of such a one; *hæc oratio a fraude atque deceptione diabolica est*; That speech is framed by the fraud and deception of the devil, saith *Chrysostom*. Likewise of the same saith *Tertullian*. *Ab sit ut animam cujuslibet sancti, nedum prophetæ, a demonio credamus extraham*; God forbid that we should think that the soul of any holy man, much less of a prophet, should be drawn up again by a devil.

It is true that the scriptures call that apparition *Samuel*; so do they the wooden images *Eberninus*: and false brazen gods are called gods, and the like. And whereasthese of the contrary opinion build upon that place of the 26th of *ecclesiasticus* (a book not numbered among the canonical scriptures) as *St. Augustine* himself in his treatise, if it be his, *de cura pro mortuis agenda*, confesseth; yet *Siracides* following the literal sense and phrase of the scriptures, proveth nothing at all: for tho' the devil would willingly persuade, that the souls (yea even of just men) were in his power, yet so far is it from the promises of the scriptures, and from God's just and merciful nature, and so contrary to all divine reason, as *St. Augustine* (or whosoever wrote that book before cited) might rightly term it a detestable opinion to think. For if God had so absolutely forsaken *Saul*, that he refused to answer him either by dreams, by *Urim*, or by his prophets: it were foolish to conceive, that he would permit the devil, or a wicked witch to raise a prophet from the dead in *Saul's* respect: it being also contrary to his own divine law to ask counsel of the dead; as in *Deuteronomy* 18, and elsewhere. Therefore it was the devil, and not

^a Ephes. 2. 2. & 6. 12. Diabolus magnum habet rerum usum: quæ res multum habet momenti in quovis negotio. Aug. de Anima, c. 26, 27, &c. ^b Guil. Parisiensis de legib. ca. 24. ^c Just. Martyr in colloq. cum Tryphone in resp. ad Orthog. q. 52. Ambrosius in Luc. 1. 1. c. 1. Lyra in Reg. 1. Aug. ad Simpl. l. 2. p. 3. De Civitate Dei, l. 13. c. 8. ^d Aug. de verb. Apost. 13. Just. Martyr ad Orthodox. q. 75. Hilarius plal. 2. in fine. Tert. de Anima in fin. Athanasius q. 13. Chrysostomus hom. 19. in Evang. Matthei. c. 26. q. 5. Episcopi. ^e 1 Kings 17. 22. 2 Kings 4. 34. Nullus enim magus aut demon mortuorum vere aliquam excitavit

the soul of a dead body, that gave answer and advice.

But because *Helias* and *Helizeus* had raised some from the dead by the power of God ; those devils which *St. Augustine* calleth *ludificatores animantium sibi subjeſtorum*, mockers of their own vassals, casting before their eyes a semblance of human bodies, and framing sounds to their ears like the voices of men, do also persuade their graceless and accursed attendants, that themselves both possess, and have power over the souls of men: *Eludit diabolus aciem tum spectantium, tum etiam cogitantium*, saith *L. Vives* ; The devil beguileth the sense both of the beholders, and of those that so imagine. These then are the bounds of the devil's power, whom if we will not fear, we must fear to sin. For when he is not the instrument of God's vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himself his voluntary vassal: *poteſt ad malum invitare, non poteſt trahere*, saith *St. Augustine*, he can allure, but he cannot enforce to evil. Such as think otherwise may go into the number remembered by *Lucretius*.

*Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atque omnia cæcis
In tenebris metuunt: sic nos in luce timemus.*

We fear by light, as children in the dark.

C H A P. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of Ninus, and of his wife Semiramis: and of other of her acts.

S E C T. I.

Of the magnificent building of Nineveh by Ninus: and of Babylon by Semiramis.

BUT to come back to *Ninus* the amplifier and finisher of *Nineveh*: whether he performed it before or after the overthrow of *Zoroaster*, it is uncertain. As for the city it self, it is agreed by all prophane writers, and confirmed by the scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it had in compass ^a 440 *stadia*, or furlongs; the walls whereof were an hundred foot upright, and had such a breadth as three chariots might pass on the rampire in front: these walls were garnished with 1500 towers which gave exceeding beauty to the rest, and a strength no less admirable for the nature of those times.

But this city (built in the plains of *Aſſyria*, and on the banks of *Tigris*, and in the region of *Eden*) was founded long before *Ninus*'s time; and (as ancient historians report, and more lately *Nauclerus*) had the name of *Campſor*, at such time as *Ninus* amplified the same, and gave it a wall, and called it after his own name.

For these works of *Babylon* and *Nineveh* begun by *Nimrod* in *Chaldea*, and in *Aſſyria*, *Ninus* and *Semiramis* made perfect. ^b *Ninus* finished *Nineveh*, *Semiramis* *Babylon*: wherein she sought to exceed her husband by far. Indeed in the first age when princes were moderate, they neither thought how to invade others, nor feared to be invaded: labouring to build towns and villages for the use of themselves and their people without either walls or towers; and how they might discharge the earth of woods, briars, bushments, and waters, to make it more habitable and fertile. But *Semiramis* living in that

age, when ambition was in strong youth: and purposing to follow the conquest which her husband had undertaken, gave that beauty and strength to *Babylon* which it had.

S E C T. II.

Of the end of Ninus: and beginning of Semiramis's reign.

THIS she did after the death of her husband *Ninus*: who after he had mastered *Bactria*, and subjected unto his empire all those regions between it and the *Mediterranean* sea and *Helleſpont* (*Asia* the less excepted) and finished the work of *Nineveh*, he left the world in the year thereof 2019 after he had reigned 52 years. *Plutarch* reporteth, that *Semiramis* desired her husband *Ninus*, that he would grant unto her the absolute sovereign power for one day. *Diod. Siculus* out of *Atheneus*, and others, speak of five days. In which time (moved either with desire of rule, or licentious liberty, or with the memory of her husband *Menon*, who perished for her) she caused *Ninus* her husband to be slain. But this seemeth rather a scandal cast on her by the *Greeks*, than that it had any truth.

Howsoever *Ninus* came to his end, *Semiramis* took on her after his death the sole rule of the *Aſſyrian* empire: of which *Ninus* was said to be the first monarch, because he changed his seat from *Babylonia* in *Chaldea* to *Nineveh* in *Aſſyria*. ^c *Justin* reports that *Semiramis* (the better to invest herself, and in her beginning without murmur or offence to take on her so great a charge) presented herself to the people in the person of her son *Ninias* or *Zameis*, who bare her external form and proportion without any sensible difference.

This report I take also to be feigned, for which many arguments might be made. But as she ruled long, so she performed all those memorable acts which are written of her by the name of *Semiramis*, and subscribed that letter which she sent to the king of *India* (her last challenge and undertaken conquest) by her own name. And were it true that her son *Ninias* had such a stature at his father's death, as that *Semiramis* (who was very personable) could be taken for him; yet it is very unlikely that she could have held the empire from him 42 years after by any such subtilty (for so long she reigned after the death of her husband:) but it may be true that *Ninias* or *Zameis* (being wholly given to his pleasures, as it is written of him) was well pleased with his mother's prosperous government and undertakings.

S E C T. III.

Of Semiramis's parentage, and education, and metamorphosis of her mother.

SOME writers (of which *Plutarch* is one) make this famous woman to have been of base parentage, calling her after the name of her country, a *Syrian*. *Berosus* calls her after the name of her city wherein she was born, *Semiramis Aſcalonitis*, of *Aſcalon*, the ancient city and metropolis of the *Philistines*. Others report her to be the daughter of *Derceta*, a Courtizan of *Aſcalon*, exceeding beautiful. Others say that this *Derceta* or *Dercetis*, the mother of *Semiramis*, was sometime a recluse, and had profess'd a holy and a religious life, to whom there was a temple dedicated seated on the bank of a lake adjoining to *Aſcalon*; and afterwards falling in love with a goodly young man, she was by him made with child, which (for fear of extreme punishment) she conveyed away, and caused the same to be hid-

^a Justin. l. 1. Diod. l. 2. Sabel. l. on. 1. ^b Herod. l. 1. Justin. l. 1. Diod. l. 2, & 3. ^c Aelian l. 7. ex Dione.

den among the high reeds which grew on the banks of the lake: in which (while the child was left to the mercy of wild beasts) the same was fed by certain birds, which used to feed upon or near those waters. But I take this tale to be like that of *Lupa* the harlot that fostered *Romulus*. For some one or other adjoining to this lake had the charge and fosteridge of this child, who being perchance but some base and obscure creature, the mother might thereby hope the better to cover her dishonour and breach of vow; notwithstanding which she was cast from the top of her temple into the lake adjoining, and (as the poets have feigned) changed by *Venus* into a fish, all but her face, which still held the same beauty and human shape. It is thought, that from this *Derceta* the invention of that idol of the *Philistines* (called *Dagon*) was taken: for it is true, that *Dagon* had a man's face, and a fish's body: into whose temple when the ark of God was brought, the idol fell twice to the ground: and at the second fall there remained only the trunk of *Dagon*, the head being broken off: For so *St. Jerome* hath converted that place. *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Junius* writ it by *Dagon* only, which signifieth a fish, and so it only appeared: the head thereof by the second fall being sundred from the body.

For my self I rather think, that this *Dagon* of the *Philistines* was an idol representing *Triton*, one of those imaginary sea-gods under *Neptune*. For this city being maritime (as all those of the *Philistines* were, and so were the best of *Phenicia*) used all their devotions to *Neptune*, and the rest of the petty gods which attended him.

S E C T. IV.

Of her expedition into India, and death after discomfiture: with a note of the improbability of her vices.

BUT for her pedigree I leave it to the *Affyrian* heralds: and for her vicious life I ascribe the report thereof to the envious and lying *Grecians*. For delicacy and ease do more often accompany licentiousness in men and women, than labour and hazard do. And if the one half be true which is reported of this lady, then there never lived any prince or princess more worthy of fame than *Semiramis* was, both for the works she did at *Babylon*, and elsewhere, and for the wars she made with glorious success: all but her last enterprise of *India*; from whence both *Strabo* and *Arianus*, report that she never returned: and that of all her most powerful army there survived but only 20 persons: the rest being either drowned in the river of *Indus*, dead of the famine, or slain by the sword of *Staurobates*. But as the multitude which went out are more than reason hath numbred: so were those that returned less than could have escaped of such an army, as consisted of four millions and upwards. For these numbers which she levied by her lieutenant *Dercetæus* (saith ^a *Suidas*) did consist of footmen three millions; of horsemen one million; of chariots armed with hooks on each side one hundred thousand; of those which fought upon camels as many; of camels for burden two hundred thousand; of raw hides for all uses three hundred thousand; of galleys with brazen heads three thousand, by which she might transport over *Indus* at once three hundred thousand soldiers: which galleys were furnished with *Syrians*, *Phenicians*, *Cilicians*, and men of *Cyprus*. These incredible and impossible numbers, which no one place of the earth was able to nourish (had every man and beast but

fed upon grass) are taken from the authority of *Ctesias* whom *Diodorus* followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many frivolous reports: so *Diodorus* himself hath nothing of certainty, but from *Xerxes's* expedition into *Greece*, and afterwards: whose army (tho' the same was far inferior to that of *Semiramis*) yet had it weight enough to overload the belief of any reasonable man. For all authors consent, that *Xerxes* transported into *Greece* an army of 1700000 and gathered together (therein to pass the *Hellepont*) three thousand galleys, as *Herodotus* out of the several provinces whence those galleys were taken hath collected the number.

But of what multitude soever the army of *Semiramis* consisted: the same being broken, and overthrown by *Staurobates* upon the banks of *Indus*, *canticum cantavit extremum*, she sang her last song; and (as antiquity hath feigned) was changed by the gods into a dove (the bird of *Venus*) whence it came that the *Babylonians* gave a dove in their ensigns.

S E C T. V.

Of the temple of Belus built by Semiramis: and of the pyramids of Egypt.

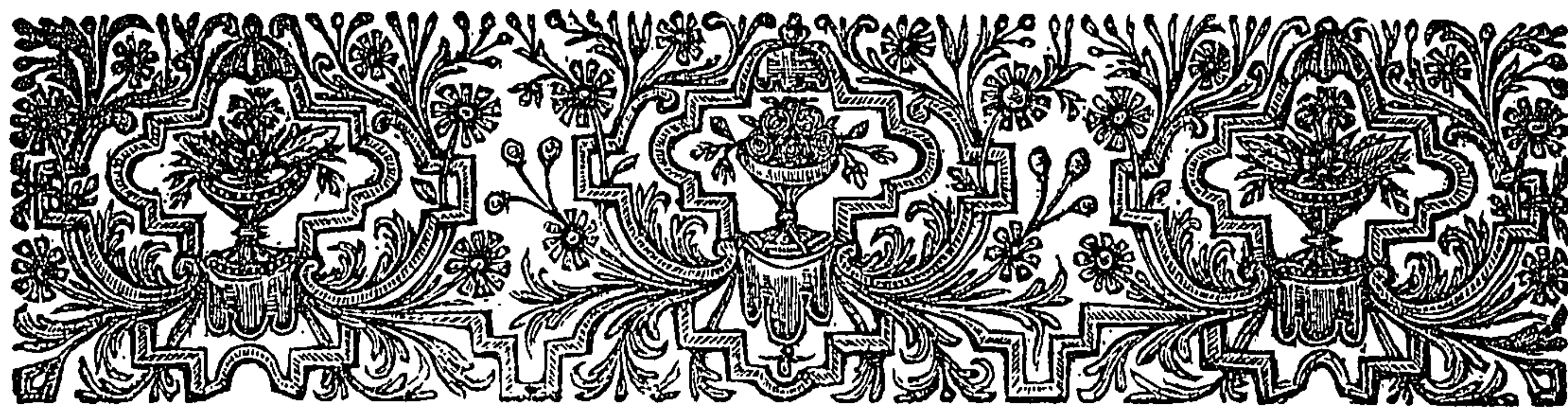
AMONG all her other memorable and more than magnificent works (besides the wall of the city of *Babylon*) was the temple of *Bel*, erected in the middle of this city, invironed with a wall carried four square of great height and beauty, having on each square certain brazen gates curiously engraven. In the *Core* of the square she raised a tower of a furlong high, which is half a quarter of a mile; and upon it again (taking a basis of a less circuit) she set a second tower; and so eight in all, one above another: upon the top whereof the *Chaldeans* priests made the observation of the stars, because this tower overtopped the ordinary clouds.

By beholding the ruins of this tower, have many travellers been deceived; who suppose that they have seen a part of *Nimrod's* tower, when it was but the foundation of this temple of *Bel* (except this of *Bel* were founded on that of *Nimrod*.) There were burnt in this temple one hundred thousand talents of frankincense every year (saith *Herodotus*.) This temple did *Nabuchodonosor* adorn with the spoils of *Jerusalem*, and of the temple of *Solomon*: all which vessels and ornaments *Cyrus* redelivered. This temple *Xerxes* evened with the soil; which *Alexander* is said to have repaired by the persuasions of the *Chaldeans*. I deny not that it might have been in his desire so to do; but he enjoyed but a few years after *Babylon* taken, and therefore could not perform any such work. the *Egyptians* (saith ^b *Proclus*) inhabiting a low and level ground, and given to the same superstition of the stars that the *Chaldeans* were, erected in imitation, and for the same service and use, the *Pyramids* by *Memphis*, which were *conspicue undique navigantibus*, saith *Pliny*. Of these pyramids ^c *Bellonius*, a careful observer of rarities (who being in *Egypt* mounted by steps to the top of the highest) maketh this report: *Le meilleur archer qui seroit a sa sommite, & tirant une fleche en l'air, a peine pourroit l'envoyer hors de sa base qu'elle ne se tombast sur les degrez*. The best archer standing on the top of one of these pyramids, and shooting an arrow from thence into the air as far as he can, with great difficulty shall be able so to force the same, but that it will fall upon some of the degrees or steps.

^a Suid. l. 845. lit. S.^b Procl. in Timæo, l. 1.^c Bell. l. 2.

The End of the First Book.

T H E



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD:

INTREATING of the

Times from the Birth of ABRAHAM, to the Destruction of the Temple of SOLOMON.

The SECOND BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Time of the Birth of Abraham : And of the use of this Question, for the ordering of the Story of the Assyrian Empire.

SECT. I.

Of some of the successors of Semiramis : with a brief transition to the question, about the time of the birth of Abraham.



AFTER the death of *Semiramis*, *Ninias* or *Zameis* succeeded her in the empire, on whom *Berosus* *Amianus* bestows the conquest of *Bactria*, and the overthrow of *Zoroaster* ; contrary to *Diodorus*, *Justin*, *Orosius*, and all other approved writers.

For *Ninias* being esteemed no man of war at all, but altogether feminine, and subjected to ease and delicacy, there is no probability in that opinion. Now because there was nothing performed by this *Ninias* of any moment, other than that out of jealousy he every year changed his provincial governours, and built colleges for the *Chaldean* priests, his astronomers: nor by *Arius* his successor, whom *Suidas* calleth *Thuras* ; but that he reduced again the *Bactrians* and *Caspians*, revolted (as it seemeth) in *Ninias's* time : nor of *Aralius*, the successor of *Arius*,

but that he added sumptuosity, invented jewels of gold and stone, and some engines for the war: I will for this present pass them over, and a while follow *Abraham*, whose ways are warrantable (till we meet these *Assyrians* again in this story) by whom, and by whose issues we shall best give date to the kings of *Babylon* : *Abraham* living at once with *Ninus*, *Ninias*, *Semiramis*, *Arius*, *Aralius*, and *Xerxes* or *Balanus*. For otherwise, if we seek to prove things certain by the uncertain, and judge of those times, which the scriptures set us down without error, by the reigns of the *Assyrian* princes, we shall but patch up the story at adventure, and leave it in the same confusion, in which to this day it hath remained. For where the scriptures do not help us (as *Plut. in Theſeo*) *Mirum non est in rebus antiquis historiam non conflare* : No marvel if then in things very ancient, history want assurance.

The

The better therefore to find out, in what age of the world, and how long these *Assyrian* kings reigned, as also for other good causes, we must first assure the time of *Abraham's* birth, and in what year the same happened after the flood. Now since all agree; that the forty-third year of *Ninus* was the birth year of *Abraham*; by proving directly out of the scriptures, in what year after the flood the birth of *Abraham* happened, we shall thereby set all the rest in square and order. But of this time there is much jangling between those chronologers, which follow the *Hebrew* account, and others: the most part make 292 or 293 years; others 352 years between *Abraham's* birth and the flood; a matter often disputed, but never concluded.

Archilochus de temporibus (as we find him in *Annius*) makes but 250 years from the flood to *Ninus*: then seeing that *Abraham* was born in the forty-third year of *Ninus*, according to *Eusebius* and *St. Augustine*, it followeth by the addition of those two numbers, that the year of *Abraham's* birth was in the year after the flood 293, or, as the most part of all chronologers gather, the year 292.

Now, since I do here enter into that never-resolved question, and labyrinth of times, it behoveth me to give reason for my own opinion: and with so much the greater care and circumspection, because I walk aside, and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone, and without companions, tho' the fewer in number: with whom I rather chuse to endure the wounds of those darts, which envy casteth at novelty, than to go on safely and sleepily in the easy ways of ancient mistakings: seeing to be learned in many errors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diversity.

SECT. II.

A proposal of reasons or arguments, that are brought to prove Abraham was born in the year 292 after the flood, and not in the year 352.

THOSE which seek to prove this account of 292 years, between the general flood and *Abraham's* birth, ground themselves, first on these words of the scripture, *So Terah lived 70 years, and begat Abraham, Nabor, and Haran*: 2dly, Upon the opinion of *Josephus*, *St. Augustine*, *Beda*, *Isidore*, and many of the ancient *Hebrews* before them: authorities (while they are slightly look'd over) seeming of great weight.

From the place of scripture last remembred, the latter chronologers gather these arguments. First, Out of the words as they lie; that *Terah* at 70 years begat *Abraham, Nabor and Haran*: and that *Abraham* being the first named, *Abraham* being the worthiest, *Abraham* being the son of the promise, ought in this respect to be accounted the eldest son of *Terah*, and so necessarily born in the seventieth year of his life. Secondly, It was of *Abraham* that *Moses* had respect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heir of the blessing; and not of *Nabor* and *Haran*: for the scope of this chapter was to set down the genealogy of Christ, from *Adam* to *Abraham*, without all regard of *Nabor* and *Haran*.

It is thirdly objected, That if *Abraham* were not the eldest son, then there can be no certainty of his age, and so are all future times made doubtful. For it cannot then be proved, that *Abraham* was born more assuredly in the 130th year of *Terah's* age, than in the year 131, 132, &c. *Moses* having no-where set down precisely that *Abraham* went into *Canaan* that very year in which his father died.

Fourthly, It is thought improbable, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130 years, seeing *Abraham* himself thought it a wonder to be made a father at 100 years.

SECT. III.

The answer to one of the objections proposed, shewing that Abraham made but one journey out of Mesopotamia into Canaan: and that, after his father's death.

TO answer all which objections it is very easy, the way being prepared thereto by divers learned divines long since, and to which I will add somewhat of my own, according to the small talent which God hath given me. Now forasmuch as the state of the question cannot well be scanned, unless the time of *Abraham's* journey into *Canaan* be first considered of; before I descend unto the particular examination of these arguments, I will make bold with order and method so far, as to search into a strange tradition concerning his travels, that serveth as a ground for this opinion, and a bulwark against all that can be said to the contrary.

But it is conceived that *Abraham* made two journeys into *Canaan*: the latter after his father's death, the former presently upon his calling, which he performed without all delay, not staying for his father's death at *Haran*: a conjecture drawn from a place in the epistle to the *Hebrews*; where it is written, * *By faith Abraham, when he was called, obeyed God, to go into a place, which he should afterwards receive for an inheritance: and he went out not knowing whither he went.* This supposition (if it be granted) serves very well to uphold the opinion, that can ill stand without it. Let us therefore see whether we may give credit to the supposition it self.

Surely that *Abraham* first departed *Charran* or *Haran* after the death of *Terah* his father, the same is proved, without the admission of any distinction, by these words of *St. Stephen*: *And after his father was dead, God brought him into this land, where ye now dwell, that was out of Haran into Canaan.* Against which place, so direct and plain, what force hath any man's fancy or supposition, persuading that *Abraham* made two journeys into *Canaan*; one before *Terah's* death, and another after, no such thing being found in the scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability, or reason to induce it? For if any man out of this place before alledg'd can pick any argument, proving, or affording any strong presumption, that *Abraham* passed into *Canaan*, and then returned unto *Haran*, from whence he departed a second time: then I think it reason, that he be believed in the rest. But that he performed the commandment of God after his father's death, leaving *Ur* and *Haran* for *Canaan*, it is as true as the scriptures themselves are true. For after his father was dead, saith the martyr *Stephen*, *God brought him into this land.* And, as *Beza* noteth, if *Abraham* made a double journey into *Canaan*, then must it be inferred, that *Moses* omitted the one, and *Stephen* afterwards remembred the other: and whence had *Stephen*, saith *Beza*, the knowledge of *Abraham's* coming into *Canaan*, but out of *Moses*? For if *Stephen* had spoken any thing of those times, differing from *Moses*, he had offered the *Jews* his adversaries too great an occasion both of scandalizing himself and the gospel of Christ. Indeed we shall find small reason to make us think that *Abraham* passed and repassed those ways, more often than he was enforced so to do, if we consider, that he

* Heb. 11. 8. b Acts 7. 4 c Heb. 11. 8

had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearisome journey, than the strength of his faith in God's promise: in which if any thing would have brought him to despair, he had more cause than ever man had to fall into it. For he came into a region of strong and stubborn nations: a nation of valiant and resolved idolaters. He was besieged with famine at his first arrival, and driven to fly into *Egypt* for relief. His wife was old, and he had no son to inherit the promise. And when God had given him *Isaac*, he commanded him to offer him up to himself for sacrifice: all which discomforts he patiently and constantly underwent.

Secondly, Let us consider the ways themselves, which *Abraham* had to pass over, the length whereof was 300 *English* miles: and thro' countries of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport himself over the great river of *Euphrates*, to travel thro' the dangerous and barren desarts of *Palmyrena*, and to climb over the great and high mountains of *Libanus*, *Hermon* or *Gilead*: and whether these were easy walks for *Abraham* to march twice over, containing, as aforesaid, 300 miles in length, let every reasonable man judge. For if he travelled it twice, then was his journey in all 1800 miles from *Ur* to *Haran*: and from *Haran* twice into *Canaan*. But were there no other argument to disprove this fancy, the manner of *Abraham's* departing from *Haran* hath more proof, that he had not *Animum revertendi*, not any thought of looking backward, than any man's bare conjecture, be he of what antiquity or authority soever. For thus it is written of him: ^a *Then Abraham took Sarah his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their substance that they possess'd, and the souls that they had gotten in Haran: and they departed to go to the land of Canaan, and to the land of Canaan they came.* Now if *Abraham* brought all with him that was dear unto him; his wife and kinsmen, and their goods; it is not probable, that he meant to walk it back again for his pleasure, in so warm, dangerous, and barren a country as that was: or if he could have been thereto moved, it is more likely that he would have then returned, when he was yet unsettled, and press'd with extreme famine at his first arrival. For had his father been then alive, he might have hoped from him to receive more assured comfort and relief, than among the *Egyptians*, to whom he was a mere stranger both in religion and nation.

What the cause might be of *Abraham's* return to *Haran*, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the scriptures have sent him back thither, about the time of his father's death: so they perhaps, if they were urged, could say little else, than that without such a second voyage their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should do well to make plain, if it be not over-troublesome. They say, that *Abraham* was in *Haran* at his father's death, or some time after, being then by their account 135 years old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that he left quite undone the business, which, as we read, was within four or five years after that time his greatest, or (as may seem) his only care? Did not he bind with a very solemn oath his principal servant, in whom he reposed most confidence, to travel into those parts, and seek out a wife for *Isaac* his son? and doth it not appear by all circumstances, that neither he nor his servant were so well acquainted in *Mesopotamia*, that they could particularly design any one woman, as a fit match for *Isaac*? Surely if *Abraham* had been there in person

so lately, as within four or five years before, he would not have forgotten a matter of such importance; but would have trusted his own judgment, in chusing a woman, fit for her piety, virtue, and other desirable qualities, to be link'd in marriage with his only son, who was then 35 years old, before which age most of the patriarchs after the flood had begotten children, rather than have left all at random to the consideration of a servant, that neither knew any, nor was known of any in that country. But let it be supposed (if it may be believed) that either *Abraham* forgot his business when he was there, or that somewhat happened which no man can devise. What might be the reason, that ^c *Abraham's* man, in doing his master's errand, was fain to lay open the whole story of his master's prosperity, telling it as news, that *Sarah* had born to him a son in her old age? If *Abraham* himself, a more certain author, had so lately been among them, would not all this have been an idle tale? It were needless to stand long upon a thing so evident. Whether it were lawful for *Abraham* to have returned back to *Haran*, would perhaps be a question hardly answerable: considering how averse he was from permitting his son to be carried thither, even tho' a wife of his own kindred could not have been obtained without his personal presence. ^d *Jacob* indeed was sent thither by his parents, to take a wife of his own lineage; not without God's special approbation, by whose blessing he prospered in that journey: yet he lived there as a servant; suffered many injuries; and finally was driven to convey himself away from thence by flight. For altho' it be not a sentence written, yet out of all written examples it may be observed, that God alloweth not in his servants any desire of returning to the place, from whence he hath taken and transplanted them. That brief saying, *Remember Lot's wife*, contains much matter. Let us but consider *Mesopotamia*, from whence *Abraham* was taken, and *Egypt* out of which the whole nation of the *Israelites* was delivered: we shall find, that no blessing issued from either of them, to the posterity of the *Hebrews*. When ^e *Hezekiah* was visited with an honourable embassy from *Babel*, it seems that he conceived great pleasure in his mind, and thought it a piece of his prosperity; but the prophecy which thereupon he heard by *Isaiab*, made him to know, that the counsel of God was not agreeable to such thoughts: which more plainly appeared in a following generation, when by the waters of *Babylon* they sat down and wept. Concerning *Egypt* we read, that ^f *Sesac* and *Neco* kings of *Egypt* brought calamity upon *Israel*: also that their confidence in the *Egyptian* succours was the cause of their destruction. Where they were forbidden to return into *Egypt*, I do not remember, nor can readily find; but it is found in *Deuteronomy* xvii. 16. that God had said, *They should no more return that way*; which is given, as the reason, why their king might not cause the people to return to *Egypt*, for the multiplying of his horses. Whether the Lord had laid any such injunction upon *Abraham* of not returning to *Mesopotamia*, I cannot say; many things do argue it probably: that he never did return, all circumstances do (to my understanding) both strongly and necessarily conclude.

But because this double passage of *Abraham* is but an imagination: and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can persuade those of judgment or understanding: I take it sufficient, that St. *Stephen* hath directly taught us, that *Abraham* left *Haran*, his father being dead

^a Gen. 12. 5. ^b Gen. 24. ^c Gen. 24. 35, 36, &c. 47. ^d 1 Kings 14. 25. and 2 Kings 23. 29.

And for the rest, when they shew any one scripture to prove it, I will believe as they do. For all the travels of *Abraham* are precisely set down in the scriptures: as first from *Ur* or *Camerina* in *Chaldea*, to *Haran* or *Charran*: and then from *Haran* (after his father's death) to *Sichem*; from *Sichem* he removed to a mountain between *Bethel* and *Hai*: thence into *Egypt*: from *Egypt* he returned thither again, where *Lot* and he parted, because their flocks and herds of cattle were more than could be fed in that part: from thence the second time he removed to *Mamre*, near *Hebron*: and thence having pursued *Amraphel*, and rescued *Lot*, he after inhabited at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumea*, under *Abimilech*: and after near unto it at *Bersabe*, at which time he was ready to offer up his son *Isaac* on the mountain *Moriab*. But this fiction of his retreat to *Haran* or *Charran*, appeareth not in any one story, either divine or human. Now if it may be supposed, that *Abraham* had made any former journey into *Canaan*, as *Levita* in his *Cabala* hath feigned, it should in reason be therewithal believed, that he would in those his first travels have provided himself of some certain seat, or place of abiding: and not have come a second time, with his wife, kinsmen, family, goods and cattle, not knowing whereon to rest himself. But *Abraham*, when he came from *Charran*, pass'd thro' the north part of *Canaan*, thence to ^a *Sichem*, and the plain of *Moriab*: where finding no place to inhabit, he departed thence to *Bethel* and *Hai*: and so from nation to nation, to discover and find out some fit habitation: from whence again, as it is written in *Genesis* xi. *He went forth, going and journeying towards the south*, and always unsettled. By occasion of which wandring to and fro, some say, the *Egyptians* gave him and his the name of *Hebraei*.^b Further, to prove that he had not formerly been in the country, we may note, that ere he came to *Bethel* and *Hai*, and at his first entrance into *Canaan*, God appeared unto him, saying, *Unto thy seed will I give this land*, shewing it him as unto a stranger therein, and as a land to him unknown. For *Abraham*, without any other provident care for himself, believed in the word of the living God: neither sending before, nor coming first to discover it; but being arrived he received a second promise from God, that he would give those countries unto him and his seed to inhabit and inherit.

Lastly, What should move any man to think, that *Moses* would have omitted any such double journey of *Abraham's*, seeing he setteth down all his passages elsewhere, long and short? As when he moved from *Sichem*, and seated between *Hai* and *Bethel*, the distance being but twenty miles: and when he moved thence to the valley of *Mamre*, being but twenty-four miles; and when he left *Mamre*, and sat down at *Gerar*, being less than six miles; no, *Moses* pass'd over all the times of the first age with the greater brevity, to hasten him to the story of *Abraham*: shutting up all between the creation and the flood in six chapters; which age lasted 1656 years: but he bestoweth on the story of *Abraham* fourteen chapters, beginning with his birth in the eleventh, and ending with his death in the five and twentieth; and this time endured but 175 years. It hath therefore no face of truth, that *Moses* forgot or neglected any thing concerning *Abraham's* travels, or other actions: or that he would set down those small removes of five miles, and omit those of three hundred. For such a journey in going and coming would have mini-

stred some variety of matter, or accident, worthy the inserting and adding to *Abraham's* story.

SECT. IV.

The answer to another of the objections proposed, shewing that it was not unlikely, that Terah should beget Abraham in his 130th year.

NOW touching the objection, where it is said, that it was very unlikely that *Terah* should beget *Abraham* in his 130th year, seeing *Abraham* himself thought it a wonder to have a son at an hundred: this is hardly worth the answering. This wonder is indeed miscast, and mistaken; *Abraham* having respect only to *Sarah* his wife, when he spake of their many years. For when the angel said unto *Abraham* in his tent door at *Mamre*; *Lo, Sarah thy wife shall have a son*, it followeth in the next verse, *Now Abraham and Sarah were old and stricken in age, and it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women: therefore Sarah laughed, &c.*

So then, in that it is said *it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women*, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, and not on *Abraham*. For *Abraham* by his second wife *Keturah* had many sons after *Sarah's* death, as *Zimron*, *Jockshan*, *Medan*, *Midian*, *Isback* and *Shuab*: and the eldest of these was born 37 years after *Isaac*: and the youngest 40 years after. What strangeness then, that *Terah* being 130 years old should beget *Abraham*, will they say, may be gathered from this supposed despair of *Abraham* at 100 years? For *Sarah* died in the year of the world 2145, and *Isaac* was born in the year 2109, and *Abraham* did not marry ^c *Keturah* till *Sarah* was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109 out of 2145, there remaineth 36; and therefore if *Abraham* begat five sons 36 years after this supposed wonder, and when *Abraham* was 137 years old; it is not strange, that his father *Terah* should beget *Abraham* at 130. And if *Boaz*, *Obed* and *Jesse*, who lived so many years and ages after *Abraham*, begat sons at 100 years, or near it, it cannot be marvelled at, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130, and *Abraham* others at the same age, and seven years after.

SECT. V.

The answer to two more of the objections: shewing that we may have certainty of Abraham's age from the scripture, tho' we make not Abraham the eldest son: and that there was great cause, why in the story of Abraham his two brethren should be respected.

IT followeth now to speak something to the objection, which brings *Abraham's* age altogether in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldest son of *Terah*, and born when *Terah* was 70 years old. For *Abraham's* age being made uncertain, all succeeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this proposition, That we cannot be certain of *Abraham's* age, unless we make him the eldest son, is false. For it is plain in the scriptures, that when *Terah* was 205, which was the year of his death, then was *Abraham* 75. And if you ask, how I can judge of times, either preceding or succeeding, by knowing that *Abraham* departed *Haran* at that age: I answer, that St. *Stephen* hath told us, that *Abraham's* departure followed the death of his father *Terah*: and *Terah* died at 205; so as the 75th year of *Abraham* was the 205th year of *Terah*

^a Gen. 12. 6. ^b Mount in Caleb. ^c Origen, homil. 11. in Gen. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 16. c. 34. Cajetan & Peter. in Gen. which

which known, there can be no error in the account of times succeeding. Now to come to the objection, where it is said, That *Moses* had no respect unto *Nachor* and *Haran*, because they were out of the Church, but to *Abraham* only, with whom God established the covenant, and of whom Christ descended according to the flesh, &c. I answer, that *Moses*, for many great and necessary causes, had respect of *Nachor* and *Haran*. For the succession of God's Church is not witnessed by *Abraham* alone, but by the issues of *Nachor* and *Haran*, were they idolators or otherwise. For *Nachor* was the father of *Bethuel* and *Bethuel* of *Rebecca* the mother of *Israel*: and *Haran* was the parent of *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcab*: and *Sarah* was mother to *Isaac*, and grandmother to *Jacob*: *Milcab* also the wife of *Nachor*, and mother of *Bethuel*, was *Jacob's* great grandmother: and the age of *Sarah* the daughter of *Haran* is especially noted, in that it pleased God to give her a son at 90 years, and when by nature she could not have conceived. And therefore, tho' it were not in regard of themselves, yet because both *Nachor* and *Abraham* married the daughters of their brother *Haran*; and because *Isaac* married *Rebecca* the grandchild of *Nachor*; and *Jacob* *Leah* and *Rachel*, the daughters of *Laban*, the grandchild also of *Nachor*; it was not superfluous in *Moses* to give light of these men's times and ages. And tho' sometimes they worshipped strange Gods, as it is *Joshua* xxiv. 2. yet I see no cause to think, that they still continued idolaters. For they believed and obeyed the calling of *Abraham*, leaving their natural country, and city of *Ur* in *Chaldea*, as *Abraham* did, and removed thence all, except *Haran*, who died before his father *Terah*, ere they left *Chaldea*; but *Lot*, his son, followed *Abraham* in *Canaan*; and *Sarah*, the sister of *Lot*, *Abraham* married. *Nachor* also, who remained at *Charran*, gave his sons daughters to *Isaac* and *Jacob*, his own kinsmen; he himself having also married in his own family; not thinking it pleasing unto God to mix themselves with strangers and idolaters. And that these men at length believed in the God of *Abraham*, it can no way be doubted. For when *Laban* had seen the servant of *Abraham* standing at the well beside *Charran*, he invited him to his father's house in this manner; ** Come in thou blessed of Jehovah*, &c. And when this servant of *Abraham's* demanded an answer as touching *Rebecca*, then answered *Laban* and *Bethuel*, and said; *b This thing is proceeded of Jehovah*; meaning that it was the will of the true God it should be so; wherein he acknowledged God's providence. Likewise in the following verse it is written; *Take, go, that she may be thy master's son's wife, even as Jehovah hath said*. This their often using of the name of *Jehovah*, which is the proper name of the true God, is a sign that they had the knowledge of him.

Now altho' it be the opinion of St. *Chrysostom*, and some later writers, as *Cajetan Oleaster*, *Muscus*, *Calvin*, *Mercer*, and others, that *Laban* was an idolater, because he retained certain idols or household gods, which *Rachel* stole from him; yet that he believed in the true God, it cannot be denied. For he acknowledgeth the God of *Abraham*, and of *Nachor*, and he called *Abraham's* servant, *Blessed of Jehovah*, as aforesaid. So as for my self, I dare not avow, that these men were out of the church, who sure I am were not out of the faith.

SECT. VI.

That the naming of Abraham first of the three brethren, Gen. xi. 26. doth not prove that he was the eldest: together with divers reasons proving that Abraham was not the eldest son of Terah.

TO the main objection, which I answer last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which, those that strive to shorten the times, endeavour to prove, that *Abraham* was the eldest son of *Terah*, and born in the 70th year of *Terah's* life: grounding themselves first and chiefly on this place of the scripture, *c And Terah lived 70 years, and begat Abraham, Nachor and Haran*: To this I say, that altho' *Abraham* in this verse be first named, yet the same is no proof at all that he was the eldest and first-born son of *Terah*. For it is no necessary consequence, that the first named in scriptures was therefore eldest in blood and birth, neither doth it appear that it pleased God to make especial choice of the first sons in nature and time: for *Seth* was not the first-born of *Adam*, nor *Isaac* of *Abraham*, nor *Jacob* of *Isaac*, nor *Judah* and *Joseph* of *Jacob*, nor *David* the eldest son of *Jesse*, nor *Solomon* of *David*, as is formerly remembred.

But it is written of *Noah*; *Noah was five hundred years old, and Noah begat Shem, Ham and Japhet*: shewing that at the 500th year of his age he began to get the first of those three sons. For according to St. *Augustine*, speaking generally, *d Nec attendendus est in his ordo natiuitatis, sed significatio futuræ dignitatis: in qua excelluit Abraham*; The order of nativity is not here to be respected, but the signification of the future dignity: in which *Abraham* was preferred. And therefore as in the order of the sons of *Noah*, so is it here; where it is said, *That Terah lived 70 years and begat Abraham, Nachor and Haran*: For it was late ere *Terah* began to beget sons, himself being begotten by his father *Nachor* at 29, as others his ancestors were at 30. The like also happened to *Noah*; for whereas *Adam* begat *Seth* at 130, *Enosh* *Kenan* at 90, *Kenan* *Mahalaleel* at 70, *Mahalaleel* *Jared* at 60, *Noah* was yet 500 years old when he began to beget the first of his three sons as aforesaid. And St. *Augustine* in the place before-cited, rather inclineth to the opinion that *Abraham* was the youngest of *Terah's* sons, than otherwise: tho' for his excellency he was worthily named first. His own words are these: *Pieri enim potuit ut posterior sit generatus Abraham: sed merito excellentiæ, qua in scripturis valde commendatur, prior fuit nominatus*. It might be, saith he, that *Abraham* was begotten later; but was first named in regard of his excellency, for which in scripture he is much commended. So as the naming first or last, proveth nothing who was first or last born: either in those issues of *Noah* or in these of *Terah*: neither hath God any respect of the eldest in nature, as touching his election or spiritual blessing: for *Moses* nameth first the children of the promise, and the eldest and first in God's favour. *Pietas ergo vel ipsa potius electio divina, quæ comitem secum trahit pietatem, & Dei timorem, primas partes dat Semo in liberis Noa, & Abrahamo in liberis Thare*. Piety, saith he, or rather divine election, which doth evermore draw with it, or after it piety and the fear of God, gave place and precedency to *Shem* among the children of *Noah*, and to *Abraham* among those of *Thare*.

For the rest it is manifest, that ** Abraham* entred *Canaan* in the 75th year of his age. And it was in

a Gen. 24. 31. *b* Gen. 24. 50. *c* Gen. 11. 26. *d* Aug. quæst. super Gen. 25. *e* Gen. 12. 4.

Canaan that ^a *Hagar* bare him *Ismael*, when *Abraham* had lived 86 years. It was at *Gerar* (the south border of *Canaan*) that *Sarah* bare *Isaac*, when *Abraham* had consumed 100 years. It was from the valley of *Mamre* in *Canaan* that *Abraham* rose out, when he ^b rescued *Lot* and overthrew *Amraphel*: and he had then but the age of 83 years: and it is as manifest that he parted from *Haran* after his father *Terah* was dead. But if *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 70 years old, then must *Abraham* have been 135 years when he first set his foot in *Canaan*: seeing *Terah* must be dead ere he parted, and so 70 added to 135, made 205, the true age of *Terah*, which is contrary to all those places of scripture before remembered. For he entred at 75, he rescued *Lot* at 83, he had *Ismael* at 86, he had *Isaac* at 100, proved by the former places.

Moreover, if *Abraham* were the eldest son of *Terah*, and born in the 70th year of his age: then had *Terah* lived till *Isaac* had been 35 years old, and *Ismael* 49, both which must then have been born in *Mesopotamia*, and therein fostered to that age: unless we should either deny credit to St. *Stephen*, who saith that *Abraham* departed from *Mesopotamia* after his father's death; or else give credit to the interpretation of *Daniel Angelocrator*, who in his *Chronologia antoptica*, saith it was about his father's death: because the *Greek* word μετα may be translated by the *Latin* *sub*, as well as by *post*: which tho' elsewhere it may be, yet cannot it be so in this place. For it were most improperly spoken, to say that those things were done about *Terah*'s death, which were 60 years before. Wherefore, supposing *Abraham* to have been born in the 70th year of *Terah*, we must give those times and places of birth to *Abraham*'s children, which no authority will warrant; for *Abraham* had no children in *Ur* of *Chaldea*, nor in *Haran*: nor in 10 years after his arrival into *Canaan*. For the year of *Terah*'s death, in which *Abraham* left *Haran*, was the year of the world 2083: and the year of *Ismael*'s birth was the world's year 2094, which maketh 10 years difference. And that *Isaac* was born in *Canaan*, and was to be offered upon the mountain *Moriab* therein, 39 miles from *Bersabe*, where *Abraham* then inhabited: and that three angels first of all appeared to *Abraham* in the valley of *Mamre*, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot be that any of *Abraham*'s sons were born in *Mesopotamia*: nor while *Terah* lived: nor in less than 10 years after *Terah*'s death: and then consequently was not *Abraham* the eldest son of *Terah*, nor born in the 70th year of *Terah*'s age.

Thirdly, Whereas ^c *Abraham* came into *Canaan* at 75, if *Terah* had begotten him at 70, then had *Terah* lived but 145, for 70 and 75 make 145, which must also have been the full age of *Terah*: but *Terah* lived 205 years; and therefore was not *Abraham* born in the 70th year of *Terah*.

Fourthly, the ages of *Lot* and *Sarah* make it manifest, that *Haran* was the elder, if not the eldest brother of *Abraham*; for *Sarah* or *Iscah* wanted but 10 years of *Abraham*'s age: *Isaac* being born when *Abraham* was 100, and *Sarah* 90 years old.

It followeth then, that if *Abraham* had been the elder brother of *Haran*, *Haran* must have begotten *Sarah* at 9 years old: for granting that *Haran* was born but one year after *Abraham*, and *Sarah* within 10 years as old as *Abraham*, then of necessity must *Haran* beget her, when he had lived but 9 years; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that *Iscah* was *Sarah*, *Rab. Solomon* affirmeth; both names, saith he, bearing the same signi-

fication; and names of principality. Again; to what end was the word *Iscah* or *Ishecah* inserted in this place, if *Sarah* were not meant thereby? for to speak of any thing superfluous it is not used in God's books: and if *Iscah* had not belonged to the story, it had been but an idle name to no purpose remembered.

Now if it had been true (as those of the contrary opinion affirm) that *Moses* had no respect of *Nachor* and *Haran*, who were notwithstanding the parents of *Bethuel* and *Rebecca*, the mother of *Israel*, and of *Christ*: what regard then had *Moses* of *Iscah* in this place, were she not *Sarah*, but otherwise an idle name of whom there is nothing else first or last?

The age also of *Lot* disproveth the eldership of *Abraham*: for *Lot* was called an old man when *Abraham* was but 83 years: and if *Lot* were of a greater age than *Abraham*, and *Haran* were father to *Lot*, *Sarah* and *Milcah*, *Abraham* marrying one of *Haran*'s daughters, and *Nabor* the other, *Sarah* also being within 10 years as old as *Abraham*: it may appear to every reasonable man (not obstinate and prejudicate) that *Haran* was the eldest son of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: who also died first and before his father left *Ur* in *Chaldea*. Also *Lyra* reasoneth against the opinion of *Abraham*'s eldership, upon the same place of *Genesis*: drawing argument from the age of *Sarah*, who was but 10 years younger than *Abraham* himself. *Lyra*'s words are these; *Si igitur Haran fuit junior ipso Abraham, sequitur quod non habebat decem annos quando genuit Saram: imo nec octo, &c.* and afterwards, *& ideo melius videtur dicendum, quod Abraham fuit ultimò natus de tribus filiis Thare, tamen nominatur primò, propter ejus dignitatem: & quia ponendus erat caput stirpis & generationis sequentis: & quia primo facta est ei repromissio expressa de Christo, sicut supra dictum est de Sem, &c.* If therefore (saith *Lyra*) *Haran* was younger than *Abraham* himself, it followeth, that he was not 10 years old when he begat *Sarah*; and therefore it seemeth better to be said, that *Abraham* was the last born of the three sons of *Thare*, nevertheless he is named first for his dignity, both because he was to be ordained head of the stock and generation following, and because the promise of *Christ* was first made unto him, as before it is said of *Sem*.

S E C T. VII.

A conclusion of this dispute, noting the authors on both sides: with an admonition that they which shorten the times make all ancient stories the more improbable.

IT therefore agreeth with the scriptures, with nature, time, and reason, that *Haran* was the eldest son of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: and that *Abraham* was born in the 130th year of *Terah*'s life, and not in the 70th year. For *Abraham* departing *Charran* after ^d *Terah* died, according to St. *Stephen*, and that journey by *Abraham* performed when he was ^e 75 years old, these two numbers added make 205 years, the full age of *Terah*: seeing that when *Terah* died, then *Abraham* entred *Canaan*. For my self, I have no other end herein, than to manifest the truth of the world's story: I reverence the judgments of the fathers; but I know they were mistaken in particulars. St. *Augustine* was doubtful, and could not determine this controversy. For whatsoever is borrowed from him out of his 16th book *de Civitate Dei*, c. 15. the same may be answered out of himself in his 25th

^a Gen. 16. 16.

^b Acts 7. 4. & Gen. 14.

^c Gen. 12.

^d Acts 7. 4.

^e Gen. 12. 4.

question upon *Gen.* But *St. Augustine* herein followed *Josephus*, and *Isidore*: and *Beda* followed *St. Augustine*. And it was out of a foolish pride and vanity, that the *Hebrews* and *Josephus* sought to make *Abraham* the first-born: as if God had had respect to the eldest in nature. So did *Josephus*, together with *Nicholas Damascenus* (thinking thereby to glorify the *Jewish* nation) make *Abraham* a king, intitling *Sarah* by the name of queen *Sarah*: and said that *Abraham* was followed with 318 captains, of which every one had an infinite multitude under him; *trecentos & octodecim præfectos habuit: quorum singulis infinita multitudo parebat.* And that *Pharaoh* invading him with a great army, took from him his wife *Sarah*. Such fables argue that *Josephus* is not to be believed, but with discreet reservations.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292 years from the flood to *Abraham*, is upheld by many of the *Hebrews*. But how should we value the opinion of such chronologers, as take *Amraphel* for *Nimrod*? Surely, if their judgment in such matters were worthy to be regarded, it would have appeared in setting down the succession of the *Persian* kings, under whom they lived, whose history was not so far remote in time, as these antiquities, nor wanting the light of many good writers. Yet grossly have they erred therein, and so familiar are their mistakings in all things of like nature, that we seldom find their opinion rehearsed without the confutation treading on the heels of it. They of the *Roman* religion are also generally on the same side: it being a thing usual among them, to maintain whatsoever they have been formerly known to hold and believe. Contrariwise, of the more ancient *Theodoret*, and some following him: of later times *Beroaldus*, *Codoman*, *Peucer*, *Calvin*, *Junius*, *Beza*, *Broughton*, *Doct. Gibbons*, and *Moor*, with divers of the *Protestants*, hold *Abraham* to have been born in the 130th year of his father *Terah*. From these (as in a case not concerning any point in religion) divers of the same religion, and those nevertheless good authors, as *Bucholcerus*, *Chitræus*, *Functius* and others, are very averse herein, especially *Josephus Scaliger* with his *Sethus Calvisius*, proclaiming *Beroaldus* an arch-heretick in chronology, and condemning this opinion of his as poisonous. Contrariwise *Augustinus Tornielus* a priest of the congregation of *St. Paul*, a judicious, diligent, and free writer, whose annals are newly set forth, very earnestly defends the opinion, which I have already delivered: not alledging *Beroaldus*, nor any protestant writer, as being perhaps unwilling to owe thanks to hereticks. For my self, I do neither dislike the contrary opinion, because commonly those of the *Romish* religion labour to uphold it; nor favour this large account of times, because many notable men of the *Protestant* writers have approved it; but for the truth it self. To strengthen which, after all these former reasons, and testimonies of scripture, I will add thus much more to the rest. First, it is apparent to all men of judgment, that the best approved historians, divine and prophane, labour to investigate the truth of times, thereby to approve the stories and forepast actions of the world: and not the truth of histories to approve the times by. Let us then make judgment to our selves; which of those two accounts give the best reputation to the story of the scriptures, teaching the world's new plantation, and the continuance of God's church: either that of *Josephus*, and those which follow him, who make but 292 years, or thereabouts, between the flood and birth

of *Abraham*: or this other account, which makes 352 years between the one and the other: the one taking *Abraham* to be the first-born of *Thare*, in the 70th year of his life: the other a younger son of *Thare*, and born when he had lived 130 years. And if we look over all, and do not hastily satisfy our understanding with the first things offered, and thereby being satiated do slothfully and drowsily sit down; we shall find it more agreeable rather to allow the reckoning of the *Septuagint*, who, according to some editions, make it above 1072 years between the flood and *Abraham's* birth: than to take away any part of those 352 years given. For if we advisedly consider the state and countenance of the world, such as it was in *Abraham's* time, yea, before *Abraham* was born, we shall find that it were very ill done of us, by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times over-deeply between *Abraham* and the flood: because in cutting them too near the quick, the reputation of the whole story might perchance bleed thereby, were not the testimony of the scripture supream, so as no objection can approach it: and that we did not follow withal this precept of *St. Augustine*, that wheresoever any one place in the scriptures may be conceived disagreeing to the whole, the same is by ignorance of interpretation misunderstood. For in *Abraham's* time, all the then-known parts of the world were peopled: all regions and countries had their kings. *Egypt* had many magnificent cities: and so had *Palestina*, and all the bordering countries: yea, all that part of the world besides, as far as *India*: and those not built with sticks, but of hewen stones, and defended with walls, and rampiers: which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquity, than those other men have supposed. And therefore, where the scriptures are plainest, and best agreeing with reason and nature, to what end should we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or draw all things into wonders and marvels? giving also strength thereby to common cavillers, and to those mensapish brains, who only bend their wits to find impossibilities and monsters in the story of the world and mankind.

SECT. VIII.

A computation of the times of the Assyrians, and others, grounded upon the times noted in the story of Abraham.

IN this sort therefore for the reasons before alledged, I conclude, that from the general flood, to the birth of ^a*Abraham*, 352 years were consumed: and taking the *Assyrian* history with us, the same number of years were spent from the flood to the 43d year of *Ninus*: in which 43d year of *Ninus* *Abraham* was born: which happened in the year of the world 2009.

Now of this time of 352 years, we must give one part as well to the increase of those people which came into *Shinar*, as to those that staid in the east, to wit, 30 years to *Chus*, ere he begat *Seba*: of which tho' the scriptures are silent, yet because those of the same time had that age when they begat their first sons, we may the more safely give the like allowance to these. For *Eber* begat *Peleg* at 34, *Peleg* *Regn* at 30, *Regn* *Serug* at 32. Now after *Seba*, *Chus* begat *Havila*, *Sabta*, *Raama* and *Sabtecha*: and *Raama* begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, before *Nimrod* was born, as it appeareth *Gen. x.* which ^b*St. Augustine* approveth. Giving then 30 years more to *Raama* ere he begat *Sheba*, and 5 years to

^a An. mundi 2003. dñl. 352. natus Abraham. Euseb. August. de Civitate Dei, l. 16. c. 17. ^b Aug. de Civitate Dei.

the five elder brothers of *Nimrod*, may be gathered that 65 years were consumed ere *Nimrod* himself was born: and that *Raama* had that age ere any of his sons were begotten, it may be gathered, by example and comparison: for ^a*Peleg*, the 4th from *Noah*, as *Raama* was, begat *Regu* in the same year of his life.

Let us then allow 60 years more after the birth of *Nimrod*, for two other generations to be brought forth, or else we shall hardly find people to build *Babel*: for sure we are that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: because it displeased God. These two numbers of 65 and 60 make 125: the rest of the time of 131 (in which year they arrived in *Shinar*, whereof there were 6 years remaining) we may give them for their travels from the east: because they were pestered with women, children and cattle: and, as some ancient writers have conceived, and *Becanus* of later times, they kept always the mountains sides, for fear of a second flood. Now if we take this number of 131 out of 352, there remains 221, of which number ^b*Berosus* bestoweth 65 on *Belus*, and 42 on *Ninus*, before *Abraham* born: both which *St. Augustine* approveth: which two numbers taken again out of 221, there remaineth 114 years of the 352, from the flood to *Abraham*'s birth: which number of 114, necessity bestoweth on *Nimrod*.

And if it be objected that this time given to *Nimrod*, is over-long: sure if we compare the age of *Nimrod* with the rest of the same descent from *Noah*, it will rather appear over-short. For *Nimrod*, by this account, lived in all but 179 years: whereof he reigned 112: whereas *Sale*, who was the son of *Arphaxad* the son of *Sem*, lived 403 years: and of the same age of the world was *Nimrod*, the son of *Cbus*, the son of *Cham*.

Now after *Abraham* was born,

Ninus reigned 9 years: which added to 43, make 52.

Ninus dieth and leaveth *Semiramis* his successor.

Semiramis governed the empire of *Babylonia* and *Assyria* 42 years, and died in the 52d year ^ccomplete of *Abraham*'s life.

Ninias or *Zameis* succeeded *Semiramis*, and ruled 38 years, in the 2d year of whose reign *Abraham* left *Mesopotamia*.

When *Abraham* was 85 years old, he rescued his nephew *Lot*, and overthrew by surprise *Amraphel* king of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*. *Ninias* reigned 38 years, and *Abraham* came into *Canaan* but 23 years after *Semiramis* died: which was the 75th year of his age: so that *Amraphel* may seem to have been this *Ninias* the son of *Ninus*, and *Semiramis*, whose 23d year, as aforesaid, being the 75th year of *Abraham*, he and his fellow-kings might have received this overthrow in the 85th year of *Abraham*, and the 33d year of his own reign: after which he reigned 5 years: which make in all 38. But the truth is, that the reasons to the contrary, urging that this *Amraphel* could not be *Ninias*, are not easily answered. Howbeit for the times of the *Assyrian* kings, that they are to be ordered as we have set them down, according to the times noted by *Moses*, in the story of *Abraham*, it is most certain: unless we will either derogate from the truth of *Moses*'s computation, which were impiety: or account the whole history of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but a fiction: which were to condemn all ancient historians for fablers.

SECT. IX.

That *Amraphel*, one of the four kings whom *Abraham* overthrew, Gen. xiv. may probably be thought to have been *Ninias* the son of *Ninus*.

AND now touching this *Amraphel*, whom *Moses* makes king of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, in the 85th year of *Abraham*'s life, that is, in the 33d year of the reign of *Ninias Zameis* the king of the *Assyrians*, the son of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, it is hard to affirm what he was, and how he could be at this time king of *Babylonia*: *Ninias Zameis* then reigning there. To this doubt the answer which first offereth it self as most probable, is that which hath been already noted, that this *Ninias* or *Zameis*, was no other than our *Amraphel*: who invaded *Traconitis* or *Basan*, and overthrew those five kings of *Pentapolis*, or the valley of *Siddim*. For the scriptures tell us, that *Amraphel* was king of *Shinar*, which is *Babylonia*: and the times before accounted make him to be the successor of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and it falleth out with the 85th year of *Abraham*'s life: wherein he rescued *Lot*, slew *Chedorlaomer*, and overthrew the rest. True it is, that this *Amraphel* was not at this time the greatest monarch: for *Chedorlaomer* commanded in chief, tho' *Amraphel* be first named by *Moses* in the 1st verse of the xivth chapter of *Genesis*. For the kings of the valley of *Siddim*, or of *Pentapolis* or of the five cities, were the vassals of *Chedorlaomer*, and not of *Amraphel*: as it is written: "Twelve years were they subject to *Chedorlaomer*, but in the 13th year they rebelled, and in the 14th year came *Chedorlaomer* and the kings that were with him: and therefore was *Chedorlaomer* the principal in this enterprise, who was then king of *Elam*, which is *Persia*: Now *Persia* being seated over *Tigris*, and to the east of *Amraphel*'s country: and the other two kings, which were companions with *Amraphel*, being seated to the west of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*: *Amraphel*, who held *Babylonia* it self, seemeth at this time to have had no great scope or large dominion. For had *Amraphel* been so great a prince as prophane historians make *Ninus* or *Semiramis* whom he succeeded, he should not have needed the assistance of three other kings for this expedition. But tho' *Chedorlaomer* were the first and greatest of those four kings (as it is manifest that he was: for these little kings of *Sodom*, *Gomorra*, &c. were his vassals, and not *Amraphel*'s) yet this makes not the conjecture less probable, but that this *Amraphel* might be *Ninias*. For it may be, that the great and potent empire of *Assyria*, had now (as we shall shew more plainly in that which followeth) received a downright fall at the time of this war: tho' not long before it commanded all the kingdoms between *India* and the *Phenician* sea: to wit, in the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*.

SECT. X.

Of *Arioch* another of the four kings: and that *Ellas*, whereof he is said to have been king, lies between *Cœlesyria* and *Arabia Petraea*.

NOW the two other kings joined with *Amraphel*, and *Chedorlaomer*, were *Arioch* and *Tidal*; the one king of *Ellassar*, the other of the nations. For *Ellassar*, *Aquila* and *Jerome* write *Pontus*: so *Tostatus* thinketh that it should be *Hellepont*: which opinion *Pererius* favoureth. But this is only to defend the *Latin* translation. For as *Pontus*, so is *Hellepont* far distant, and out of the way to send any armies into *Arabia Petraea*, or into *Idumæa*: which countries these four kings chiefly invaded,

^a Gen. 11. 18. ^b An. a salute humani generis ab aquis centesimo primo cepit regnum Babylonicum sub nostro Saturno patre Jovis Bel qui imperavit annis 65. *Berosus*. ^c Of the world 2017. Of the flood 761. 2059 mundi, 403. a dil 2083 427. 2093 437. ^d Gen. 14. 4.

besides that, it is certain, that the *Affyrians* (when they were greatest) had never any dominion in *Asia* the less. For at such time as the *Affyrians* feared the invasion of the *Medes* and *Persians*, they sent not into *Asia* the less as commanders: but used all the art they had to invite *Cræsus* to their assistance: persuading him that nothing could be more dangerous for himself, and the other kings of those parts, than the success of the *Medes* against the *Affyrians*. But examine the enterprize what it was. ^b These kings (saith the text) made war with *Bera*, king of *Sodom*, *Birsba* king of *Gomorrha*, *Shinab* king of *Admah*, and *Shemebar* king of *Zeboim*, and the king of *Bela* which is *Zoar*. All which five kings had not so much ground as *Middlesex*: being such a kind of *Reguli*, as *Joshua* found in the land long after: namely, lords of cities and small territories adjoining; of which *Canaan* had 33 all slain or hanged by *Joshua*. Neither can the other countries, which in the text they are said also to have invaded, be imagined to have been at that time of any great power: and therefore to call in kings from *Pontus* or *Hellepont*, had manifested a great impotence and weakness in the kings of *Babylon* and *Persia*.

And tho' it be alledged for an example, that divers kings far off, came to assist *Pompey* against *Cesar*: yet these same examples, without like occasions and circumstances, do neither lead nor teach. For there was no cause to fear the greatness of these petty kings, or of the other countries: but the eyes of the world were fixed on *Cesar*; and his undertakings and intents were to all other princes no less doubtful than fearful: but the whole country by these four kings mastered in their passage, was afterwards given to the half tribe of *Manasseh*, *Gad*, and *Ruben*: a narrow valley of ground lying between *Jordan* and the mountains of *Seir*: inclosed by the river of *Arnon* on the south-side, and by *Libanus* on the north, consisting of the two small provinces of *Traconitis* or *Basan*, and the region of the *Moabites*: a conquest far unvaluable, and little answering to the power of the *Affyrian* empire, if the same had remained in any comparable estate with the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, who subjected all the great kings of that part of the world, without the assistance of any of the kings of *Hellepont*, or any other part of *Asia* the less. But as the *Vulgar* and *Aquila* convert *Ellassar* by *Pontus*: so *Symmachus* makes *Arioch* a king of the *Scythians*, a king indeed, as far fetched to join with the *Affyrians* in this war, as the world had any at that time. The *Septuagint* do not change the word of *Ellassar* at all, but as they keep the word *Ararat*, on the mountains whereof the ark did rest, so do they in this place retain the *Hebrew* word *Ellassar*, being doubtful to give it a wrong interpretation. And *Pererius* himself remembreth other opinions far more probable than this of *Pontus* or *Hellepont*: yet he dares not avow his liking of them, because the *Latin* translation hath it otherwise. For *Stephanus de Urbibus*, a *Grecian* cosmographer, findeth the city of *Ellas* in the border of *Cælesyria*. And *St. Jerome* calleth *Ellas* the city of *Arioch*, as in truth it was. Now altho' the same be seated by *Stephanus* in *Cælesyria*, yet it standeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* was king: who formerly joined with *Ninus* in all his conquests, being of the same family, and descended from *Chim* and *Cbus*: after whom the name of *Arius* was by the *Hebrews* written *Arioch*: and afterwards again *Aretas*: as in the *Maccabees*: the kings of *Arabia* holding that name even to the time of *St. Paul*,

who was sought to be betray'd by the lieutenants of *Aretas* commanding in *Damascus*. They were princes for the most confederate and depending upon the *Affyrian* empire. It is true, that we find in *Daniel* ii. that in the time of *Nabuchodonosor*, one *Arioch* was general of his army, and the principal commander under him, who was a king of kings: which makes it plain, that *Arioch* here spoken of, the son of that *Arioch*, confederate of *Ninus*, was no king of *Pontus*, nor of *Scythia*: regions far removed from the *Affyrians* and *Babylonians*. The name also of *Arioch* who commanded under *Nabuchodonosor* is mentioned in *Judith*, by the name of *King of the Elymeans*, who are a nation of *Persians* bordering *Affyria*, according to *Stephanus*; tho' *Pliny* sets it between the sea-coast, and *Media*: and if any brother of the *Arabian* kings, or other of that house (known by the name of *Arius*, *Arioch*, *Areta* or *Aretas*) had the government of that *Persian* province called *Elymais* (as it seemeth they had by the places of *Daniel* and *Judith*) yet the same was in *Nabuchodonosor's* time. But this *Arioch* here spoken of, may with more reason be taken for the king of *Arabia*, the son of *Arius*, the confederate of *Ninus*: whose sons held league as their fathers did, being the next bordering prince of all on that side towards the west to *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*: and in amity with them from the beginning, and of their own house, and blood: which *D. Siculus* also confirmeth.

S E C T. XI.

Of Tidal another of the four kings.

THE fourth king by *Abraham* overthrown was *Tidal*, king of the nations. The *Hebrew* writes it *Gojim*, which *Vatablus* takes to be a proper name: *Lyra* of mix'd people: *Calvin* of runnagates without habitation: *Pererius* out of *Strabo*, finds that *Galilea* was inhabited by divers nations, which were a mix'd people: namely of *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phenicians*. ¹ Nam tales sunt qui *Galileam* habitant; Such are the inhabitants of *Galilee*, saith *Strabo*: and therefore was *Tidal* called king of these nations, as they suppose. And it may be so: but the authority of *Strabo* is nothing in this question. For *Galilea* was not peopled at this time as it was in the time of *Strabo*. For when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the *Canaanite* was then in the land, howsoever they might be afterwards mix'd; which I know not. But there are many petty kingdoms adjoining to *Phenicia*, and *Palesina*; as *Palmyrena*, *Batanea*, *Laodicene*, *Apamena*, *Chalcedice*, *Cassiotis*, *Chalibonitis*, and all these do also join themselves to *Mesopotamia* on the north, and to *Arabia* on the east. And that these nations gathered themselves together under *Tidal*, I take to be the probablest conjecture.

S E C T. XII.

That Chedorlaomer the chief of the four kings was not of Assyria, but of Persia: and that the Assyrian empire at this time was much impaired.

LASTLY, whereas it is conceived that *Chedorlaomer* was the *Affyrian* emperor, and that *Amraphel* was but a satrape, viceroy, or provincial governor of *Babylonia*, and that the other kings named were such also, I cannot agree with *Pererius* in this. For *Moses* was too well acquainted with the names of *Assur*, and *Shinar*, to call the *Affyrian* a king of *Elam*: those kings being in the scriptures evermore called by the name of *Chaldea*, *Shi-*

^a Xenophon. ^b Gen. 14. ^c 2 Macc. 5. 2. ^d 2 Cor. 11. 32. ^e Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 1. ^f Strab. l. 16. fol. 523. ^g Gen. 12. 6. ^h nar.

nam. *Babylonia* or *Affyria* : but never by *Elam* ; and *Chedorlaomer* or *Kedarlaomer* was so called of *Arior*, from *Cidarim*, which in the *Hebrew* signifieth *regale* : for so *Q. Curtius* calleth the garment which the *Persian* kings ware on their heads.

Neither do I believe that the *Affyrian* or *Babylonian* empire stood in any greatness at the time of this invasion, and my reasons are these : First, Example and experience teach us, that those things which are set up hastily, or forced violently, do not long last : *Alexander* became lord of all *Asia* on this side of *Indus*, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted not to over-look what itself had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetual : for his empire died at once with himself : all whose chief commanders became kings after him. *Tamerlane* conquered *Asia* and *India* with a storm-like and terrible success : but to prevalent fury God hath adjoined a short life : and whatsoever things nature herself worketh in haste, she taketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his victories perished with him, if not before.

Ninus being the first whom the madness of boundless dominion transported, invaded his neighbour princes, and became victorious over them : a man violent, insolent and cruel. *Semiramis* taking the opportunity, and being more proud, adventurous, and ambitious, than her paramour, enlarged the *Babylonian* empire, and beautified many places therein with buildings unexampled. But her son having changed nature and condition with his mother, proved no less feminine than she was masculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continual smart put the patient in mind how to cure the one, and revenge the other ; so those kings adjoining, (whose subjection and calamities incident were but new, and therefore the more grievous) could not sleep, when the advantage was offered by such a successour. For in *Regno Babylonico hic parum resplenduit* ; This king shined little (saith *Naucerus* of *Ninias*) in the *Babylonian* kingdom. And likely it is, that the necks of mortal men having been never before galled with the yoke of foreign dominion, nor having ever had experience of that most miserable and detested condition of living in slavery ; no long descent having as yet invested the *Affyrian* with a right, nor any other title being for him pretended than a strong hand ; the foolish and effeminate son of a tyrannous and hated father, could very ill hold so many great princes and nations his vassals, with a power less mastering, and a mind less industrious than his father and mother had used before him. And he that was so much given over to licentious idleness, as to suffer his mother to reign 42 years, and thereof the greatest part after he came to man's estate, witnessed thereby to the world, that he so much preferred ease before honour, and bodily pleasures before greatness, as he neither endeavoured to gain what he could not govern, nor to keep what he could not without contentious peril enjoy.

These considerations being joined to the story of *Amraphel*, delivered by *Moses*, by which we find that *Amraphel* king of *Shinar* was rather an inferior to the king of *Persia*, than either his superior or equal, make it seem probable, that the empire of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* was at that time broken asunder, and restrained again to *Babylonia*.

For conclusion I will add these two arguments confirming the former : First, That at such time as it pleased God to impose that great travel upon *Abraham*, from *Ur* in *Chaldea* to *Charran*, and then to *Canaan* a passage of 700 miles, or little less, with

women, children, and carriages : the countries through which he wandered were then settled, and in peace. For it was in the 23d year of *Ninias*, when *Abraham* obeying the voice of God, took this great journey in hand : in which time of 23 years after the death of *Semiramis*, the neighbour princes had recovered their liberty and former estates. For *Semiramis's* army of four millions, with herself, utterly consumed in *India*, and all her arms and engines of war at the same time lost, gave an occasion and opportunity even to the poorest souls, and weakest hearted creatures of the world, to repurchase their former liberty.

Secondly, It is affirmed by the best and ancientest historians, that *Arius* the son of *Ninias*, or *Amraphel*, invaded the *Bactrians* and *Caspians*, and again subjected them : which needed not if they had not been revolted from *Ninias*, after *Ninus's* death. And as *Arioch* recovered one part, so did *Balcus* or *Balancus*, otherwise *Xerxes*, reduce the rest revolted to their former obedience. Of whom it is said, that he conquered from *Egypt* to *India* : and therefore was called *Xerxes*, *id est*, *Victor* & *triumphator*, a conquerour and triumpher, which undertakings had been no other than the effects of madness, had not those countries freed themselves from the *Babylonian* subjection. Now if we shall make any doubt hereof, that is, of the conquest of *Arius* and *Xerxes*, both which lived after *Ninus* and *Ninias*, we may as well think the rest of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but feigned : but if we grant this re-conquest, then is it true, that while *Ninias* or *Amraphel* ruled, the *Affyrian* empire was torn asunder, according to that which hath been gathered out of *Moses*, as before remembred.

SECT. XIII.

That it is not improbable that the four kings had no dominion in the countries named, but that they had elsewhere with their colonies planted themselves : and so retained the names of the countries whence they came : which if it be so, we need not say that Amraphel was Ninias, nor trouble ourselves with many other difficulties.

THE consent of all writers, whose works have come to my perusal, agreeing as they do, that these four kings, *Amraphel* of *Shinar*, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, and those fellows were lords of those regions, whereunto they are or seem intitled : doth almost enforce us to think, that the history must be so understood, as I have delivered. But if in this place, as often elsewhere in the scriptures, the names of countries may be set for people of those lands, or if (as *Jerome* hath it) *Chedorlaomer* was king of the *Elamites*, as *Tidal* was said to be of the nations, that is, of people either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of sundry regions : then may we otherwise conceive of this history, removing thereby some difficulties which men perhaps have been unwilling to find, because they could not find how to resolve them. For as it had been a strange conjecture to think that *Arioch* was drawn to assist the *Persian*, against the *Sodomite* ; as far as from *Pontus*, where it very unlikely that *Chedorlaomer* was known, and almost impossible that the vale of *Siddim* should have been once named : so in true estimation it is a thing of great improbability, that *Chedorlaomer*, if he were king of *Persia* alone, should pass thro' so great a part of the world, as the countries of *Affyria*, *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia* and *Canaan*, to subdue those five towns, whose very names how they should

come to his ear, being disjoined by so many great nations of different languages, a wise man could hardly conjecture. And if all the countries bordering *Persia*, together with the *Babylonian* himself, yea the kingdom of *Elaffar*, and that of *Tidal*, so far off removed, were become his dependants, what reason can we find that might have induced him to hearken after *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*? and when he should have sought the establishment of his new-gotten empire, by rooting out the posterity of *Ninus* (as *Ninus* had dealt by *Pharnus* of *Media*, and *Zoroaster* of *Bactria*) than to employ the forces of *Amraphel*, and those other kings, against five petty towns, leaving *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, and the great city of *Damasco*, with many other places of much importance, and far nearer unto him, unsubdued? Now as these doubts which may be alledged against the first conquest of the vale of *Siddim*, are exceeding vehement: so are the objections to be made against his re-conquest of these five cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; yea and more, as being grounded partly upon the text it self. For first, what madness had it been in that small province, to rebel against so powerful a monarch? Or if it were so, that they dwelling far from him, hoped rather to be forgotten, than that he should come or send to reclaim them: was it not more than madness in them, when his terrible army approached, still to entertain hope of evasion: yea, to make resistance (being themselves a dissolute, and therefore unwarlike people) against the power of all the nations between *Euphrates*, yea between themselves and the river of *Indus*? Likewise on the part of *Chedorlaomer* we should find no great wisdom, if he knowing the weakness of this people, had raised such a world of men against them: whom by any lieutenant, with small forces, he might have subdued. For the perpetual inheritance of that little country was not sufficient to countervail one month's charges of so huge an army. How small then must his valour have been, who with so mighty preparations effected no more than the walling of that valley, wherein he left the cities standing, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few prisoners, and the pillage of the country, altho' he had broken their army in the field? Now the scriptures do not make any fearful matter of this invasion, tho' supposed to be so great: but compose the two armies as equally match'd, saying they were four kings against five; yea, if the place be literally expounded, we shall find in *Genesis* xiv. 17. that *Abraham* slew all these kings, of which great slaughter no history makes mention: neither will the reign of *Ninas*, who lived four or five years longer, permit that he should have died so soon; neither would histories have forgotten the manner of his death, if he had so strangely perished in *Syria*. Whereby it appears, that these four kings were not the same that they are commonly thought: nor their forces so great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well be true, that these kings were such as many others, who in that age carried the same title, lords and commanders every one of his own company, which he carried forth as a colony, seeking place where to settle himself and them, as was the usual manner of those times.

Neither is it improbable, that *Chedorlaomer* leading a troop of *Persians*, *Amraphel* some people out of *Shinar*, and *Tidal* others gathered out of sundry places, might consort together, and make the weakest of the country which lay about them to pay them tribute. Whosoever will consider the beginning of the first book of *Thucydides*, with the manner of discoveries, conquests and plantations, in

the infancy of *Greece*, or the manner of the *Saracens* invading *Africa* and *Spain*, with almost as many kings as several armies: or the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in their new discoveries, passages and conquests in the *West-Indies*: may easily perceive, that it was neither unusual for the leaders of colonies to receive title from the people whom they conducted: nor to make alliances together, and break them again, disturbing sometimes one the other, sometimes helping in pursuit of a conquest. That *Amraphel* and his associates were such manner of commanders, it may seem the more likely, by the slothful quality of *Ninias* then reigning in *Assyria*; whose unmanlike temper was such, as might well give occasion to such undertaking spirits, as wanted the employments whereunto they were accustomed, in the reign of *Semiramis*, rather to seek adventures abroad, than to remain at home unregarded; whilst others more unworthy than themselves, were advanced. If the consent of the whole stream of writers upon this place make this conjecture disagreeable to the text, to the authority whereof all human reason must subscribe, then we may hold our selves to the former conjecture, that *Amraphel* was *Ninias*: and that the power of his ancestors being by his sloth decayed, he might well be inferior to the *Persian Chedorlaomer*: or if this do not satisfy, we may say that *Amraphel* was an under-king or *satrape* of *Shinar*, under *Ninias*; who may be supposed to have had his imperial seat in his father's city *Nineveh*: and to have preferred it before *Shinar* and *Babylon* the city of his mother, whom he hated as an usurper of his right. But if it were possible that in a case not concerning any man's salvation, and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great pains, all might err: then can I think that the opinion, that these four kings were leaders of colonies, sent out of the countries named in the text, and not kings of the countries themselves, is most consonant both to the condition of those times, and to the scripture. And hereto add that *Chedorlaomer* seems rather called a *Persian* king, than king of *Persia*: and that *Arioch* (whose kingdom undoubtedly was between *Syria* and *Arabia*) having been a man of action, or being a worthy man's son, was very well pleased to give passage and assistance to these captains or petty kings. These and such like things here to urge, were but with circumstances to adorn a supposition, which either may stand without them, or, if it must fall, is unworthy to have cost bestowed upon it: especially considering, that it is not my intent to employ any more time in making it good, but to leave it wholly to the reader's pleasure, to follow any of these opinions, or any other, if he shall find any that shall seem better than these. But of what countries or people soever these four were kings, this expedition is the only publick action that we know of performed by *Abraham*. And as for other things belonging to his story, and of his sons, and of his nephews *Esau* and *Jacob*, as they are registred by *Moses*, because it is not our purpose, neither to stand upon things generally known to all christians, nor to repeat what hath been elsewhere already spoken, nor to prevent our selves in things that may hereafter in due place be remembered, we pass them here in silence. And because in this story of *Abraham* and his posterity, there is much mention of *Egypt*: by which it appears that even in the time of *Abraham* it was a settled and flourishing kingdom, it will not be amiss in the next place to speak somewhat of the antiquities, and first kings thereof.

C H A P. II.

Of the kings of Egypt from the first peopling of it after the flood, to the time of the delivery of the Israelites from thence.

S E C T. I.

A brief of the names and times of the first kings of Egypt: with a note of the causes of difficulty in resolving of the truth in these points.

SOON after the confusion at *Babel*, as it seems, *Cham*, with many of his issue and followers (having doubtless known the fertility of *Egypt* before the flood) came thither and took possession of the country: in which they built many cities, and began the kingdom one hundred and ninety one years after the deluge. The ancient governors of this kingdom till such time as *Israel* departed *Egypt*, are shewn in the table following.

<i>An. Mundi.</i>	<i>An. Dil.</i>	
1847	191	<i>Cham.</i>
2008	352	<i>Osiris.</i>
2269	613	<i>Typhon, } Hercules. }</i>
2276	620	<i>Orus.</i>
2391	735	<i>Sesostris the Great.</i>
2424	768	<i>Sesostris the Blind.</i>
2438	782	<i>Busiris or Orus the second.</i>
2476	820	<i>Acenchere or Thermutis or Meris.</i>
2488	832	<i>Rathoris or Athoris.</i>
2497	841	<i>Chencres drowned in the Red sea.</i>

The table, and especially the chronology, is to be confirmed by probabilities and conjectures, because in such obscurity manifest and resistless truth cannot be found. For *St. Augustine*, a man of exceeding great judgment, and incomparable diligence, who had sought into all antiquities, and had read the books of *Varro*, which now are lost, yet omitted the succession of the *Egyptian* kings; which he would not have done, if they had not been more uncertain than the *Sicyonians*, whom he remembreth, than whom doubtless they were more glorious. One great occasion of this obscurity in the *Egyptian* story, was the ambition of the priests: who, to magnify their antiquities, filled the records, which were in their hands, with many fables: and recounted unto strangers the names of many kings that never reigned. What ground they had for these reports of supposed kings, it shall appear anon. Sure it is, that the magnificent works and royal buildings in *Egypt*, such as are never found but in states that have greatly flourished, witness that their princes were of marvellous greatness: and that the reports of the priests were not altogether false. A second cause of our ignorance in the *Egyptian* history, was the too much credulity of some good authors, who believing the manifold and contrary reports of sundry *Egyptians*, and publishing in their own name, such as pleased them best; have confirmed them, and as it were enforced them upon us, by their authority. A third and general cause of more than *Egyptian* darkness in all ancient histories, is the edition of many authors by *John Annii*, of whom (if to the censures of sundry very learned I may add mine) I think thus: that *Annius* having seen some fragments of those writers, and added unto them what he would,

may be credited, as an avoucher of true histories; where approved writers confirm him: but otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it cometh to pass that the account of authors, either in the chronology or genealogy of the *Egyptian* kings, runs three altogether different ways. The Christian writers, such as are ancient, for the most part follow *Eusebius*: many late writers follow the edition of *Annius's* authors: the profane histories follow *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and such others.

S E C T. II.

That by the account of the Egyptian Dynasties, and otherwise, it appears that Cham's reign in Egypt began in the year after the flood 191.

TO reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the ancient kings, about whom is most controversy, the best mean is by help of the *Dynasties*: of whose continuance there is little or no disagreement. The account of the *Dynasties*, besides the authority of approved authors, hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most part, if not altogether, with the histories of the *Assyrians*, *Trojans*, *Italians*, and others, &c. The beginning of the 16th *Dynasty* is joined by general consent with the 43d year of *Ninus*, in which *Abraham* was born. The twelve first *Dynasties* lasted each of them seven years, under the twelve, which were called the greater gods: so that all the years of their continuance were 84. The thirteenth *Dynasty* endured fourteen years; the fourteenth, twenty-six; the fifteenth, thirty-seven. These three last are said to have been under the three younger gods. So the fifteen first *Dynasties* lasted 161 years. As I do not therefore believe that the continuance of these *Dynasties* was such as hath been mentioned, because *Annius* in such wise limits out their time; so I cannot reject the account upon this only reason, that *Annius* hath it so; considering that both hitherto it hath passed as current, and is greatly strengthened by many good reasons. For, whereas *Eusebius* placeth the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynasty*, in the year of *Abraham's* birth, as aforesaid: the reckoning is easily cast; by which the sum of 161 years, which according to our account were spent in the fifteen former, being subducted out of the sum of 352 years, which were between the flood and *Abraham's* birth, shew that the beginning of the first dynasty, which was the beginning of *Cham's* reign in *Egypt*, was in the year 191. As also by other probabilities the same may appear. For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of mankind which came into *Shinar*, arrived at *Babel*, Anno a diluvio 131. In building the tower were consumed forty years, as *Glycas* recordeth; whose report I have elsewhere confirmed with divers probabilities. That *Cham* was long in passing with his company, their wives, children, cattle, and substance, thro' all *Syria* then desolate, and full of bogs, forests and briars (which the deluge and want of culture in one hundred and seventy one years had brought upon it) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of himself in *Egypt*, we allow 20 years: and these sums being added together, to wit one hundred thirty-one years after the flood, before they arrived at *Babel*, 40 years for their stay there, and 20 for *Cham's* passage into *Egypt* and settling there, make up the sum of one hundred and ninety one years: at which time we said that *Cham* began his reign in *Egypt*, in the beginning of the first *Dynasty*. And to this sum of 191 years, if we add the 161 years of the 15 first *Dynasties*,

nafties, as they are numbred in common account; we shall fall right with the year of *Abraham's* birth, which was *An. Dil. 352*. And hereto, omitting many other reasons, which might be brought to prove that these first *Dynasties* must needs have been very short, and not containing in the whole sum of their several times above 161 years: let it suffice that had they lasted longer, then either must *Egypt* have been peopled as soon as *Babel* after the flood: or the *Dynasties* (as *Mercator* thinks) must have been before the flood. That the arrival at *Babel* was many years before the plantation of *Egypt*, after the flood, enough hath been said to prove: and that the *Dynasties* were not before the flood, the number of the long-liv'd generations between *Adam* and the flood, which was less than the number of the *Dynasties*, may sufficiently witness. Or if we will think, that one life might (perhaps) be divided into many *Dynasties*, then may this have been as well after the flood, as before: considering that the sons of *Noah* did not in every country erect such form of policy, as had been used in the same ere the deluge: but such, as the disposition of the people, the authority and power of the conductor, together with many other circumstances, did induce or inforce them to.

SECT. III.

That these Dynasties were not divers families of kings, but rather successions of regents, oft-times many under one king.

THE short continuance of the *Dynasties*, doth shew that they were not several races of kings, as the vaunting *Egyptians* were wont to stile them. What they were it cannot certainly be warranted. For in restitutions of decay'd antiquities, it is more easy to deny than to affirm. But this may be said, partly upon good circumstance, partly upon the surest proof, that it was the manner of the *Egyptian* kings, to put the government of the country into the hands of some trusty counsellor, only reserving the sovereignty to themselves, as the old kings of *France* were wont to the masters of the palace, and as the *Turk* doth to the chief visier. This is confirmed first, by the number of the *Dynasties*, whereof many are under *Cham*, and more than one under *Osiris* or *Mizraim*; and must therefore have been successions, not of kings, but rather of counsellors and regents. Secondly, by custom of such princes borderers to *Egypt*, as are mentioned in the scriptures: of whom *Abimilech* the *Philistine*, in his dealing with *Abraham* and *Isaac* about confederation, did nothing without *Phicol*, captain of his host; tho' in taking *Abraham's* wife, and in his private carriage, he followed his own pleasure. Likewise of *Abimilech* the son of *Gideon*, it was said: *Is not he the son of Jerubbal? and Zebulis his officer?* also *Ishbosheth* the son of *Saul*, feared *Abner* the captain of the host. Yea, *David* himself hating *Joab* for his cruelty, did not punish him, in regard of his greatness, which was such, as was feared even of *Hadad* the *Edomite* living then in *Egypt*. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appears by the scriptures: therefore likely both for his own idleness and pleasure, to have laid the burthen of government upon others; and upon jealousy, the companion of unworthiness, to have changed his lieutenants often. Above all other proofs is the advancement of *Joseph* by *Pharaoh*. For *Pharaoh* said to *Joseph*; *Only in the king's throne will I be above thee: behold I have set thee over all the land of Egypt.* ^a *William*, archbishop of *Tyre*, who flourished about

the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred eighty, affirms that the like or very same form of government by viceroys, was in his time practised in *Egypt*, having there been in use (as he believed) ever since the time of *Joseph*. He plainly shews, that the foldans of *Egypt* were not lords of the country, however they have been so deemed: but that they acknowledged and humbly performed the duty of subjects unto the *Caliph*: who residing in a most magnificent palace in *Cairo*, did commit the charge, not only of civil government, but the power of making war and peace, with the whole office and authority royal into the foldan's hands. He that shall read in ^b *William* of *Tyre*, the state of the caliph, or *Mulene Elbadach*, with the form of his court, shall plainly behold the image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, ruling by a lieutenant, as great in authority as *Joseph* was, tho' far inferiour in wisdom.

To think that many names of such regents or lieutenants as *Joseph* was, have crept into the list of the *Egyptian* kings, were no strange imagination, For *Joseph's* brethren called him, *The man that is lord of the land, and the lord of the country*: besides, it is not unlikely that the vain-glorious *Egyptian* priests would as easily report him a king to posterity, as ignorant men and strangers deem him such, under whose hand all dispatches of importance, and royal managing of the state had pass'd, whilst that the king himself intending his quiet, had given his office to another. How strangers have mistaken in this kind, the example already cited of *Joseph's* brethren, doth sufficiently witness. The reports of priests do appear in *Diodorus*, and *Herodotus*: each of whom, citing their relations, as good authority, say; *Diodorus*, that *Sesostris* was the 19th king after *Menas*; *Herodotus*, that he was the 332d after *Menas*: which could not have been if *Menas* had been *Adam*. Therefore we may well conclude, that the *Dynasties* were not so many races of kings, but successions of regents, appointed by the kings of so many sundry lineages or sorts of men. Now by whatsoever means a *Dynasty* or regency continued: whether in one family, as being made an hereditary office: or in one order of men, as held by faction: sure it is that it was the king's gift, and free choice, that gave the office. But the crown royal always passed by descent, and not by election: which (beside consent of authors) the scriptures also prove. For whereas *Joseph* bought all the land of *Egypt* for *Pharaoh*, if the crown had passed by election, then should *Pharaoh's* children hereby either have been intralled amongst the rest of the people, to the next successor: or enjoying their father's land, tho' not his estate, have been more mighty than the king: as landlords of all *Egypt*, and the king himself their tenant. Likewise we find in *Exod. xii.* that *God smote the first-born of Pharaoh, that was to sit on his throne*: and in *Isaiah* it is said of *Pharaoh*, ^d *I am the son of the ancient king.*

SECT. IV.

Of Cham, and his son Mizraim, or Osiris.

THAT the succession of kings began, and continued in such wise as the table hath shewed from *Cham* to *Chencres*, now it followeth to shew. *Egypt* is called in the scripture, ^e *the land of Ham*. That this name is not given to it because the posterity of *Cham* did reign there, but for that himself did first plant it, we may gather by many circumstances. For I think it is no-where found, that the countries of *Cush*, *Put*, or *Canaan*, as well as

^a *William Tyr. de bell. sacro*, l. 19. c. 17, 18, 19, & 20. ^b *Lib.* 19, 20. ^c *Gen.* 42. 30, & 33. ^d *Isa.* 19. ^e *Psal.* 78. 51. 105. 23, 27. 106. 22.

Egypt, were called the land of *Ham*. Further it is found in ^a *Diodorus Siculus*, that *Osiris* calleth himself the eldest son of *Cham*, saying; *Mibi pater Saturnus deorum omnium junior*: also, *Sum Saturni filius antiquior, germen ex pulchro & generoso ortum*: which must needs be understood of *Cham*: for this *Saturnus Egyptius* was *Cham*: as it was said, that on the monument of *Ninus* was an inscription, wherein *Cham* was called *Saturnus Aegyptius*. Likewise the temple of *Hammon* not far from *Egypt* doth testify, that *Ham* resided in those parts: and St. *Jerome* in *Quæstionibus Hebraicis*, saith, that the *Egyptians* themselves did in his days call their country *Ham*: as in four several places in the *Psalms* this country is called the land of *Cham*. And *Ortelius*, noting out of *Plutarch* in *Osiride*, that in the sacrifices of the *Egyptians* this country of *Egypt* was called *Chemia*, expounds it for *Chamia*: *ut puto* (saith he) *a Chamo Noes filio*, to which also he addeth out of *Isidore*, *Aegyptum usque hodie Aegyptiorum lingua Kam vocari*: That *Egypt* unto this day in the tongue of the *Egyptians* is called *Kam*. For the beginning and continuance of *Cham*'s reign, the same reasons may suffice to be alledged, which I have already given in proof of the time spent in the 15 first *Dynasties*: neither is it strange that the reign of *Cham*, should last so long as 161 years: considering that *Sem* lived 600. *Arphachshad* and *Shelah* each above 400. But strange it had been, if one *Saltis* created by *Manetho*, had in those long-lived generations reigned there 19 years, and with *Bæon*, *Apachnas*, *Apochis*, and others of the same brood, obscured the fame and glory of *Osiris*, *Orus* and *Sesostris*. *Reineccius*, in *hisor. Julia*, placeth *Mizraim* next, otherwise called *Osiris* according to *Diodorus*: who saith he was the son of *Hammon*: *Krentzhemius* saith that *Mizraim* and *Osiris* are words of near affinity and found in the *Hebrew* tongue. Howsoever it be, we know that *Mizraim* the son of *Cham*, was lord of *Egypt*, and *Reineccius* citing good authority in this case, affirmeth that *Egypt* is now called by the naturals in their own language *Mezre*. Neither do I see cause of doubt whether *Osiris* were the same with *Mizraim*. It is more necessary, and hard to shew manifestly, how long *Mizraim* or *Osiris* reigned. For whereas the year of his death is no-where precisely set down, we must be fain to follow probabilities. That he is not vainly said by *Annus's Berosus* to have begun his reign at the birth of *Abraham*, when the *Dynasty* of the *Thebei* began, it appeareth, first, by the authority of *Eusebius*, who avoucheth as much; next by *Diodorus*, who saith that he inhabited *Thebes*: which habitation of *Osiris* there, that it might be cause of that *Dynasty*, I can well believe: assenting so far to *Reineccius*, who thinks the *Dynasties* were named only, according to the several seats of the kings.

SECT. V.

Of the time when Osiris's reign ended: and that Jacob came into Egypt in the time of Orus the son of Osiris.

THE death of *Osiris*, when it was, none can certainly affirm. The only conjecture that I know, is made thus. *Lebabin* the son of *Mizraim*, called *Hercules Libyus*, made war in *Italy*, to revenge his father's death, on the associates of *Typhon*, in the 41st year of *Baleus* king of *Assyria*: before which year he had made many great wars in *Egypt*, *Phenicia*, *Phrygia*, *Crete*, *Libya*, and *Spain*: and having ended his *Egyptian* wars, left the kingdom to *Orus*. Thus far *Berosus*, or authors follow-

ing *Berosus*. That *Orus* last of all the gods (as they were stiled) held the kingdom of *Isis*, ^b *Diodorus Siculus* plainly saith: and *Plutarch* as much; to which all histories agree. *Krentzhemius* hereupon infers, that six years may be allowed to the wars, which *Hercules* made in so many countries, after the *Egyptian* wars were ended: so should the death of *Osiris* have been the 34th of *Baleus*: when himself had reigned 297 years. I think that *Krentzhemius* was a greater scholar than soldier. For surely in those days when commerce was not such as now, but all navigation made by coasting, a far longer time would have been required to the subduing of so many countries. An allowance of more time, tho' it would alter his computation, yet would it well agree with his intent: which was (doubtless) to find the truth. If according to his account the death of *Osiris* had been the 34th of *Baleus*, then must *Israel* have come into *Egypt* but seven years before the death of *Osiris*: and have lived there in the reign of *Typhon*. A thing not easily believed. For it was the same king who advanced *Joseph*, bad him send for his father, and gave him leave to go into *Canaan*, to the performance of his father's funeral: as may easily be gathered out of the book of *Genesis*. Whereas therefore the reign of *Osiris*, cannot be extended by any possible allowance in account of times, beyond the 7th year of *Israel's* coming into *Egypt*: we must needs cut off 23 years from that number, which *Krentzhemius* conjectured his reign to have continued: namely, seven which he should have lived after *Jacob's* coming into *Egypt*: nine in which *Joseph* had there flourished, ere his father's coming: and other seven in which *Typhon* and *Hercules* had reigned after the death of *Osiris*, yet before *Joseph's* advancement.

Neither will this disagree with the time of *Hercules Libyus's* wars. For the war which *Hercules* made in *Italy*, is said to have indured 10 years: after which proportion we may well give not only six years, as *Krentzhemius* doth, but 23 more to so many wars in so many and so far distant countries, as are named before: yea, by this proportion we may attribute unto *Orus* the 13 years, which passed between the time of *Joseph's* being sold into *Egypt*, unto his advancement: considering that *Putiphar* who bought him, and whose daughter he may seem to have married, continued all that while chief steward unto *Pharaoh*: a thing not likely to have been, if so violent alterations had happened the whilst in *Egypt*, as the tyrannous usurpation of *Typhon* must needs have brought in. If citing some fragment of a lost old author, I should confidently say, that *Putiphar*, for his faithfulness to *Orus*, the son of *Osiris*, was by him in the beginning of his reign made his chief steward: at which time buying *Joseph*, and finding him a just man, and one under whose hand all things did prosper, he rather committed his estate into *Joseph's* hands, than unto any of his *Egyptian* followers (many of whom he had found either false-hearted, or weak and unlucky in the troublesome days of *Typhon*) I know not what could be objected against this. Perhaps I might proceed further, and say, that when the saying of *Joseph* pleased *Pharaoh*, and all his servants: then *Putiphar* priest of *On*, being chief officer to *Pharaoh*, did acknowledge in *Joseph*, the ancient graces of God, and his injurious imprisonment: whereupon he gave him his daughter to wife: and being old resigned his office of chief steward unto him: who afterwards in regard of *Putiphar*, did favour the priests, when he bought the lands of all other *Egyptians*. This might appear to some a tale

^a Diod. Sic. l. 1. ^b Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 1. Plut. l. de Iside & Osir.

not unlike to the frierly book of *Asenath*, *Putiphar's* daughter: but unto such as consider that God works usually by means: and that *Putiphar* was the steward of that king, under whom *Jacob* died: it would seem a matter not improbable, had it an author of sufficient credit to avouch it. Concerning the wars of *Hercules*, in which by this reckoning he should have spent 42 years after he left *Egypt*, ere he began in *Italy*, it is a circumstance which (the length of his *Italian* wars considered, and his former enterprises and atchievements proportioned to them) doth not make against us, but for us: or if it were against us, yet could it not so weaken our supposition, as these probabilities collected out of the undisputable truth of scripture do confirm it. Nevertheless I freely grant that all these proofs are no other, than such as may be gathered out of authors, not well agreeing, nor to be reconciled in such obscurity, otherwise than by likelihoods, answerable to the holy text.

SECT. VI.

Of Typhon, Hercules, Ægyptus, Orus, and the two Sesostris, successively reigning after Misraim: and of divers errors about the former Sesostris.

Concerning the reign of *Typhon*, and of *Hercules*, I find none that precisely doth define how long either of them continued. *Daniel Angelocrator* giveth three years to *Typhon*, omitting *Hercules*. But he is so peremptory without proof, as if his own word were sufficient authority, in many points very questionable; alledging no witness, but as it were saying *Tesse meipso*: yet herein we may think him to speak probably, forasmuch as the learned *Krentzheimius* affirmeth, that *Hercules* did very soon undertake his father's revenge, and was not long in performing it: and that leaving *Egypt* to his brother, he followed other wars, in the same quarrel, as hath been shewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as *Krentzheimius* doth) out of *Berosus*, that *Hercules* reigned after *Typhon*: yet seeing *Aventinus*, a follower of *Berosus*, hath it so, I will also believe it. That in the reign of *Typhon* and *Hercules*, seven years were spent, howsoever divided between them, I gather out of *Krentzheimius* only, who placeth the beginning of *Orus* 7 years after the death of *Osiris*: forgetting to set down his reasons, which, in a matter so probable, I think he wanted not. Now whereas he alloweth 90 years of the 18th Dynasty to *Osiris*, *Typhon*, *Hercules*, and *Orus*: it seems that the reign of *Orus* lasted 115 years. From the death of *Orus* to the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, there passed 122 years by our account: who (according to *Beroaldus*, and others) think that *Abraham* was born in the 130th year of *Terah*, and thereupon reckon thus. From the end of the flood to the birth of *Abraham*.

	352
From that time to the	vocation of <i>Abraham</i> 75
	departure out of <i>Egypt</i> 430
	total—857

which sum divers other ways may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out of *Egypt*, there do remain (as is aforesaid) only 122 years from the death of *Orus*: we are now to consider how many of them are to be allowed unto *Sesostris* or *Sesonchosis*, who is placed next unto *Orus*, by authority of the *Scholiastes Apollonii*; not without good probability. For this great king or conqueror, is by many histories recorded to have over-run a great part of *Asia*: to have built a fleet of ships on the *Red sea*; and so to have entered into *India*: likewise with another fleet on the middle-earth seas, to have passed into *Europe*, and subdued many nations.

This is he (as *Reineccius* judgeth) whom *Justin* erring in account of his time, calleth *Vexoris*: for *Justin* placeth *Vexoris* in ages before *Ninus*: whereby it would follow that *Sesostris*, if he were *Vexoris*, was more ancient than was *Osiris* (otherwise *Mizraim*) a thing altogether unlikely. Certain it is, that after the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, no one *Pharaoh* came into the land of *Canaan* (which lieth in the way from *Egypt* into *Asia*) till the father-in-law of *Solomon*, *Pharaoh Vaphres*, took *Gerar*, and gave it to his daughter (as we may read more at large in the holy history of the bible) after which time *Sesac* oppressed *Rehoboam*, and *Necho* sought passage thro' the land of *Israel*, when he made his expedition against the *Chaldeans*. Of king *Vaphres* and *Necho* it is out of question, that neither of them was the great king *Sesostris*. Of *Sesac* it is doubted by some, forasmuch as he came into *Judea*, with a great army. *Reineccius* propounding the doubt, leaveth it undecided; unless it be sufficient proof of his own opinion, that he himself placeth *Sesostris* next to *Orus*; following the *Scholiastes Apollonii*. But further answer may be made to shew that they were not one. For as *Justin* witnesseth, *Sesostris*, otherwise *Vexoris*, made war on people far removed, abstaining from his neighbours. *Sesac* came up purposely against *Jerusalem*. *Sesostris*, as *Diodorus* witnesseth, had but 24000 horse: *Sesac* had 60000: *Sesostris* had 8020 chariots, *Sesac* but 1200. *Sesostris* made his expedition for no private purpose, but to get a great name: *Sesac*, as most agree, had no other purpose than to succour *Jeroboam*, and give him countenance in his new reign, whom he had favoured even against *Solomon*: therefore *Sesostris* must needs have reigned whilst *Israel* abode in *Egypt*.

Whereas *Krentzheimius* collecteth out of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, that one *Menas*, or *Menis*, was next to *Orus*: because those historians affirm that he reigned next after the gods; it moveth me nothing. For *Osiris* did succeed those 15 gods, namely, the 12 greater and 3 lesser: himself also (as the learned *Reineccius* noteth) being called *Menas*. Which name, as also *Minæus*, and *Menis*, were titles of dignity: tho' mistaken by some as proper names. *Krentzheimius* doth very probably gather, that *Menas* was *Mercurius Ter-maximus*: the Hebrew word *Meni* signifying an arithmetician: which name *Ter-maximus* might well be attributed to *Osiris*: who was a great conqueror, philosopher, and benefactor to mankind, by giving good laws, and teaching profitable arts. In prowess and great undertakings *Sesostris* was no whit inferiour to *Osiris*. For he sought victory not for gain, but for honour only: and being well contented, that many nations had acknowledged his power, and submitted themselves to his will and royal disposition, leaving them in a manner to their liberty, returned into *Egypt*. Soon upon his return he was endangered by a great treason, the house, in which he was, being by his own brother purposely fired: which nevertheless he is said to have escaped, and to have reigned in all thirty-three years: after which time he chose rather to die than to live: because he fell blind. Both *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* affirm, that *Sesostris* left a son, whose name was *Pheron* or *Pheronios*; who afterwards took the name of *Sesostris*: but was nothing like to his father in glory: for he shortly fell blind. The cause of his blindness *Herodotus* attributes to his assaulting the river *Nilus* with a javelin: which tale *Diodorus* having likewise heard, yet reports as a fable, saying, that perhaps he took the disease naturally from his father. How long this man reigned it is no where expressed.

led: yet forasmuch 'as *Orus* the second (otherwise *Busiris*) who succeeded him, began 14 years after that this *Sesostris* had been king, it must needs be that this reigned 14 years at least. That *Busiris* began not until these 14 years at least were expired, the very account of time from the first of *Busiris*, to the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, plainly shews, being almost generally agreed upon, to have been 75 years. That none came between *Sesostris* the second, and *Busiris* or *Orus* the second, it stands only upon probabilities: which are these. After *Sesostris* had reigned somewhile, he fell blind: after certain years he recovered his sight, as is said: which may have been true, but is more like to have been a fable: surely the manner of his recovery, as it is set down, is very fabulous: namely, that by looking upon a woman, or washing his eyes with her water, who had only known her own husband, he got his sight again. As the time of his reign, before his blindness, and when he was well again (if ever he were) may have taken up a good part of 14 years: so his works, which were great, do much more strongly argue, that his reign was not very short. His works, are largely set down by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*: a part of which may seem to have been the finishing of that which his father had begun, about the channels and sluices of *Nilus*: whom I think he rather frightened (as his father had done) with spades and shovels, than with darts and javelins: and by his diligent oversight of that work, was like enough to lose both his eye-sight and his people's love: whom his father had very busily employ'd in excessive labour about it.

SECT. VII.

Of Busiris the first oppressor of the Israelites: and of his successor queen Thermutis that took up Moses out of the water.

AND herein (if I may presume to conjecture) *Busiris*, who was afterwards king, is like to have dealt with him, as *Jeroboam* did with the son of *Solomon*. For that *Busiris* himself was much addicted to magnificent works, it well appeared, by the drudgery wherewith he wearied the children of *Israel* in his buildings: if therefore he were employ'd by the great *Sesostris*, as *Jeroboam* was by *Solomon*, in the oversight of those businesses, he had good opportunity to work his greatness with the king by industry: and afterwards with the people by incensing them against their new king: as *Jeroboam* did. For what the multitude will endure at one prince's hands, they will not at another's: unless he have either an equal spirit, or a surer foundation. If moreover he sought to derive all the pain and labour of publick works from the *Egyptians*, to the *Israelites*: he surely did that which to his own people was very plausible, who (as appears in *Exodus* i.) were nothing slack in fulfilling the king's cruelty. Now that *Orus* the 2d, or *Busiris*, was the king that first oppressed *Israel*, and made the edict of drowning the *Hebrew* children, which (saith *Cedrenus*) lasted 10 months: it is a common opinion of many great and most learned writers, who also think that hereupon grew the fable of *Busiris* sacrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, *Exod.* i. that the king, who knew not *Joseph*, was a king of a new family. That *Busiris* was of a new family, *Reinecius* doth shew: who also thinks him author of the bloody edict. Nevertheless true it is, that *Busiris*, according to all mens computation, began his reign 5 years after the birth of *Moses*; before whose birth

it is most manifest, that the law was made, and much more that the persecution began: which *Bunting* thinks to have lasted 87 years, ere the departure out of *Egypt*. Let us therefore consider, besides the blindness of *Sesostris* the second, how great the power of the regents or viceroys in *Egypt* was: and how great confidence the kings did put in them: seeing *Joseph* ruled with such full power, that he bought all *Egypt*, and all the *Egyptians* for bread; giving at the same time the best of the land to his own father and brethren, for nothing: seeing also that when the *Egyptians* cried out upon *Pharaoh* for bread, *Pharaoh* said to all the *Egyptians*, Go to *Joseph*: what he saith to you, do ye. If to a stranger born, lately fetch'd out of prison, a king well able to have governed himself, would give such trust, and sovereign authority: it is not unlikely that a blind prince should do it to a man of especial reputation. For God often prospers, not only the good (such as *Joseph* was) but wicked men also, as his instruments against the day of wrath. Therefore perhaps the king did (as many have done) resign his kingdom to him, tho' his reign was not accounted to have begun, till the death of *Sesostris*. But whether *Busiris* did usurp the kingdom, or protection of the land by violence: or whether the blind king resigned it, keeping the title: or whether *Busiris* were only regent, whilst the king liv'd, and afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) king himself: it might well be said that *Pharaoh's* daughter took up *Moses*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Israel*: seeing he both at that time was king in effect, and shortly after king in deed and title both. It were not absurd for us to say, that the blind king *Sesostris* the 2d oppress'd *Israel*: but forasmuch as it may seem that the wicked tyrant shewed his evil nature even when he first arose, I think it more likely, that *Busiris* did it, using at first the power of a king, and shortly after the title. Thus of the 122 years which passed between the beginning of *Sesostris's* reign, and the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, 47 being spent: the 75 which remain, are to be accounted to *Busiris* or *Orus* the 2d, and his children. *Busiris* himself reigned 30 years, according to *Eusebius*: whom very many judicious authors herein approve. After him his daughter, who took *Moses* out of the water, is said, by all that I have read, to have reigned 12 years: her name was *Thermutis Phareis*, or *Mutbis*, according to *Cedrenus*: *Eusebius* calls her *Acencris*: and out of *Artabanus's* history, *Meris*: *Josephus* calls her both *Acenchere* and *Thermutis*. *Epiphanius* in *Panario* saith, that she was honoured afterwards of the *Egyptians*, by the name of *Thermutis*, the daughter of *Amenoph*, the son of *Pharaoh*. Of this last title question might be made, and much spoken: for the scriptures call her not *Pharaoh's* son's daughter, but *Pharaoh's* daughter. *Amenophis* indeed is placed next before *Busiris*, or *Orus* the second, by *Eusebius*, and others: but whether he were a king, or only a regent, I cannot conjecture. For *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and the ancient historians name the son of *Sesostris*, *Pheron*. Perhaps his name was *Pharaoh Amenophis*: and his daughter by the *Egyptians* called rather the niece or grandchild, than the daughter of *Pharaoh*, because of the glory of *Sesostris*, and the disreputation of his son. If so, and if that *Busiris* or *Orus* the 2d marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our conjecture strengthened, and then was she both daughter, grandchild, and wife unto *Pharaoh*: and surviving him, queen of the land, twelve years. But if she were daughter of *Orus* the second, and sister of *Athoris*, or *Rathoris*, as many think, to whose conjecture I will

will not oppose mine, then may it seem, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule, when her father died.

SECT. VIII.

Of the two brethren of queen Thermutis: and what king it was, under whom Moses was born: and who it was that perished in the Red sea.

SHE had two brethren: the one was *Rathoris*, or *Athoris*, who succeeded her; the other *Telegonus*, who is only named by *Eusebius*: but his lineage and off-spring described by *Reineccius*. *Rathoris*, after his sister's death, reigned nine years: after whom *Chencres*, thought to be his son, reigned ten, and then perished in the *Red sea*. During the reign of *Chencres*, *Eusebius* saith, that *Telegonus* begat *Epaphus* upon *Io*: of which history elsewhere he reporteth otherwise. After the death of *Chencres* (whom some call *Acencheres*: but all or most do stile θεῖμαχος a fighter against God) *Acherres* reigned eight years: and then *Cherres* fifteen. This descent seems from father to son. In the eleventh year of *Cherres* it is said by *Eusebius*, that *Epaphus* reigning in the lower part of *Egypt* built *Memphis*. This is an argument of that which otherwise was not unlikely, *viz.* That *Egypt* was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laid upon it, and the destruction of her king and army in the *Red sea*: else could it not have had two reigning in it at once; the latter of whom, or his posterity, seems to have taken all from *Cherres* the grandchild of *Chencres*. For whereas *Armais* is said to have reigned four years after *Cherres*, and *Armesis* one after *Armais*, these two kings are by *Eusebius* and others accounted as one, and his reign said to have been five years. His name is called *Armeus*, otherwise *Danaus*; and his pedigree thus described by *Reineccius* in *Historia Julia*.

Telegonus.

Epaphus.

Libya, who had

Agenor, *Belus* and *Busiris*.

Egyptus or *Rameffes*, who gave name to the country, having expelled his brother *Danaus*, reigned, and begat *Lynceus*, married to *Hypermetra*.

Danaus or *Armeus*, expelled by his brother *Egyptus*, after he had reigned five years, became king of *Argos* in *Greece*: was father to *Hypermetra*.

How it might come to pass that the nephews sons of *Epaphus* should have occupied the kingdom after *Cherres*, it is hard to say: considering that *Epaphus* himself is reported by *Eusebius* to have been born in the time of *Chencres*. But soasmuch as the history of *Epaphus*'s birth, is diversly related by *Eusebius*, it may suffice, that *Belus* the father of *Danaus* and *Egyptus*, otherwise called *Armeus* and *Rameffes*, was equally distant from *Busiris* or *Orus* the second, with *Cherres* the grandchild of *Chencres*. And that the posterity of *Telegonus* did marry very young, it appears by the history of these two brethren, *Danaus* and *Egyptus*: of whom the former had 50 daughters, the latter 50 sons: perhaps, or rather questionless, by divers women: yet surely they began to beget children in their first youth: howsoever it were, the general consent of writers is, that *Armeus* or *Danaus* did succeed *Cherres*: and, according to *Eusebius* and

good authors approving him, reigned five years. *Rameffes* followed, who reigned sixty-eight years. This *Rameffes* or *Egyptus* is that *Armesefmiamum* or *Armesefmiamus*, under whom, in the opinion of *Mercator*, and of *Bunting* that follows *Mercator*, *Moses* was born; and the cruel edict made of drowning the *Hebrew* children. The length of his reign seems to me the chief, if not the only ground of *Mercator*'s opinion. For whereas the Lord said to *Moses*, Go, return to *Egypt*, for they are all dead which went about to kill thee: *Exod.* iv. 19. *Mercator* hereupon conceives, that it was one and the same king under whom *Moses* was born, and under whom he slew the *Egyptian* at the 40th year of his age; and fled into the wilderness, and there abode for fear: all which circumstances could agree with none but this *Rameffes* who reigned so long: wherefore desirous rather to hold a true paradox, than a common error, he placeth one *Alisfragmuthosis* (whose name is found in the list of *Egyptian* kings, but the time uncertain wherein he reigned) in an age 112 or 113 years more ancient than others left him in: and so continuing the catalogue of his successors from *Themosis* (whom *Eusebius* calls *Amasis*) downwards with no other variation of the length of each man's reign, than is the difference between *Manetho* and *Eusebius*, he finds *Moses* born under *Armesefmiamum*, and *Israel* delivered in the days of his son *Amenophis*. The very name of *Alisfragmuthosis* seems to him with little alteration to sound like *Pharatares*, of which name one was thought to have flourished either as a king, or a wise man, about the time of *Isaac*. For, saith he, from *Alisfragmuthosis* to *Phragmuthosis*, *Pharmuthosis* or *Pharatares*, the change is not great. *Mercator* was a man of excellent learning and industry: and one to whom the world is bound for his many notable works; yet my assent herein is withheld from him, by these reasons. First, I see all other writers agree, that *Chencres* was the king who was drowned in the *Red sea*. Secondly, The place, *Exod.* iv. all are dead, &c. may better be understood of *Busiris* and all his children, than of one king alone. Thirdly, *St. Cyril*, in his first book against *Julian* the apostate, saith, that *Dardanus* built *Dardania*, when *Moses* was 120 years old, *Rameffes*, which was this *Armesefmiamum*, being then king of *Egypt*. After *Rameffes*, *Amenophis* reigned nineteen years, who is thought by *Mercator*, and peremptorily by *Bunting* pronounced, to be the king that perished in the *Red sea*: of which our opinion being already laid open, I think it most expedient to refer the kings ensuing to their own times (which a chronological table shall lay open) and here to speak of that great deliverance of *Israel* out of *Egypt*: which, for many great considerations depending thereupon, we may not lightly overpass.

CHAP. III.

Of the delivery of Israel out of Egypt.

SECT. I.

Of the time of Moses's birth, and how long the Israelites were oppressed in Egypt.

TRUE it is that the history it self is generally and well known; yet concerning the time of *Moses*'s birth, who was the excellent and famous instrument of this and other great works of the *Highest*, the different opinions are very near as many, as the men that have written of that argument.

Lud.

Lud. Vives, in his annotations upon *St. Augustine*, citeth very many of their conjectures: as that of *Porphyry* out of *Sanchoniato*, that *Moses* lived in the time of *Semiramis*: but if he did mean the first *Semiramis*, it was but a fond conceit: for besides that the same is contrary to all stories divine and human; while that *Semiramis* lived, she commanded *Syria*, and all the parts thereof absolutely: neither were the *Ammonites*, or *Moabites*, or *Edomites*, while she ruled, in *rerum natura*.

A second opinion he remembreth of *Appion*, taken from *Ptolemy* a priest of the *Mendes*, who saith that *Moses* was born while *Inachus* did rule the *Argives*, and *Ameſis* in *Egypt*.

The third opinion is taken out of *Polemon*, in his *Greek* history, the first book: that *Moses* was born while *Apis* the third king ruled *Argos*.

A fourth is borrowed from *Tatianus Assyrius*, who, tho' he cites some authorities that *Moses* lived after the *Trojan* war, is himself of opinion, that *Moses* was far more ancient, proving it by many arguments.

Fifthly, He setteth down the testimony of *Numenius* the philosopher, who took *Museus* and *Moses* to be one: confirming the same out of *Artapanus*, who confesseth that *Moses* was called *Museus*, by the *Grecians*; and who farther delivereth, that he was adopted by *Chenephis*, or *Thermutis*, the daughter of *Egypt*: the same which *Eupolemus* calleth *Meris*; others (as *Rabanus Maurus*) *Thermothes*. *Eusebius* also affirmeth, that *Eupolemus* in his first book *De bono*, *Moses vir Deo conjunctissimus* is called *Museus Judeorum*. *Eusebius*, in his chronology, finds that *Moses* was born while *Amenophis* ruled *Egypt*. The ancient *Manethon* calls that *Pharaoh*, which lived at *Moses's* birth, *Thumosis* or *Thmosis*: the same perchance which *Appion* the grammarian will have to be *Amosis*, and elsewhere *Amenophis* the father of *Sethosis*: to whom *Lyſimachus* and *Cornelius Tacitus* gave the name of *Bocchoris*. To me it seems most probable, that while *Saphrus*, called also *Spherus* or *Iphorius*, governed *Aſſyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sicyonia*; and *Criafus* the *Argives*; that then (*Sesoſtris* the second ruling in *Egypt*) *Moses* was born. For if we believe *St. Augustine*, it was about the end of *Cecrops's* time, that *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*: ^b *Eduxit Moses ex Egypto populum Dei novissimo tempore Cecropis Atheniensium regis*: *Moses*, saith he, led the people of God out of *Egypt*, about the end of *Cecrops's* time, king of the *Athenians*. In this sort therefore, is the time of *Moses's* birth, and of his departure out of *Egypt* best proved. *St. Augustine* affirms (as before remembred) that *Moses* was born, : *Saphrus* governing *Aſſyria*: and that he left *Egypt* about the end of *Cecrops's* time. Now *Saphrus* ruled twenty years; his successor *Mamelus* thirty years; *Sparetus* after him forty years: in whose fourth year *Cecrops* began to govern in *Attica*: *Aſcatades* followed *Sparetus*, and held the empire forty-one: So as *Moses* being born while *Saphrus* ruled *Aſſyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sicyonia*; and *Criafus*, *Argos* (for these three kings lived at once at his birth, saith *St. Augustine*, as *Cecrops* did when he departed *Egypt*) it will follow that the birth of *Moses* was in the nineteenth year of the *Aſſyrian Saphrus*: for take one year remaining of twenty (for so long *Saphrus* reigned) to which add the thirty years of *Mamelus*, and the forty years of *Sparetus*, these make seventy-one, with which there were wasted three years of *Cecrops's* fifty years; then take nine years out of the reign of *Aſcatades*, who was *Sparetus's* successor, those nine years added to seventy-one make

eighty, at which age *Moses* left *Egypt*: and add these nine years to the three years of *Cecrops* formerly spent, there will remain but four years of *Cecrops's* fifty: and so it falleth right with *St. Augustine's* words, affirming that towards the end of *Cecrops's* time, *Moses* led the people of *Israel* out of *Egypt*.

Now the time, in which the *Hebrews* were oppress'd in *Egypt*, seemeth to have had beginning some eight or nine years before the birth of *Moses*, and fifty-four years, or rather more, after *Joseph*; between whose death and the birth of *Moses* there were consumed sixty-four years: some of which time, and eighty years after, they lived in great servitude and misery. For as it is written in *Exodus* i. *They set task-masters over them, to keep them under with burdens; and they built the cities, Pithom and Ramases, &c. And by cruelty they caused the children of Israel to serve; and made them weary of their lives, by sore labour in clay and brick, and in all work of the field, with all manner of bondage*. All which, laid upon them by a mastering power and a strong hand, they endured to the time by the wisdom of God appointed: even from fifty-four years, or not much more after the death of *Joseph*, who left the world when it had lasted 2370 years, to the eightieth year of *Moses*, and until he wrought his miracles in the field of *Zoan*, which he performed in the world's age 2514 towards the end thereof, according to *Codoman*, or after our account 2513. And because those things which we deliver of *Egypt*, may the better be understood, I think it necessary to speak a few words of the principal places therein named, in this discourse.

SECT. II.

Of divers cities and places in Egypt, mentioned in this story, or elsewhere in the scripture.

THIS city which the *Hebrews* call *Zoan*, was built seven years after *Hebron*. *Ezekiel* calleth it *Taphnes*; and so doth *Jeremy*; the *Septuagint*, *Tanis*; *Josephus*, *Protaidis*, after the name of an *Egyptian* queen; *Antonius* gives it the name of *Thanis*; *Hegeſippus*, *Thamna*; and *William Tyrius*, *Tapius*. It adjoineth to the land of *Gosen*, and is the same wherein *Jeremy* the prophet was stoned to death, for preaching against the *Egyptian* and *Jewish* idolatry.

Zoan or *Taphnes* was in *Moses's* time the metropolis of the lower *Egypt*, in which their *Pharaohs* then commonly resided; and not unlikely to be the same city where *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Eusebius* out of *Artapanus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* did read astronomy in *Heliopolis*, or *On*, to *Pharates* king of *Egypt*. *Alexander Polyhistor* out of *Eupolemus*, hath it otherwise, saying, that *Abraham* instructed the *Egyptian* priests, and not the king; both which authorities *Eusebius* citeth. The *Septuagint* and the *Vulgar* edition, for *Zoan* write *Heliopolis*; *Pagninus*, *Vatablus*, *Junius*, and our *English*, call it *On*; and *Ptolemy*, *Onium*. There are two cities of that name; the one on the frontier of the lower *Egypt*, towards the south; the other somewhat lower on the easter-most branch of *Nilus*, falling into the sea at *Pelusium*. And it may be that *Heliopolis* to the south of the river *Trojan*, was the same which *Vatablus* and our *English* call *Aven*. Of the latter it is, that the scriptures take certain knowledge: the same which *Pomponius Mela* and *Pliny* call *Solis oppidum*; *Tyrius* in the *Holy War*, *Malbec*; the *Arabians*, *Rabalboth*; and *Simeon Seiki*, *Fons Solis*. Of this *Heliopolis*, or *On*, was *Putiphar* priest, or prince, whose daughter *Joseph*

^a *Euseb. de prep. Evang.* l. 3. c. 3. ^b *Aug.* l. 18. c. 11. de *Civit. Dei.* ^c *Numb.* 33. *Ezekiel* 30. *Jer.* 2, 43, 44. ^d *Joseph.* l. 1. c. 9. *Tyr. de Bel. fac.* l. 19. c. 23. ^e *Euseb. de prep. Evang.* l. 9. c. 4. *Gen.* 12. 15. *Mat.* 19. 11. married

married. In the territory adjoining *Jacob* inhabited, while he lived in *Egypt*. In the confines of this city, *Onias*, the high priest of the *Jews*, built a temple, dedicated to the Eternal God; not much inferiour to that of *Jerusalem* (*Ptol. my Philopater* then governing in *Egypt*) which stood in the time of *Vespasian*, 333 years after the foundation by *Onias*, whom *Josephus* falsely reporteth herein to have fulfilled a prophecy of *Isaiab* c. 19. *In die illa erit altare Domini in medio terræ Ægypti*; In that day shall the altar of the Lord be in the midst of the land of *Egypt*. *Antiochus Epiphanes* at that time of the building tyrannizing over the *Jews*, gave the occasion for the erecting of this temple in *Egypt*. Lastly, There it was, that our Saviour Christ *Jesus* remained, while *Joseph* and the Virgin *Mary* feared the violence of *Herod*: near which, saith *Brochard*, the fountain is still found, called *Jesus-well*, whose streams do afterward water the gardens of *Balsamum*, no where else found in *Egypt*. And hereof see more in *Brochard*, in his description of *Egypt*.

There is also the city of *Noph*, remembered by *Isaiab* and *Ezekiel*; the same which *Hosea* the prophet calleth *Moph*: which latter name it took from a mountain adjoining so called; which mountain *Herodotus* remembreth. And this is that great city which was called *Memphis*; and so the *Septuagint* write it. It is known to the *Arabians* by the name of *Mazar*. The *Chaldeans* name it *Alchabyr*; and *Tudalensis*, *Mizraim*.

Pelusium, which *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Junius*, and our *English* write *Sin*; the *Septuagint* call *Sais*; and *Montanus*, *Lebna*, is not the same with *Damata*, as *Gul. Tyrius* witnesseth. In the time of *Baldwin III.* *Pelusium* was called *Belbeis*: *Belbeis*, saith *Tyrius*, *quæ olim dicta est Pelusium*; *Belbeis*, that in times past was called *Pelusium*.

The city of *No*, the *Septuagint* call *Diospolis*. Of which name there are two or three in *Egypt*. *Jerome* converts it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, because it was so called in the future.

Bubastus (for so *Jerome* and *Zeigler* do write it) is the same which the *Hebrews* call *Pibseth*.

To make the story the more perceivable, I have added a description of the land of *Gosen*, in which the *Israelites* inhabited, with those cities and places so often remembered in the scripture: as of *Taphnes* or *Zoan*, *Heliopolis* or *Bethsemes*, *Balsephon*, *Succoth* and the rest; together with *Moses's* passage thro' the desarts of *Arabia* the stony. For all story, without the knowledge of the places wherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure, so it no way enricheth the knowledge and understanding of the reader; neither doth any thing serve to retain what we read in our memories, so well as these pictures and descriptions do. In which respect I am driven to digress in many places, and to interpose some such discourse, otherwise seeming impertinent; taking for my authority, after many others more ancient, that great learned man *Arias Montanus*; who, in his preface to the story of the *Holy Land*, hath these words: *Si enim absque locorum observatione res gestæ narrentur, aut sine topographiæ cognitione historiæ legantur, adeo confusa atque perturbata erunt omnia, ut ex iis nihil non obscurum, nihil non difficile elici possit*; If narration, saith he, be made of those things which are performed, without the observation of the places wherein they were done, or if histories be read without topographical knowledge, all things will appear so intricate and confused, as we shall there-

by understand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greatest difficulty.

SECT. III.

Of the cruelty against the Israelites young children in Egypt: and of Moses's preservation, and education.

BUT to return to the story it self. It appeareth that notwithstanding the labour and slavery which the *Israelites* endured, yet they decreased not in numbers: insomuch as *Pharaoh* considering the danger of discontented poverty, and the able bodies of an oppressed multitude, how perilous they might be to his estate, by suggestion of the devil resolved to slaughter all the male children of the *Hebrews*, as soon as they should be born. To which end he sent for *Sephora* and *Thura*, women the most famous and expert amongst them; *Quæ præerant*, saith *Comestor*, *multitudini obstetricum*; who had command given them over all midwives; by whom (as it seemeth) he gave order to all the rest for the execution of his edict. For to have called all the midwives of *Egypt* together, had been a strange parliament. Now whether these two before named, were of the *Hebrews*, or of the *Egyptians*, it is diversly disputed. *St. Augustine* calls them *Hebrews*, because it is written *Exodus* i. 16. *The king of Egypt commanded the midwives of the Hebrew women, &c.* But *Josephus*, *Abulensis*, and *Peterius* believe them to be *Egyptians*. Whosoever they were, when it pleased God to frustrate the execution of that secret murder, to the end the world might witness both the wickedness of the *Egyptians*, and the just cause, thereby made manifest, of his future indignation and revenge: *Pharaoh* finding these women filled with piety, and the fear of God, commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publicly, or howsoever, to destroy all the male *Hebrew* children born within his dominions.

Now besides the doubts which *Pharaoh* had of the multitudes of the *Hebrews*, the greatest part of whom he might have assured, by affording them the justice which every king oweth to his vassals, and the rest he might have employed or sent away at his pleasure, *Josephus* giveth another cause of his rage against them; namely, That it was prophetically delivered him by an *Egyptian* priest, that among the *Hebrews* there should be born a child, who growing to man's estate, should become a plague and terror to his whole nation. To prevent which (and presuming that he could resist the ordinance of God, by a mean, contrary to the laws of heaven and of nature) he stretched out his bloody and merciless hand to the execution of his former intent. The same prevention *Herod* long after practis'd, when fearing the spiritual kingdom of Christ, as if it should have been temporal, he caused all the male children at that time born to be slaughtered. And that *Pharaoh* had some kind of foreknowledge of the future success, it may be gathered by these his own words, in *Exodus* v. 10. *Come, let us work wisely with them, lest they multiply; and it come to pass, that if there be war, they join themselves also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and get them out of the land.* But we see, and time hath told it us, from the beginning, how God derideth the wisdom of the worldly men, when, forgetting the Lord of all power, they rely on the inventions of their own most feeble, and altogether

^a Isa. 19. 13. Ezek. 34. Hosea 9. 6. ^b Lib. 2. ^c G. Tyr. l. 20. c. 17. lib. 2. c. 5. ^d Ezek. 30. 15, 16. ^e Ezek. 30. 17. ^f Joseph. Ant. l. 2. c. 5. Abul. & Perer. in Exod. ^g Joseph. Ant. l. 2. c. 5.

darkened understanding. For even by the hands of the dearly beloved daughter of this tyrant, was that great prophet and minister of God's marvellous works taken out of *Nilus*, being thereinto turned off, in an ark of reeds, a sucking and powerless infant. And this princess having beheld the child's form and beauty, tho' but yet in the blouth, so pierced her compassion, as she did not only preserve it, and cause it to be fostered; but commanded that it should be esteemed as her own, and with equal care to the son of a king nourished. And for memory that it was her deed, she called the child *Moses*, as it were *extractus* or *ereptus*, taken out, to wit, out of the water; or after *Josephus* and *Glycas*, *Moy*, a voice expressing water, and *bis*, as much as to say, that which is drawn out of water, or thence taken. ^a*Clemens Alexandrinus* was of opinion, that *Moses* was circumcised, before he was put into the ark of reeds, and that *Amram* his father, had named him *Joachim*. In his youth he was carefully bred, by the care and at the charge of *Pharaoh's* daughter; and by men of the most understanding taught and instructed: *Quem regio more educavit, præfēlis ei sapientibus Ægyptiorum magistris, à quibus erudiretur*, saith *Basil*; Unto whom she gave princely education, appointing over him wise masters of the *Egyptians* for his instructors. Thereby (saith *Josephus* and ^b*Philo*) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the *Egyptians*; which also the *Martyr Stephen* in the seventh of the *Acts* confirmeth. And *Moses* was learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*. Which wisdom or sapience, such as it was, or at least so much thereof as *Sixtus Senensis* hath gathered, we have added, between the death of *Moses* and the reign of *Joshua*.

S E C T. IV.

Of *Moses's* flying out of *Egypt*; and the opinions of certain ancient historians of his war in *Ethiopia*; and of his marriage there: *Philo's* judgment of his pastoral life: and that of *Pererius* of the books of *Genesis* and *Job*.

WHEN *Moses* was grown to man's estate, *Josephus* and *Eusebius*, out of *Artapanus*, tell us of ten years war that he made against the *Ethiopians*: of the besieging of *Saba*, afterwards by *Cambyfes* called *Meroe*; and how he recovered that city by the favour of *Tharbis*, a daughter of *Ethiopia*, whom he took to wife. So hath *Comestor* a pretty tale of *Moses*. How after the end of that war, *Tharbis* resisting his return into *Egypt*, *Moses*, most skillful in *Astronomy*, caused two images to be engraven in two precious stones: whereof the one increased memory, the other caused forgetfulness. These he set in two rings, whereof he gave the one, to wit, that of oblivion, to his wife *Tharbis*, reserving the other of memory for himself: which ring of forgetfulness, after she had a while worn, she began to neglect the love she bare her husband: and so *Moses* without danger returned into *Egypt*. But leaving these fancies to the authors of them: it is true, that about the 40th year of *Moses's* age, when he beheld an *Egyptian* offering violence to one of the oppressed *Hebrews*, moved by compassion in respect of his brother, and stirred up by disdain against the other, in the contention he slew the *Egyptian*. Soon after which act, finding a disposition in some of his own nation to accuse him, for whose defence he had thus greatly endangered his own life: by the ordinance and advice of God, whose chosen servant he was, he fled

into *Arabia Petraea*, the next bordering country to *Egypt*; where wandering all alone, as a man left and forsaken, in a place unknown unto him, as among a nation of barbarous strangers; and who in future times were the irreconcilable enemies of the *Hebrews*: it pleased God (working the greatest things by the weakest worldly means) to make the watering of a few sheep, and the assisting the daughters of *Raguel* the *Midianite*, an occasion whereby to provide him a wife of one of those, and a father-in-law, that fed him, and sustained him in a country nearest *Egypt*, fittest to return from; necessary to be known, because interjacent between *Egypt* and *Judea*, thro' which he was to lead the *Israelites*; and wherein God held him, till the occasion, which God presented, best served. And lastly, where the glory of the world shined least, amidst mountainous deserts, there the glory of God, which shineth most, covered him over, and appeared unto him, not finding him as a king's son, or an adopted child of great *Pharaoh's* daughter, but as a meek and humble shepherd, sitting at a mountain foot; a keeper and commander of those poor beasts only.

In that part of *Arabia*, near *Madian*, he consumed 40 years. And tho' (as *Philo* in the story of *Moses's* life observeth) he did not neglect the care of those flocks, committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that pastoral knowledge; yet in that solitary desert he enjoy'd himself: and being separated from the pretis of the world, and the troublesome affairs thereof, he gave himself to contemplation, and to make perfect in himself all those knowledges, whereof his younger years had gathered the grounds and principles: the same author also judging, that his pastoral life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the principality, which he afterwards obtained. *Est enim* (saith *Philo*) *ars pastoralis, quasi præludium ad regnum, hoc est, ad regimen hominum, gregis mansuetissimi. Quemadmodum bellicosa ingenia præexercent se in venationibus, experientia in feris, quod postea in militia & bello perfectura sunt; brutis præbentibus materiam exercitii, tam belli quam pacis tempore. At vero præfēlura mansueti pecoris habet quiddam simile cum regno in subditis; ideoque reges cognominantur pastores populorum, non contumeliæ sed honoris gratia*; The art of keeping sheep is, as it were, an introductory exercise unto a kingdom, namely, the rule over men, the most gentle flock: even as warlike natures do beforehand exercise themselves in hunting, practising on wild beasts those things, which after they will accomplish in warfare: those brute beasts affording matter, wherein to train themselves, both in time of war and of peace. But the government of gentle cattle, hath a kind of resemblance unto a kingly rule over subjects; therefore, kings are stiled shepherds of the people, not in way of reproach, but for their honour.

That *Moses*, in this time of his abode at *Madian*, wrote the book of *Job*, as *Pererius* supposeth, I cannot judge of it, because it is thought, that *Job* was at that time living. Neither dare I subscribe to *Pererius's* opinion, that *Moses*, while he lived in that part of *Arabia*, wrote the books of *Genesis*; altho' I cannot deny the reason of *Pererius's* conjecture, that by the example of *Job's* patience he might strengthen the oppressed *Hebrews*: and by the promises of God to *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, put them in assurance of their delivery from the *Egyptian* slavery, and of the land of rest, and plenty promised.

Of his calling back into *Egypt* by the angel of God, and the marvels and wonders which he performed, thereby to persuade *Pharaoh*, that he was

^a Strom. l. 1.^b Phil. de vita Moyf.^c Perer. in Exod. 3

the messenger of the most High, the particulars are written in the first 14 chapters of *Exodus*; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needless. But for the first, it is to be noted, that when *Moses* desired to be taught by God, by what name he should make him known, and by whom he was sent; he received from God so much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and ever-being nature. Out of which he delivered him in the first part of his answer, a name to be considered of by the wisest: and in his second, to be understood by all. For there is nothing that is, or hath being of it self, but the eternal: which truly is; which is above all; which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed every moment: their substance wasteth, and is repaired by nutriment; never continuing at one stay, nor being the same so long, as while one may say, Now. Likewise, whatsoever is consumed in the longest continuance of time, the same in every shortest piece of time suffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one state. *Unus est Dei & sola natura, quæ vere est: id enim quod subsistit non habet aliunde, sed suum est. Cætera quæ creata sunt, etiamsi videntur esse, non sunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, & potest rursum non esse, quod non fuit;* It is the one and only nature of God, which truly is: for he hath his being of himself, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, altho' they seem to be, yet they are not; for sometimes they were not: and that which hath not been, may again want being. And with this, in respect of the divine nature, the saying of *Zeno Eleates* excellently agreeth: *Tota rerum natura umbra est, aut inanis, aut fallax;* The whole nature of things is but a shadow, either empty or deceitful: in comparison of whom, saith *Isaiah* xl. 17. *All nations are as nothing, less than nothing, and mere vanity.*

Of the ten plagues wherewith the *Egyptians* were stricken, the first was by changing the rivers into blood: God punishing them by those waters, into which their forefathers had thrown, and in which they had drowned, the innocent children of the *Hebrews*. To which this place of *Revel. xvi. 5.* may be fitly applied. *And I heard the angel of the waters say, Lord, thou art just, which art, and which wast: and holy, because thou hast judged these things; for they shed the blood of thy saints and prophets, and therefore hast thou given them blood to drink.*

The rest of the plagues by frogs, lice, flies, or stinging wasps; by the death of their cattle; by leprous scabs; by hail and fire; by grasshoppers; by darkness; after which *Pharaoh* forbade *Moses* his presence: moved the hardened heart of the unbelieving king no longer than the pain and peril lasted, till such time as his own first-born, and the first born of all his nation perished. He then, while he feared his own life (a time wherein we remember God perforce) stood upon no condition: whereas before, he first yielded but to the departure of the men; then of the men, women and children, reserving their bestial; but he was now content for the present, that the *Israelites* should not only depart with all their own, but with a part of the silver, gold and jewels of his own people: of which (the fear being past) he suddenly repented him, as his pursuit after them proved. For when every one of the *Hebrews* had (according to direction from *Moses* received) slain a lamb, without spot or blemish, for the passover (a sacrament of the most clean and unspotted Saviour) and with the blood thereof coloured the post and lintern of the doors; the angel of God in the dead of the night smote every first-born of

Egypt, from the son of the king, to that of the beggar and slave: the children of the *Israelites* excepted. At which terrible judgment of God, *Pharaoh* being more than ever amazed, yielded, as before is said, to their departure. The *Egyptians*, saith *Epiphanius*, did in after-times imitate this colouring with blood, which the *Israelites* used after the passover; ascribing an exceeding virtue to the red colour: and therefore they did not only mark their sheep and cattle, but their trees bearing fruit, to preserve them from lightning and other harms.

SECT. V.

Of Pharaoh's pursuit of the Israelites: and of their passage towards the Red sea, so far as Succoth.

NOW, when the people were removed, and on their way (his heart being hardened by God) he bethought him as well of the honour lost, as of the shame remaining after so many calamities and plagues, in suffering them to depart with the spoils of his people, and in despight of himself. And having before this time great companies of soldiers in readiness, he consulted with himself, what way the *Israelites* were like to take. He knew that the shortest and fairest passage was thro' the country of the *Philistines*. But because these people were very strong, and a warlike nation, and in all probability of his allies, he suspected that *Moses* meant to find some other out-let, to wit, thro' the desert of *Etham*; and there, because the country was exceeding mountainous, and of hard access, and that *Moses* was pestered with multitudes of women, children, and cattle, he thought it impossible for the *Israelites* to escape him that way. In the mean while having gathered together all the chariots of *Egypt*, and 600 of his own, and captains over them; he determined to set upon them in the plains of *Gosen*, which way soever they turned themselves. For it was the ancient manner to fight in those chariots, armed with broad and sharp hooks on both sides, in fashion like the mower's scythe. Which kind of fight in chariots, but not hooked, the *Britains* used against the *Romans*, while they made the war for the conquest of this land. Of this army of *Pharaoh*, *Josephus* affirmeth, that it consisted of 50000 horse, and 20000 foot; which were it true, then it cannot be doubted, but that *Pharaoh* intended long before to assail the *Hebrews* at their departure, or to destroy them in *Gosen*; and refused them passage, till such time as he had prepared an army to set on them. For, as it is written in the first of *Exodus*, he doubted two things; either that the *Hebrews* might join themselves to his enemies within the land; or being so multiplied, as they were, might leave his service, and get themselves thence at their pleasure. But the plagues which God grieved him withal, enforce'd him at this time to give an assent to their departure: perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwise, and *Josephus* partial in this affair, yet by the words of the text *Exod. xiv. 7.* it appeareth, that he gathered all the chariots of *Egypt*, which could not be done in haste. For *Moses* made but three days march, ere *Pharaoh* was at his heels; and yet the last day he went on sixteen miles: which, in so hot a country, and to drive their cattle and sheep with them, pestered with a world of women and children, was a march witnessing the dread of a powerful enemy at hand. Now, as *Moses* well knew, that he went out with a mighty hand, and that God guided his understanding in all his enterprizes: so he lay not still in the ditch crying for help, but using the un-

^a *Exod.* 3. 13, 14, 15.

^b Hieron. ad Dam.

^c *Epiphanius* lib. 1. cont. Hæret.

^d *Exod.* 14. 7.

^e *Josephus* Ant. 1. 2. c. 6. understanding

derstanding which God had given him, he left nothing unperformed, becoming a wise man, and a valiant and skilful conductor ; as by all his actions and counsels from this day to his death well appeared.

When *Moses* perceived that *Pharaoh* was enraged against him, and commanded him not to dare to come thenceforth into his presence : after that he had warned *Israel* of the passover, he appointed a general assembly or rendezvous of all the *Hebrews* at *Ramases*, in the territory of *Gosen*, a city standing indifferent to receive from all parts of the country the dispersed *Hebrews* ; and gave commandment, that every family should bring with them such store as they had of dough and paste, not staying to make it into bread ; knowing then that *Pharaoh* was on foot, and on his way towards them. Which done, and having considered the great strength of *Pharaoh's* horlemen and chariots, of which kind of defence *Moses* was utterly unprovided (tho', as it is written, the *Israelites* went up armed) he marched from *Ramases* eastward towards the desarts of *Etham*, and encamped at *Succoth* ; which he performed on the 15th day of the month *Abib*. Which month from that time forward, they were commanded to account as the first month of the year. Whether in former times they had been accustomed to begin their year in some other month, following the manner of the *Egyptians*, and were now recalled by *Moses* to the rule of their forefathers, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that they had, and retained, another beginning of their politick year, which was not now abrogated, but rather, by some solemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and still continued in use. Wherefore in referring things done, or happening among them, unto the beginning, midst or ending of the year ; that distinction of the sacred, and the politick year is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of days in every month, and the whole form of their year, like enough it is, that *Moses* himself in forty years space, did sufficiently instruct the priests, to whose care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was given in trust : but that any rule of framing their kalendar was made publick, before the captivity of *Babylon*, I do not find. Now because time and motion begin together, it will not, I think, be any great breach of order, to shew here at their first setting forth, what was the form of the *Hebrew* year : with the difference between them and other nations, in ordering the account of time.

SECT. VI.

Of the solary and lunary years : and how they are reconciled : with the form of the Hebrew year, and their manner of intercalation.

The *Hebrew* months are thus named.

The first month, <i>Nisan</i> , or <i>Abib</i> .	1. March.
The second, <i>Iar</i> , or <i>Tiar</i> , <i>Zio</i> , or <i>Zin</i> .	2. April.
The third, <i>Sivan</i> , or <i>Sinan</i> , or <i>Siban</i> .	3. May.
The fourth, <i>Tamuz</i> .	4. June.
The fifth, <i>Ab</i> .	5. July.
The sixth, <i>Ebul</i> .	6. August.
The seventh, <i>Tysri</i> , or <i>Ethavin</i> or <i>Ethanim</i> .	7. September.
The eighth, <i>Marchesuan</i> , or <i>Mechasuan</i> , or <i>Bul</i> , or with ^d <i>Josephus</i> , <i>Marfonane</i> .	8. October.
The ninth, <i>Chisleu</i> or <i>Casten</i> .	9. November.
The tenth, <i>Tebeth</i> , or <i>Thobeth</i> .	10. December.
The eleventh, <i>Sebeth</i> or <i>Sabatb</i> .	11. January.
The twelfth, <i>Adar</i> , and <i>Pe Adar</i> .	12. February.

VE Adar was an intercalary month, added, some years, unto the other twelve, to make the solar and lunary year agree ; which (besides the general inconvenience that would otherwise have risen, by casting the months of summer into the winter season, to the great confusion of all account) was more necessarily to be regarded of the *Hebrews*, because of the ^e divine precept. For God appointed especial feasts to be celebrated precisely in such a month of the year, and withal on a set day, both of the moon and of the month ; as, the feast of the first-fruits, the new moons, and the like : which could not have been so kept, if either the day of the moon had fallen in some other part of the month, or the month it self been found far distant from his place in the season of the year.

Other nations, the better to observe their solemnities in the due time, and to ascertain all reckonings and remembrances (which is the principal commodity of time, that is the measure of endurance) were driven in like manner to make their years unequal, by adding sometimes, and sometimes abating one or more days, as the error committed in foregoing years required. The error grew at first by not knowing what number of days made up a compleat year. For tho' by the continual course of the sun, causing summer and winter duly to succeed each other, it is plain enough even to the most savage of all people, when a year hath passed over them ; yet the necessity of ordinary occurrences, that are to be numbred by a shorter tally, makes this long measure of whole years insufficient for the smaller sort of more daily affairs. Therefore men observed the monthly conspicuous resolution of the moon, by which they divided the year into 12 parts, subdividing the month into ^f 29 days and nights, and those again into their quarters and hours. But as the marks of time are sensible and easily discerned : so the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the understanding. Twelve revolutions of the moon, containing less time by 11 days or thereabouts, than the yearly course of the sun, thro' the zodiac, in the space of 16 years, every month was found in the quite contrary part of the year to that wherein it was placed at the first. This caused them to add some days to the year, making it to consist of 12 months, and as many days more, as they thought would make the courses of the sun and moon to agree. But herein were committed many new errors. For neither did the sun determine his yearly revolution by any set number of whole days ; neither did the moon change always at one hour ; but the very minutes and lesser fractions were to be observed by him, that would seek to reduce their motions (which motions also were not still alike) into any certain rule. Here lay much wisdom and deep art, which could not soon be brought to perfection. Yet as making an estimate at random, the *Athenians* held the year to contain 360 days, wherein most of the *Greeks* concurred with them. That 360 days filled up the *Grecian* year (besides many collateral proofs) it is manifest by that which ^g *Pliny* directly affirmeth, telling of the statues, erected in honour of *Demetrius Phalereus*, which were (saith he) 360, whilst as yet the year exceeded not that number of days. By this account neither did any certain age of the moon begin or end their months ; neither could their months continue many years, in their own places : but must needs be shifted by little and little, from winter to summer, and from summer to winter, as the days forgotten to be inserted into the almanack

^a The territory of *Gosen* was afterwards called *Ramases*, after the name of this city, as appeareth in *Gen* 47. and *Numb* 33.
^b *Exod* 13. ^c *Exod* 23. 16. and *c* 34. 22. ^d *Ant* c 4. ^e *Deut* 16. ^f 30, and 29. ^g *Plin* l 34 c 6.

by men, but not forgotten by the superiour bodies in their courses, should occupy their own rooms in their due turns. Now, because the solemnity of the *Olympian* games was to be held at the full moon, and withal on the fifteenth day of the month *Heccatombæon* (which answereth in a manner to our *June*) they were careful to take order, that this month might ever begin with the new moon; which they effected by adding some two days to the last month of every year: those games being held once in four years. This intercalation sufficed not to make the matter even; which caused them sometimes to omit one day in the fourth year, which was the second of the month *Bædromian*; agreeing nearly with our *August*, sometimes not to omit it, or, which is all one, to insert another for it in their fourth lunar year, accounting by the moon, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithstanding, their month of *June* would every year have grown colder and colder, had they not sought to keep all upright, by intercalating in each other's *Olympiad*, that is, each eighth year one whole month, which they called the second *Pofideon*, or *December*; which was the device of *Harpalus*, who also taught them to make one month of 29 days, another of 30, and so successively thro' the whole year. Thus with much labour they kept their year as near as they could, unto the high way of the planets; but these marks which they observed, were found at length to be deceitful guides. For it was not possible so to fashion this eighth year's intercalation, that it should not deceive them in 11 hours and 18 minutes at the least, or some ways in 34 hours and 10 minutes, or 36 and 41 minutes; which differences would in few ages have bred much confusion. The first that introduced a good method, likely to continue, was *Meton* the *Athenian*, who not regarding the *Olympiads*, and the eighth year's intercalation, devised a *Cycle* of 19 years, where the moon having 235 times run out her circuit, met with the sun in the same place, and on the same day of the year, as in the 19th year before past she had done. This invention of *Meton* was entertained with great applause, and passing from *Greece* to *Rome*, was there inserted into the kalendar in golden letters, being called the golden number; which name it retaineth unto this day. Hereby were avoided the great and uncertain intercalations that formerly had been used; for by the intercalation of seven months in the 19 years, all was so even, that no sensible difference could be found. Yet that error, which in one year could not be perceived, was very apparent in a few of those *Cycles*; the new moons anticipating in one *Cycle*, seven hours, and some minutes of the precise rule. Therefore *Calippus* devised a new *Cycle* containing four of *Meton's*, that is to say, 76 years; and afterwards *Hipparchus*, a noble *Astrologer*, framed another, containing four of *Calippus's* periods, each of them finding some error in the former observations, which they diligently corrected. The last reformation of the kalendar was that which *Julius Cæsar* made, who, by advice of the best *Mathematicians* then to be found, examining the courses of those heavenly bodies, reduced the year unto the form which is now in use with us, containing 365 days and six hours, which hours, in four years make up one whole day, that is intercalated every fourth year, the 24th of *February*. The correction of the *Julian* year by pope *Gregory XIII.* *Anno Domini* 1582, is not as yet entertained by general consent; it was indeed but as a note added unto the work of *Cæsar*; yet a note of great importance. For whereas it was observed,

that the sun, which at the time of the *Nicene* council, *Anno Dom.* 324, entered the equinoctial on the 21st day of *March*, was in the year 1582, ten days sooner found in that time, pope *Gregory* struck out of the kalendar ten days, following the fourth of *October*, so that instead of the fifth day was written the fifteenth; by which means the moveable feasts depending on the sun's entrance into *Aries*, were again celebrated in such time, as at the *Nicene* council they had been. And the better to prevent the like alterations, it was by the council of *Trent* ordained, that from thenceforward in every hundredth year, the leap-day should be omitted, excepting still the fourth hundredth; because the sun doth not in his yearly course take up full six hours above the 365 days, but faileth so many minutes, as in 400 years make about three whole days.

But the *Cycle* of 19 years, which the *Hebrews* used, was such as neither did need any nice curiosity of hours, minutes, and other lesser fractions to help it; neither did in summing up the days of the whole year, neglect the days of the moon, confounding one moon with another. For with them it fell out so, that always the kalends or first day of the month was at the new moon, and because that day was festival, they were very careful as well to observe the short year after the moon, passing thro' all the 12 signs in one month, as that longer of the sun, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. First therefore, they gave to *Nisan* their first month, which is about our *March* or *April*, 30 days; to *Iar* their second month 29 days; and so successively 30 to one, 29 to another. Hereby it came to pass, that every two months of theirs contained somewhat evenly two revolutions of the moon, allowing 29 days, 12 hours, and odd minutes, from change to change. The spare minutes were bestowed among the superfluous or epact days, which made up seven months in 19 years; to six of which seven were commonly given 30 days; to one of them 29 days, or otherwise as was found requisite. Their common year (as appeareth by the several days of each month) contained 354 days, which fail of the year; wherein the sun finisheth his course, 11 whole days, with some fractions of time. But these days, and other broken pieces, howsoever they were neglected in one year, yet in the *Cycle* of 19 years were so disposed of by convenient intercalations, that still at the end of that *Cycle*, both the sun and moon were found on the same day of the year, month and week, yea commonly on the same hour of the day, where they had been at the beginning of it 19 years before.

Divers have diversly set down the form of the *Hebrew* year, with the manner of their intercalations. *Sigonius* tells us, that every second year they did add a month of 22 days; every fourth year a month of 23, in the regard of 11 days and a half wanting in 12 moons to fulfil a year of the sun. But herein *Sigonius* was very much deceived. For the moon doth never finish her course in 22 or 23 days: and therefore to have added so many days to the end of the year, had been the way to change the fashion of all the months in the years following, which could not have begun as they ought, with the new moon. *Genebrand* saith, that every third year, or second year, as need required, they did intercalate one month, adding it at the year's end unto the other 12. This I believe to have been true; but in which of the years the intercalation was (if it be worthy of consideration) methinks they do not probably deliver, who keep all far from evenness until the very last of the 19 years. For (to

^a Sig. de rep. Hebr. l. 3. c. 1

^b Genebr. Chron. l. 2

omit such as err grossly) some there are who say, that after three years, when besides the days spent in 36 courses of the moon, 33 days are left remaining, that is, 11 days of each year; then did the *Hebrews* add a month of 30 days; keeping three days as it were in plussage unto the next account. The like, say they, was done at the end of the sixth year; at which time, besides the intercalary month, remained six days, namely, three surmounting that month, and the epact of three years, besides the three formerly reserved. Thus they go on to the 18th year; at which time they have 18 days in hand: all which with the epact of the 19th year, make up a month of 29 days, that being intercalated at the end of the *Cycle* makes all even.

Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirm nor deny; yet surely it must needs have bred a great confusion, if in the 18th year every month were removed from his own place by the distance of 48 days, that is, half a quarter of the year and more; which inconvenience by such a reckoning was unavoidable. Wherefore I prefer the common opinion, which preventeth such dislocation of the months, by setting down a more convenient way of intercalation in the 8th year. For the six days remaining after the two former intercalations made in the 3d and 6th years, added unto the 22 days, arising out of the epacts of the 7th and 8th years, do fitly serve to make up a month, with the borrowing of one day or two from the year following; and this borrowing of two days is so far from causing any disorder, that indeed it helps to make the years ensuing vary the less from the proper season of every month. This may suffice to be spoken of the *Hebrew* months and years, by which they guided their accounts.

SECT. VIII.

Of the passage of Israel from Succoth towards the Red sea: and of the divers ways leading out of Egypt.

FROM *Succoth* in the morning following, *Moses* led the *Israelites* towards the desert of *Etham*, to recover the mountain foot, by the edge of that wilderness, though he intended nothing less than to go out of that way, of all other the nearest. But being assured of the multitude of horsemen and armed chariots, that followed him, he kept himself from being compassed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At *Etham* he rested but one night, and then he reflected back from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the south; the distance between it and *Succoth* being about eight miles. That he forbore to enter *Arabia* being then in sight thereof, it seemeth to proceed from three respects; the first two natural; the third divine. For *Pharaoh* being then at hand, and having received intelligence of the way which *Moses* took, persuaded himself, that the numbers which *Moses* led, consisting of above a million, if not two millions of souls (for as it is written *Exodus* the 12th, *Great multitudes of sundry sorts of people went out with them*^a) could not possibly pass over those desert and high mountains with so great multitudes of women, children, and cattle, but that at the very entrance of that fastness he should have overtaken them, and destroy'd the greatest numbers of them. For these his own words, *They are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in*, do shew his hopes and intents; which *Moses* by turning another way did frustrate. Secondly, *Moses*, by offer-

ing to enter *Arabia* that way, drew *Pharaoh* towards the east side of the land of *Gosen*, or *Rameses*: from whence (missing *Moses* there) his pursuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reason of the roughness of the way; and howsoever, yet while the *Hebrews* kept the mountain foot on the left hand, they were better secured from the over-bearing violence both of the horse and chariots. Thirdly, *Moses's* confidence in the all-powerful God was such, by whose spirit, only wise, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leave the glory of his deliverance and victory to Almighty God, than either by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, consisting of 600000 men, to cast the success upon his own understanding, wise conduct, or valour. The third day he marched with a double pace from *Etham* towards the valley of *Pibacheroth*, 16 miles distant; and sat down between two ledges of mountains adjoining to the *Red sea*; to wit, the mountains of *Etham* on the north, and *Baalzephon* towards the south: the same which *Orosius* calleth *Climax*: on the top whereof there stood a temple dedicated to *Baal*. And as *Phagius* noteth, the word so compounded, is as much to say, as *Dominus speculæ sive custodiæ*, Lord of the watch tower. For the *Egyptians* believed, or at least made their slaves believe, that if any of them offered to escape that way into *Arabia*, this idol would both arrest them, and force them to return to their lords and masters. For the *Egyptians* had gods for all turns. *Aegyptii Dis sacundi*; the *Egyptians* were fruitful in gods, saith *St. Jerome*. But *Moses*, who incamped at the foot of this mountain with a million of souls, or, as others conceive, with two millions, found this lord of the watch tower asleep, or out of countenance.

Now these two passages leading out of *Egypt* into *Arabia* upon the firm land *Moses* refused, as well that of *Pelusium* and *Casiotis*, the fairest and shortest of all other, in respect of *Judea*, as the other by *Etham*; from which he reflected, for the reasons before remembered, and took the way by the valley of *Pibacheroth*, between the mountains, which made a straight entrance towards the sea. After whom *Pharaoh* made so great speed with his horsemen and chariots, as he gave the *Hebrews* no time at all to rest them after so long a march; but got sight of them, and they of him, even at the very brink and wash of the sea: insomuch as the *Hebrews* being terrified with *Pharaoh's* sudden approach, began to despair, and to mutiny, at that time when it behoved them most to have taken courage for their own defence; laying it to *Moses's* charge, that themselves foresaw those perils in which they were wrapped. And fear, ^dwhich, saith the book of *Wisdom*, is the betraying of those succours which reason offereth, made them both despair in God's former promises, and to be forgetful of their own strength and multitudes.

SECT. VIII.

Of their passage over the Red sea: and of the Red sea it self.

BUT *Moses*, who feared nothing but God himself, persuaded them to be confident in his goodness, who hath never abandoned those, that assuredly trust in him; using this comfortable and resolved speech: *Fear not, &c. for the Egyptians, whom you have seen this day, ye shall never see them again. The Lord shall fight for you.* After which *Moses* called on God for succour, received encouragement, and commanded to go on, in these words: *Wherefore criest thou unto me? speak unto the*

^a It is probable that all those Egyptians and others brought by the Hebrews to the knowledge of the true God, followed *Moses* at his departure. ^b *Climax* is rather so called in respect of a passage up and down, than that it is any proper name. ^c *Exod.* 13. 17. ^d *Wisd.* 17. 11. ^e *Exod.* 14. 13. 14. ^f *Exod.* 14. 16.

dren of Israel that they go forward; and lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thine hand upon the sea, and divide it, and let the children of Israel go on dry ground through the midst of the sea. Moses obeying the voice of God, in the dark of the night finding the sands uncovered, pass'd on towards the other side and coast of *Arabia*: two parts of the night being spent ere he entered the ford, which it pleased God by a forcible eastern wind, and by *Moses's* rod, to prepare.

Pharaoh followed him even at the heels, finding the same dry ground which *Moses* trod on. Therefore as it is written, *The angel of God which went before the host of Israel, removed, and went behind them: also the pillar of the cloud went from before them, and stood behind them*; which is, that it pleased God therein either by his immediate power, or by the ministry of his angel, to interpose his defence between the *Hebrews* and their enemies; to the end that the *Egyptians* might hereby be blinded, in such sort as they could not pursue *Israel* with any harmful speed. But in the morning watch *Moses* seized the other bank of *Arabia* side: and *Pharaoh* (as the dawn of day began to illighten the obscure air) finding a beginning of the seas return, halted himself towards his own coast: *But Moses stretched forth his hand, and the sea returned to his force*; that is, the sea moved by the power of God, ran back towards the land with irresistible fury and swiftness, and overwhelmed the whole army of *Pharaoh*, so as not one escaped. For it is written, *that God took off their chariot-wheels*, that is, when the waters began to cover the sands, the *Egyptians* being stricken with fear of death, ran one athwart another, and missing the path by which they had pass'd on after the *Hebrews*, their wheels stuck fast in the mud and quick-sands, and could not be drawn out: the sea coming against them with supernatural violence.

Lyranus upon *Exodus* xiv. and others, following the opinions or old traditions of the *Hebrews*, conceived, that after *Moses* had by the power of God divided the *Red* sea, and that the children of *Israel* were fearful to enter it, *Aminadab*, prince or leader of the tribe of *Juda*, first made the adventure, and that therefore was that tribe ever after honoured above the rest, according to the prophecy of *Jacob*, *Gen.* xlix. 8. *Thy fathers sons shall bow down unto thee.* But *Jerome* upon the 11th of *I Hosea* condemns this opinion. And tho' it be true, that *Juda* had the first place in all their marches in the desert, and, as we now call it, led the vanguard (whereupon it may be inferred, that he also led the way through the *Red* sea) yet that *Moses* himself was the conductor of *Israel* at that time, it is generally received. For, as it is written in the lxxviii *Psalms*, *Thou didst lead thy people like sheep by the hand of Moses and Aaron.*

The *Hebrews* have also another fancy, that the *Red* sea was divided into 12 parts, and that every tribe pass'd over in a path apart, because it is written in the cxxxvii *Psalms*, according the *Vulgar*, *Divisti mare rubrum in divisiones*; He divided the *Red* sea in divisions. Also that the bottom of the sea became as a green field or pasture. But *Origen*, *Epiphanius*, *Abulensis*, and *Genebrard*, favouring this conceit, had forgotten to consider, that there were not 12 pillars nor 12 armies of the *Egyptians*. It is written *Psalms* lxxvii. 16. *Thy way is in the sea; not thy ways*; and in the last of the book of *Wisdom*, ver. 7. *In the Red sea there was a way.*

Now this sea, through which *Moses* pass'd, and in which *Pharaoh*, otherwise called *Chencres*, perished in the 16th year of his reign, is commonly

known by the name of the *Red* sea; tho' the same differ nothing at all in natural colour from other waters. But as *Philostratus* in his 3d book noteth; and our selves know by experience, it is of a blueish colour, as other seas are. It entreth at a narrow strait between *Arabia* the happy and *Ethiopia*, of the land of the *Abyssins*: the mouth of the indraught from the cape, which *Ptolemy* calleth *Possodium*, to the other land of *Ethiopia*, hath not above six leagues in breadth: and the same also filled every where with islands, but afterwards it extendeth it self 58 leagues from coast to coast: and it runneth up between *Arabia* the happy, and *Arabia Petraea*, on one side, and *Ethiopia* and *Egypt* on the other, as far as *Sues*, the uttermost end and indraught of that sea: where the *Turk* now keepeth his fleet of gallies. The cosmographers commonly give it the name of the *Arabian* gulf: but the north part towards *Sues*, and where *Moses* pass'd, is called *Heropolites* of the city *Hero*, sometime *Troy*: and of later times *Sues*. *Pliny* calls it *Cambisu*, by which name it was known, saith he, before it was called *Hero*, many years. The *Arabians* call this sea towards the north, *Apocopa*, *Eccant*, and *Eant*. *Artemidorus* writes it *Æleniticum*: king *Juba Læniticum*: others more properly *Elaniticum*, of the port and city *Elana*: which the *Septuagint* call *Elath*: *Ptolemy* *Elana*: *Pliny* *Læna*: *Josephus* *Ilana*, and *Marius Niger Aila*: there is also *Ilalab* in *Affyria*, to which *Salmanassar* carried the *Israelites* captive, 2 *Kings* viii. 11. which *Ilalab* in *Affyria*, the *Septuagint* call *Elia*: and in the 1st of *Chron.* the 5th *Ala*. But as for this *Red* sea, or the parts thereof, thus diversly named, the *Moors* and *Arabians* (vassals to the *Turks*) know it by no other appellation, than the gulf of *Meca*, after the name of *Mahomet's* town *Mecca*. The *Greeks* write it the sea *Erythræum*: of a king called *Erythras*, or *Erythræus*: and because *Erythros* in the *Greek* signifieth red, hence it is, that, being denominated of this *Erythræus*, the son of *Perseus* and *Andromeda*, yet it took the name of the *Red* sea, as *Quintus Curtius* conjectureth: which *Arianus* and *Strabo* confirm. But it seemeth to me by the view of a discovery of that sea in the year 1544, performed by *St. Stephen Gama*, viceroy of the east *India*, for the king of *Portugal*, that this sea was so called from a reflection of redness, both from the banks, cliffs, and sands of many islands, and part of the continent bordering it. For I find by the report of *Castro*, a principal commander under *Gama* (which discourse I gave Mr. *Richard Hakluyt* to publish) that there is an island called *Dalacqua*, sometimes *Leques*, containing in length 25 leagues, and 12 in breadth, the earth, sands, and cliffs of which island, being of a reddish colour, serve for a foil to the waters about it; and make it seem altogether of the same colour. Secondly, the same *Castro* reporteth, that from 24 degrees of septentrional latitude, to 27 (which make in length of coast 180 miles, lying as it doth northerly and southerly) all the cliffs and banks are of red earth, or stone, which by reflection of the sun-beams, give a kind of reddish luster to the waters. Thirdly, those *Portugals* report, and we know it by many testimonies, that there are found in the bottom of this sea towards the shore, great abundance of red stones, on which the great store of coral grows, which is carried into most parts of *Europe*, and elsewhere. There are also on the islands of this sea many red trees, saith *Strabo*, and those growing under water, may also be a cause of such a colour. Of these appearances of redness by the shadows of these stones, sands, earth, and cliffs, I suppose that it first took

^a Joshua 24. 7. ^b Exod. 14. 27. ^c Plin. l. 6. c. 29. ^d 3 Kings 9. ^e Jos. Ant. 8. c. 2. ^f Arian. de gest. Alex. mag. l. 8. ^g Strab. l. 6.

the name of the *Red* sea, because in so many places it seemeth to be such: which *Johannes Barros*, in his second decade, eighth book, and first chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this sea from *Elana*, or *Ezion Gaber* adjoining, now *Toro*, called by the ancient cosmographers *Sinus Elaniticus*, which washeth the banks of *Madian* or *Midian*, is for 16 or 17 leagues together, along northward towards *Sues*, some three leagues or nine *English* miles over, and from this port of *Toro*, to *Sues*, and the end of this sea, it is in length about 28 leagues, of which the first 26 have 9 miles breadth as aforesaid, and afterwards the lands both from *Egypt* and *Arabia*, thrust themselves into the sea, and straiten it so fast, as for 6 miles together it is not above 3 miles over; from thence upward the land on *Egypt* side, falleth away, and makes a kind of bay or cove for some 10 miles together, after which the land grows upon the sea again, and so binds it into the very end thereof, at 4 miles breadth, or thereabouts, in which tract it was that *Moses* pass'd it over, tho' others would have it to be over against *Elana* or *Toro*; but without judgment: for from *Ramases* to *Pibacheroth* and *Baalzephon*, there is not above 30 miles interjacent, or 35 miles at most, which *Moses* pass'd over in three days: and between the land of *Egypt* opposite to *Elana* or *Toro*, the distance is above 80 miles. For *Ramases* to which city *Moses* came (being the metropolis of *Gosen*) when he left *Pharaoh* at *Zoan*, and took his last leave, standeth in 30 degrees 5 minutes of septentrional latitude: and *Migdol*, or the valley of *Pibacheroth*, at the foot of the mountain *Climax*, or *Baalzephon*, in 29 and a half, which made a difference of 35 *English* miles: the way lying in effect north and south.

S E C T. IX.

That the passage through the Red sea was miraculous, and not at a low ebb.

THE *Egyptians*, and of them the *Memphites*, and other heathen writers, who in hatred of the *Hebrews*, have objected that *Moses* pass'd over the *Red* sea at a low ebb, upon a great spring-tide, and that *Pharaoh* conducted more by fury than discretion, pursued him so far, as before he could recover the coast of *Egypt*, he was overtaken by the flood, and therein perished, did not well consider the nature of this place with other circumstances. For not to borrow strength from that part of the scriptures, which makes it plain, that the waters were divided, and that God wrought this miracle by an easterly wind, and by the hand and rod of *Moses* (which authority to men that believe not therein persuadeth nothing) I say, that by the same natural reason unto which they fasten themselves, it is made manifest, that had there been no other working power from above, or assistance given from God himself to *Moses*, and the children of *Israel*, than ordinary and casual, then could not *Pharaoh* and all his army have perished in that pursuit.

For wheresoever there is any ebbing of the sea in any gulf, or indraught, there do the waters fall away from the land: and run downward towards the ocean: leaving all that part towards the land as far as the sea can ebb, or fall off, to be dry land. Now *Moses* entering the sea at *Migdol* under *Baalzephon* (if he had taken the advantage and opportunity of the tide) must have left all that end of the *Red* sea towards *Sues*, on his left hand, dry and uncovered. For if a passage were made by falling away of the water, 10 or 12 miles farther into the sea than *Sues*, and between it and where *Moses* pass'd; who en-

ter'd the same so far below it, and towards the body of the same sea. It followeth then, that if all that part of the sleeve or strait, had been by the ebb of a spring-tide discovered, when *Pharaoh* found the flood increasing, he needed not to have returned by the same way toward *Egypt* side, but might have gone on his return before the tide, on his right hand: and so taken ground at the end of that sea, at *Sues* itself, or elsewhere. But the scriptures do truly witness the contrary, that is, That the sea did not fall away from the land, as naturally it doth; but that *Moses* pass'd on between two seas, and that the waters were divided. Otherwise, *Pharaoh* by any return of waters could not have perished, as he did: and therefore the effects of that great army's destruction, prove the cause to have been a power above nature, and the miraculous work of God himself. Again, those words of the scriptures, that *God caused the sea to run back by a strong east-wind*, do rather prove the miracle, than that thereby was caused an ebb more than ordinary: for that sea doth not lie east and west, but, in effect, north and south. And it must have been a west and north-west wind; that must have driven those waters away thro' their proper channels, and to the south-east into the sea. But the east-wind blew athwart the sea, and cut it asunder: so as one part fell back towards the south and main body thereof: the other part remained towards *Sues*, and the north: which being unknown to *Pharaoh*; while he was check'd by that sea, which used in all times before to ebb away, the flood press'd him and overwhelmed him. Thirdly, seeing *Josephus* avoweth, that *Moses* was not only of excellent judgment generally, but also so great a captain, as he overthrew the *Ethiopians* in many battles, being employed by *Pharaoh*, and won divers cities seeming impregnable: it were barbarous to condemn him of this grossness, and distraction: that rather than he would have endured the hardness of a mountainous passage at hand (had not God commanded him to take that way, and foretold him of the honour which he would there win upon *Pharaoh*) he would have trusted to the advantage of an ebbing water. For he knew not the contrary, but that *Pharaoh* might have found him, and press'd him, as well when it flowed as when it ebb'd, as it seemeth he did. For the people, beholding *Pharaoh's* approach, cried out against *Moses*, and despaired altogether of their safety: and when *Moses* prayed unto God for help, he was answered by God: *Wherefore cryest thou unto me? speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward, and lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thy hand upon the sea, and divide it*: which proves that there was not at the time of *Pharaoh's* approach any ebb at all; but that God did disperse and cut thro' the weight of waters, by a strong east-wind, whereby the sands discovered themselves between the sea on the left hand towards *Sues*, from whence the waters moved not, and the sea which was towards the south on the right hand, *So that the waters were a wall unto them on the right hand and on the left hand*, *Exod. xiv. 22.* that is, the waters so defended them on both sides, as the *Egyptians* could only follow them in the same path; not that the waters stood upright as walls do, as some of the schoolmen have fancied. For had *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians* perceived any such buildings in the sea, they would soon have quitted the chace and pursuit of *Israel*. Furthermore, there is no man of judgment, that can think, that *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, who then excelled all nations in the observations of heavenly motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes, and

and refluxes of the sea, in his own country, on his own coast, and in his own most traded and frequented ports and havens, and wherein his people having had so many hundreds of years experience of the tides, he could not be caught, as he was, thro' ignorance, nor by any foreknown or natural accident, but by God's powerful hand only; which then falleth most heavily on all men, when looking thro' no other spectacle but their own prosperity, they least discern it coming, and least fear it. Lastly, if the army of the *Egyptians* had been overtaken by the ordinary return of the flood, before they could recover their own coast; their bodies drowned would have been carried with the flood which runneth up to *Sues*, and to the end of that sea, and not have been cast ashore on that coast of *Arabia* where *Moses* landed, to wit, upon the sea-bank over-against *Baalzephon*, on *Arabia* side: where it was that the *Israelites* saw their dead bodies; and not at the end of the *Red* sea, to which place the ordinary flood would have carried them: which flood doth not any-where cross the channel, and run athwart it, as it must have done from *Egypt* side to *Arabia*, to have cast the *Egyptians* bodies there; but it keeps the natural course towards the end of that sea: and to which their carcases should have been carried, if the work had not been supernatural and miraculous. *Apollonius* in the lives of the fathers affirmeth, that those of the *Egyptians* which stay'd in the country, and did not follow *Pharaoh* in the pursuit of *Israel*, did ever after honour those beasts, birds, plants, or other creatures, about which they were busied at the time of *Pharaoh's* destruction: as he that was then labouring in his garden made a god of that plant or root, about which he was occupied: and so of the rest. But how those multitudes of Gods were erected among them, a more probable reason shall be given elsewhere. *Orosius*, in his first book and tenth chapter against the *Pagans*, tells us, that in his time, who lived some 400 years after Christ, the prints of *Pharaoh's* chariot wheels were to be seen at a low water on the *Egyptian* sands: and tho' they were some time defaced by wind and weather, yet soon after they appeared again. But hereof I leave every man to his own belief.

CHAP. IV.

Of the journeying of the Israelites from the Red sea, to the place where the law was given them: with a discourse of laws.

SECT. I.

A transition, by way of recapitulation of some things touching chronology: with a continuance of the story, until the Amalekites met with the Israelites.

BUT to go on with the story of *Israel*, in this sort I collect the times. ^a *Moses* was born in the year of the world 2434. *Sapbrus* then governing *Affyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sycionia*, or *Peloponnesus*; *Criafus*, the *Argives*; *Orus*, *Egypt*; and *Deucalion*, *Theffaly*. He fled into *Midian*, when he had lived 40 years, in the year of the world 2474, and two years after was *Caleb* born. He returned by the commandment and ordinance of God into *Egypt*, and wrought his miracles in the fields of *Zoan*, in the year 2514, in the last month of that year. On the 14th day of the first

Hebrew month *Abib*, or the 15th of that month, beginning the day (as they) at sun-setting, in the year of the world 2514, was the celebration of the passover: and in the dead of the night of the same day were all the ^b first-born slain thro' *Egypt*, or in all those parts where the *Hebrews* inhabited not. The ^c 15th day of the first month of the *Hebrews* called *Abib*, being about the beginning of the year of the world 2514, *Moses* with the children of *Israel* removed from the general assembly at *Ramases*, and marched to *Succoth*.

And departing thence they made their third station at ^d *Etham*: and journeying from *Etham* they incamped in the valley of *Pibacheroth*, or *Migdol*, under the mountain ^e *Baalzephon*; and in the same night after midnight, they passed the *Red* sea: *Pharaoh* and his army perishing in their return, about the first dawn of the day. *Moses* having recovered the banks of *Arabia*, gave thanks unto God for the delivery of *Israel*; and making no stay on that coast, entred the desarts of *Arabia Petraea*, called *Sur*, but finding no water in that passage, he incamped at ^f *Marah*, in the desert of *Etham*, which in *Exodus* xv. 22. is also called *Sur*, twenty-five miles from the sea: where the children of *Israel*, press'd with extreme thirst, murmured against ^g *Moses* a second time; first at *Pharaoh's* approach in *Pibacheroth*, and now in *Arabia*. But *Moses* taking the branches of a tree, growing near a lake of bitter water, and casting the same therein, made the same sweet: a plain type and figure of our Saviour; who upon the tree of the cross changed the bitterness of everlasting death, into the sweetness of eternal life. *Pliny* remembers these bitter fountains in his sixth book and 29th chapter. From whence to *Delta* in *Egypt*, *Sesostris* first, *Darius* after him, and lastly *Ptolemy* the second, began to cut an artificial river, thereby by boats and small shipping to trade and navigate the *Red* sea, from the great cities upon *Nilus*. From *Marah* he removed to ^h *Elim*, the sixth mansion, a march of eight miles: where finding twelve fountains of sweet water, and seventy palm-trees, he rested divers days.

Whether this *Elim* were the name of a town or city in *Moses's* time, I cannot affirm. And yet the scarcity of waters in that region was such, as *Elim*, which had twelve fountains, could hardly be left unpeopled. *William* archbishop of *Tyre*, in his history of the holy war, found at *Elim* the ruins of a great and ancient city. And at such time as *Baldwin* the first pass'd that way into *Egypt*, ⁱ *Ingressus*, saith he, *Elim*, *Civitatem antiquissimam populo Israelitico aliquando familiarem; ad quam cum pervenisset, loci illius incolæ, regis adventu præcognito, naviculam ingredientibus in mare vicinum se contulerunt*; Entering *Elim* a very ancient city, well known sometime to the people of *Israel*; whither when he came, the inhabitants, forewarned of the king's approach, took boat, and shifted themselves into the sea, lying near them. From *Elim* he returned again towards the south, and sat down by the banks of the *Red* sea: the seventh mansion. For it seemeth that he had knowledge of *Amalek*, who prepared to resist his passage thro' that part of *Arabia*. And *Moses*, who had not as yet trained those of the *Hebrews*, appointed to bear arms; nor assured the minds of the rest, who encountering with the least misery, were more apt to return to their quiet slavery, than either to endure the wants and perils which every-where accompanied them in that passage, or at this time to un-

^a Acts 7. Joshua 14. ^b Exod. 12. ^c Numb. 33. ^d Exod. 13. Numb. 33. ^e Exod. 14. ^f Numb. 33. ^g Exod. 15. Numb. 33. ^h Exod. 15. Numb. 33. ⁱ Will. Tyr. l. 11. c. 19.

dertake or sustain so dangerous an enemy: he therefore made stay at this mansion, until the fifteenth of the second month called *Zim*, or *Ijar*; and made the eighth mansion in the desert of *Zin*; where the children of *Israel* mutinied against *Moses* the third time, having want of food. In the sixteenth chapter of *Exodus*, *Moses* omitteth this retreat from *Elim* to the *Red* sea, but in the collection of every several encamping, in the thirty-third of *Numbers* it is set down.

Here it pleased God to send so many flights of quails, as all the country about their incamping was covered with them. The morning following it also rained manna, being the sixteenth of their month, which served them instead of bread. For now was the store consumed which the people carried with them out of *Egypt*. And tho' they had great numbers of cattle and sheep among them, yet it seemeth that they durst not feed themselves with many of those: but reserved them both for the milk to relieve the children withal, and for bread to store themselves when they came to the land promised.

From hence towards *Raphidim* they made two removes of twenty miles; the one to *Daphca*, the other to *Alus*, distant from *Raphidim* six miles. Here being again press'd with want of water, they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from *Egypt*, where they rather contented themselves to be led and beaten after the manner of beasts, than to suffer a casual and sometimes necessary want, and to undergo the hazards and travels which every manly mind seeketh after, for the love of God and their own freedoms. But *Moses*, with the same rod which he divided the sea withal, in the sight of the elders of *Israel*, brought waters out of the rock, wherewith the whole multitude were satisfied.

SECT. II.

Of the Amalekites, Midianites, and Kenites, upon occasion of the battle with the Amalekites, and Jethro's coming: who being a Kenite, was priest of Midian.

AND while *Moses* incamped in this place, the *Amalekites*, who had knowledge of his approach, and guessed that he meant to lead the children of *Israel* thro' their country (which being barren of it self, would be utterly wasted by so great a multitude of people and cattle) thought it most for their advantage to set upon them at *Raphidim*; where the want of water, and all other things needful for the life of man, ineebled them. On the other side *Moses* perceiving their resolutions, gave charge to *Joshua*, to draw out a sufficient number of the ablest *Hebrews*, to encounter *Amalek*. Between whom and *Israel*, the victory remained doubtful, for the most part of the day: the *Hebrews* and *Amalekites* contending with equal hopes and repulses for many hours. And had not the strength of *Moses's* prayers to God been of far greater force, and more prevalent, than all resistance and attempt made by the bodies of men, that valiant and warlike nation had greatly endangered the whole enterprise. For those bodies which are unacquainted with scarcity of food, and those minds whom a servile education hath dulled, being beaten, and despaired in their first attempts, will hardly, or never be brought again to hazard themselves.

After this victory *Jethro* repaired to *Moses*, bringing with him *Moses's* wife, and his two sons, which either *Jethro* forbore to conduct, or *Moses* to receive, till he had by this overthrow of *Amalek*

the better assured himself of that part of *Arabia*. For it is written *Exodus* xviii. 1. *When Jethro the priest of Midian, Moses's father-in-law, heard all that God had done for Moses, &c.* of which the last deed, to wit, the overthrow of *Amalek*, gave *Jethro* courage and assurance, he then repaired to his son-in-law *Moses*, at *Sinai*; where, amongst other things, he advised *Moses* to appoint judges, and other officers, over *Israel*; being himself unable to give order in all causes and controversies, among so many thousands of people full of discontentment and private controversy.

This *Jethro*, altho' he dwelt amongst the *Midianites*, yet he was by nation a *Kenite*, as in *Judges* iv. 11, 17. it is manifest; where it is written, *Now Heber the Kenite, which was of the children of Hobab, to wit, the son of Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, was departed from the Kenites, and pitched his tents until the plain of Zaanaim, which is by Kadesh*. Likewise in the first of *Samuel*, *Saul* commanded the *Kenites* to depart from among the *Amalekites*, lest he should destroy them with the *Amalekites*. For the *Kenites* inhabited the mountains of *Sin Kadesh*, and the *Amalekites* dwelt in the plains, according to the saying of *Balaam*, speaking of the *Kenites*; *Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou hast put thy nest in the rock*. And that *Saul* spared this nation, he giveth for cause, that they shewed mercy to all the children of *Israel*, when they came up from *Egypt*. For these *Kenites* were a nation of the *Midianites*, and the *Midianites* were of the issues of *Midian*, one of the six sons which *Abraham* begat on *Keturah*: and might also take that name of *Kenites* from *Keturah*, of whom they descended by the mother, who as it seemeth kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they received from their parent *Abraham*. For *Moses*, when he fled out of *Egypt* into *Midian*, and married the daughter of *Jethro*, would not (had he found them idolaters) have made *Jethro's* daughter the mother of his children. And altho' the *Kenites* are named amongst those nations, which God promised, that the seed of *Abraham* should root out, and inherit their lands; yet it cannot be meant by these, who are descended from *Abraham* himself: but by some other nation bearing the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of *Chus*. For in *Genesis* xv. 19. these *Kenites* or *Chusites* are listed with the *Hittites* and *Perezites*, with the *Amorites*, *Canaanites*, *Gergesites* and *Jebusites*, which were indeed afterwards rooted out. But these *Kenites* descended from *Abraham*, had separated themselves from among the rest, which were altogether idolatrous. For, as is before remembred, *Heber the Kenite*, which was of the children of *Hobab*, was departed from the *Kenites*, that is to say, from those *Kenites* of *Canaan*, and inhabited in *Zaanaim*, which is by *Kadesh* or *Kadesb*. Again, *Moses* nameth that nation of the *Kenites*, before *Midian*, or any of *Abraham's* other sons were born: which he did (referring my self to better judgment) rather, because they were more ancient, than by anticipation.

And as of the *Kenites*, so we may consider of the *Midianites*, parted by *Moses* into five tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and heathens; as those of *Midian* by the river *Zared* afterwards destroyed by *Moses*. But the *Midianites* near the banks of the *Red* sea, where *Moses* married his wife *Zipporah*, and with whom he left her and his children, till after the overthrow of *Amalek*, seem likewise not to have been corrupted. For the

^a *Exod.* 16. ^b *Exod.* 17. ^c *Exod.* 17. ^d *Exod.* 17. ^e *Exod.* 17. ^f *Exod.* 17. ^g *Exod.* 17. ^h *Exod.* 17. ⁱ *Exod.* 17. ^j *Exod.* 17.

^k *1 Sam.* 17. 16. ^l *Numb.* 24. 21. ^m *1 Sam.* 17.

Midianites with the *Kenites* assisted *Israel*, and guided them in the desarts. But the *Midianites* in *Moab*, and to the north of the metropolis of *Arabia*, called *Petrea*, were by *Israel* rooted out, when those adjoining to the *Red* sea were not touched.

And tho' it may be doubted, whether those of *Midian*, of whom *Jethro* was priest, and the other cities in *Moab* were the same, yet the contrary is more probable. For *Moses* would not have sent 12000 *Israelites*, as far back as the *Red* sea, from the plains of *Moab*, to have destroy'd that *Midian*, where his wife's kindred inhabited: seeing himself coming with 600000 able men, was encountred by *Amalek* in that passage. Neither could *Moses* forget the length of the way through those discomfortable desarts, wherein himself and *Israel* had wandred 40 years.

That *Jethro* or *Jothor*, *Raguel* or *Revel*, and *Hobab*, were but one person, the scriptures teach us. For the *Vulgar* and *Septuagint*, which call him *Raguel*; and our *English*, *Revel*; *Exod.* ii. 18. calls him *Jethro*, or *Jothor*, *Exod.* iii. 1. iv. 18. xviii. 1. and vi. 9, 10, 12. and in *Numbers* x. 29. *Hobab*. Others take *Jethro* and *Hobab* to be the same, but not *Raguel*.

SECT. III.

Of the time when the law was given: with divers commendations of the invention of laws.

THE rest of the months of this year 2515, were spent in the desert of *Sinai*, near the mountain of *Sinai* or *Horeb*, the 12th mansion. *Eusebius* thought that *Sinai* or *Horeb* were distinct mountains: *Jerome*, to be but one, of a double name. And so it appeareth by many scriptures. For in *Exod.* iii. 1. it is called *Horeb*: and in *Exod.* xxiv. 16. it is written *Sinai*. In *Psalms* cvi. 19. *Horeb*: in *Exod.* xix. 11. *Sinai*. And so it is called *Galatians* iv. 24. and again, *Deut.* iv. 10, 15. and *Deut.* v. 2. *Horeb*. And so it is in the 1st of *Kings* viii. 6. and the 2d of *Chron.* v. 10. and in *Malachy* iv. 4. Finally, in *Ecclesiasticus* xlviii. 7. they are named as one. Which bearest (saith *Ecclesiasticus*) the rebuke of the Lord in *Sinai*, and in *Horeb* the judgment of the vengeance. Somewhat they are disjoined at the top by the report of *Peter Belonius*: who in the year 1588, pass'd out of *Egypt* into *Arabia*, with *Monsieur de l'umet* of *France*, and travelled to the top both of *Sinai* and *Horeb*: *Sinai* being by far the higher hill. From the side of *Horeb* (saith he) there falleth a very fair spring of water into the valley adjoining: where he found two monasteries of christian *Marronites*, containing some 100 religious persons of divers nations, who had pleasant gardens, delicate fruits, and excellent wine. These (saith the same author) give entertainment to all strangers, which pass that way.

Now, that there was some such torrent of water near *Sinai* in *Moses*'s time, it is very probable: First, because he encamped thereabout almost a year, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle: Secondly, because it is written *Exod.* xxxii. 20. that when *Moses* had broken the golden calf to powder, which *Aaron* set up in his absence, he cast the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of *Israel* to drink thereof.

On this mountain, the law by the angel of God was given to *Moses*, where he staid a whole year, waiting some 10 or 12 days: for he removed not till the 20th day of the 2d month of the 2d year; and he arrived about the 45th day after the egression: the law being given the 50th day.

At this mansion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the xxixth chapter of *Exodus*, to the end of that book; all in *Leviticus*; and all in *Numbers* to the xth chapter. Whereof (because there is no story nor other passage) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof speak somewhat of the law, and the kinds and use thereof: whereby, if the reader find the story any way disjoined, he may turn over a few leaves, and, omitting this, find the continuation thereof. We must first consider, that as there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any common-wealth, without the rule, level, and square of laws: so it pleased God to give thereby unto *Moses* the powerfulest mean (his miraculous grace excepted) to govern that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their passage, and to establish them assuredly in their conquest. For as the north-star is the most fixed director of the sea-man to his desired port: so is the law of God the guide and conductor of all in general, to the haven of eternal life: the law of nature, from God's eternal law deduced, the rule of all his creatures: the law human, depending on both these, the guard of kings, magistrates, and virtuous men; yea, the very spirit, and the very sinews of every estate in the world, by which they live and move: the law, to wit, a just law, being resembled to an heart without affliction, to an eye without lust, and to a mind without passion; a treasurer, which keepeth for every man what he hath, and distributeth to every man what he ought to have.

This benefit the ancients, tho' barbarous, esteemed so highly, that among them, those, which were taken for the first makers of laws, were honoured as gods, or as the sons of gods: and the rest, that made either additions or corrections, were commended to all posterity for men of no less virtue, and no less liberally beneficial to their countries, than the greatest and most prosperous conquerors that ever governed them. The *Israelites*, the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Athenians*, received their laws from one: as the *Israelites* from *Moses*; the *Lacedemonians* from *Lycurgus*; the *Athenians* from *Solon*; the *Romans* sometimes from their first kings, from their *Decemviri*, from their senators, from their lawyers, and from the people themselves: others from the prince, nobility, and people; as in *England*, *France*, and in other christian monarchies and estates.

SECT. IV.

Of the name and meaning of the words, law and right.

THE word *lex*, or *law*, is not always taken alike, but is diversly, and in an indifferent sense used. For if we consider it at large, it may be understood for any rule prescribing a necessary mean, order, and method, for the attaining of an end. And so the rules of grammar, and other arts, are called laws. Or it is taken for any private ordinance of superiours to inferiours: for the commandments of tyrants, which they cause to be observed by force, for their decrees do also usurp that title, according to the general acceptation of the word law: of which *Isaiab*, *Ho unto them that decree wicked decrees, and write grievous things*. Likewise, the word is used for the tumultuary resolutions of the people. For such constitutions doth *Aristotle* also call laws, tho' evil and unjust. *Alia lex est, que tumultuarie posita est*; It is an ill law that is made tumultuously. So as all ordinances, either good or evil, are called by the name of laws.

The word law is also taken for the moral habit of our mind, which doth (as it were) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and fashioning them according to it self, as to their pattern and platform. And thus the law of the flesh, which the divines call *legem somitis*, is to be understood. For every law is a kind of pattern of that which is done according unto it: in which sense as ^a elsewhere, this moral habit or disposition of the heart is called the frame or *segmentum* of the heart: so in St. Paul to the *Romans* it is called a law. *But I see another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my mind, and leading me captive unto the law of sin.* Again, the nature and inclinations of all creatures are sometimes called ^b laws, so far as they agree with the reason of the law eternal; as the law of a lion, to be fierce or valiant.

Also private contracts among merchants and other tradesmen, do often put on the name of laws. But law commonly and properly is taken, for a right rule, prescribing a necessary mean, for the good of a common-wealth, or civil community. The rest, to wit, the commandments of tyrants, &c. which have not the common good for their end, but being *leges iniquæ*, are by *Thomas* called *violentie magis quam leges*, rather compulsions than laws: And whatsoever is not just, St. *Augustine* doth not allow for laws, howsoever established: for he calls them *iniqua hominum constituta, quæ nec cura dicenda, nec putanda sunt*; the unjust constitutions of men, which are neither to be termed or thought laws. For saith *Aristotle*, ^c *Legalia iusta sunt factiva, & conservativa felicitatis*; Just laws are the workers and preservers of happiness: because by them we are directed *ad vitam quietam*, to a quiet life, according to *Cicero*: yea, *to life everlasting*, according to the scriptures. For the end of the law, saith ^d *Plato*, is God and his worship: *Finis legis Deus & cultus ejus*. *Lex*, or the law, is so called by the *Latins*, *a legendo*, or *a ligando*, of reading or binding: *Leges quia lætæ & ad populum lætæ*, saith *Varro*; for after laws were written and published, all men might read them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other etymology, *a ligando*, is no less agreeable with the nature of a law: whence in the scripture it is called also a yoke, and a band: as ^e *confregerunt jugum, diruperunt vincula*; They have broken the yoke, they have broken the bands. And in the second *Psalms*, ^f *Dirumpamus vincula eorum, & projiciamus a nobis funes ipsorum*; Let us break their bands in sunder, and cast away their cords from us.

The covenant it is called, because of the conditional promises of God: and because of God's people's voluntary submission of themselves unto it: for which word the *Septuagint*, and the epistle to the *Hebrews*, use the word *διαθήκη*, a testament or last will: which name it hath, because it is not otherwise effectual for our salvation, but in respect of the death of the testator; for without the death of the testator, the testament is of no force: as *Heb.* ix. 17. it is said, *Testamentum in mortuis ratum est*.

The *Hebrews* call the law *Thorah* of teaching,

because every man is thereby taught his duty, both to God and men. The *Greeks* call it *Nomos* of distributing, because it distributeth to every man his own due; the power of the law is the power of God: justice being an attribute proper unto God himself. *Imperium legis imperium Dei est*; The reign of the law is the reign of God.

Law in general is thus defined by the philosophers: *Lex est vite regula, præcipiens quæ sunt sequenda, & quæ fugienda*; Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow, and what to shun: or *Lex est omnium divinarum & humanarum rerum regina*; Law is the queen or princess of things both human and divine. But this description is grounded upon the opinion of inevitable fate. Law is the very wisdom of nature: the reason and understanding of the prudent: and the rule of right and wrong. For as a right line is called *Index sui & curvi*, the demonstration of it self and of the crooked: so is the law, the judge and measure of right and wrong.

M. *Hooker* calls the law a directive rule to goodness of operation: and tho' law as touching the substance and essence, consist in understanding: *Concludit tamen actum voluntatis*, yet it comprehends the act of our will. The word *jus* is also diversly taken, as sometimes for the matter of the law, and for common right: sometimes for the law it self: as *jus civile*, or *jus gentium*. ^g *Isidore* distinguisheth the two general words *jus* and *fas*: whereof *jus*, saith he, hath reference to men, *fas* to God. *Fas lex divina, jus lex humana*. To go over another man's field, is permitted, by God's law, not by man's; and therefore in a thing out of controversy, *Virgil* used both these words: as *Fas & jura sinunt*, God and men permit.

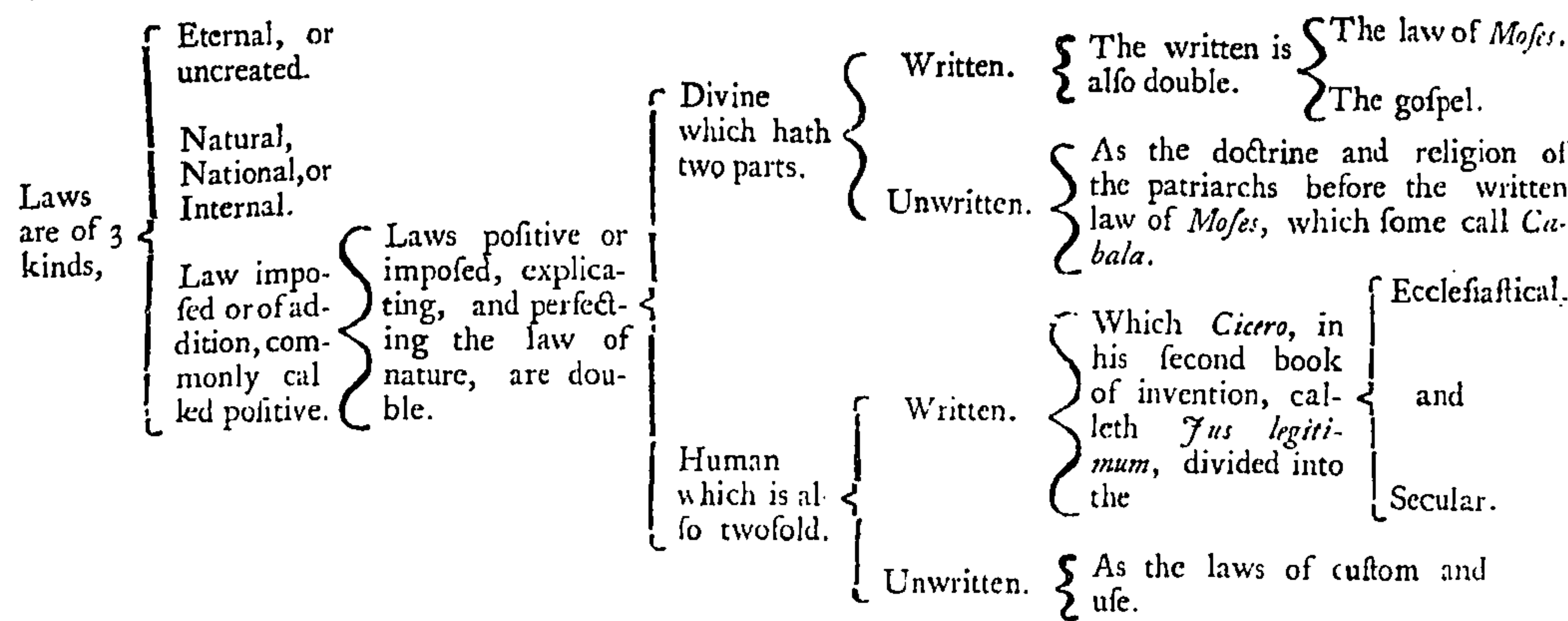
The word *jus* or right, is derived or taken from the old substantive noun *jussus*, a bidding or commandment: or perhaps from the Greek *zeus*, which is the name of *Jupiter*, or of the *Latin* genitive case *Jovis*; because as the scripture speaks, ^h *the judgment is God's*. For it is certain, that *jus-jurandum* came from *jovis-jurandum* (for so we find it written in *Nonius* out of the ancient, in which sense the scripture calls it *juramentum Jehovæ*) so also we may say, that *jus* came of *Jovis*, *quia Jovis est*: because as God is the author, and pattern, and maintainer of right, so also in his ⁱ *vicegerents* the *magistrates*, he is the pronouncer and executor of right. Of this *jus* the just are denominated, *justus a jure*, and *justitia a jussu*; the right gives name to the righteous: and justice takes her name from the just.

SECT. V.

Of the definition of laws, and of the law eternal.

BUT because laws are manifold, and that every kind hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, first to divide and distinguish them. I mean those sorts of laws, from whence all other particulars are drawn: leaving the individuals of human laws to their infinite and horrible confusion.

^a Gen. 6. 5. & 8. 2. ^b So *Virgil*, continuo has leges æternæque fœdera certis imposuit natura locis; *nohere alio it is to be noted, that he joins leges and fœdera together: as in the scripture the law is oftentimes called the covenant* ^c *Arist.* *Ethic.* 5. 1. ^d *Plato* in *Dial.* 1. de *Leg.* ^e *Jer.* 5. 5. ^f *Psalm.* 2. ^g *Isid.* *Etym.* ^h *Deut.* 1. 17. *2 Chron.* 19. 6. ⁱ *Exod.* 22. 11. *1 Kings* 2. 43.



The law eternal is thus defined by *Thomas* :

^a *Lex aeterna est aeternus divinae sapientiae conceptus, secundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipso praecognitarum*; The eternal law is the eternal concept of God's wisdom, as it is referred to the government of things foreknown by himself. Or ^b *Lex aeterna est summa atque aeterna ratio divinae sapientiae : quatenus res omnes ad destinatos fines ita dirigit, ut illis juxta conditionem ipsarum modum aliquem necessitatis adferat*; It is the high and eternal reason of divine sapience : as it directeth all things in such sort to their proper ends, imposing a kind of necessity according to their several natures, or conditions. Now the difference lieth in this: that as the same divine understanding directs all these to their proper ends ; so it is called providence: but as it imposeth a necessity according to the natures of all things which it directs, so is it called a law.

Of this eternal law *Cicero* took knowledge, when, in his book of laws, he wrote in this manner : *Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, & ad recte faciendum impellens & a delicto avocans : quae non tum incipit lex esse cum scripta est : sed tum cum orta est. Orta autem simul est cum mente divina : quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad jubendum & ad vetandum, ratio est recta summi Jovis*; That perfect reason and nature of things incouraging or impelling to rightful actions, and calling us back from evil, did not (saith he) then begin to be a law when it was written : but when it had being. Being and beginning it had together with divine understanding, and therefore a true law and a fit princeps to command and forbid, is the right reason of the most high God. This eternal law (if we consider it in God, or as God) is always one and the same ; the nature of God being most simple : but as it is referred to divers objects, so the reason of man finds it diverse and manifold. It also seemeth one law in respect of things necessary, as the motions of the heavens, stability of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwise to things contingent; another law to men, another to other creatures, having life, and to all those that be inanimate.

By this eternal law all things are directed, as by the counsel and providence of God: from this law all laws are derived, as from the rule universal : and thereto referred, as the operation of the second to the first.

^c The eternal, and the divine law, differ only in consideration; the eternal directing more largely, as well every creature to their proper and natural ends, as it doth man to his supernatural: but the divine law to a supernatural end only: the natural law is thence derived, but an effect of the eternal, as it were a stream from this fountain.

The law human or temporal is also thence drawn, in that it hath the form of right reason: from which if it differ, it is then *impositio iniqua*, a wicked

imposition, and only borroweth the name of a law.

To this eternal law all things are subjected, as well angels and men, as all other creatures, or things created ; whether necessary or contingent, natural or moral, and human. For the law eternal runneth through all the universal, and therefore it is the law also of things which are simple, natural and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praise God their Creator and Director : as, ^d *Praise him all ye his angels : praise him sun and moon, all bright stars : heavens of heavens; for he hath established them for ever and ever. He hath made an ordinance which shall not pass : praise ye the Lord from the earth ye dragons and all depths : fire and hail, snow and vapours, stormy winds, which execute his word : mountains and hill : fruitful trees and all cedars : beasts, and all cattel, &c.* Now as the reasonable creatures are by this eternal law bound, by the glory and felicity proposed unto them (beatitude being both the attractive, and the end) so all other natural things and creatures, have in themselves, and in their own natures, an obedience formal to it, without any proper intention, known cause, or end proposed. For beasts are led by sense, and natural instinct: things without life by their created form, or formal appetites, as that which is heavy to fall downward : things light to mount upward, &c. and fire to heat whatsoever is apposed. This kind of working the *Aristotelians* ascribe to common nature: others to fate ; a difference used in terms only ; it being no other than God's general providence : for as it is truly said of God, that he is *omnia super omnia* : so are all things which appear in themselves thence derived : there-under subjected : thence-from by his eternal law and providence directed, even from the greatest to the least of his creatures, in heaven and in earth.

The *Schoolmen* are very curious and ample in the consideration of these laws : and in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, and object of the eternal law. But as the profit is manifest in the good of all creatures, who have thencefrom, either reason, sense, vegetation, or appetite, to conduct them : so is the object and matter of the law, the whole creature. For according to *St. Augustine*, ^e *Lex aeterna est, quae justum est ut omnia sint ordinatissima*; The law eternal is that, whereby it is just, that all things should be disposed in the best and goodliest order.

Lastly, It is disputed, whether the eternal law be immutable, yea or no? but the resolution is, that it changeth not ; for which *St. Augustine* useth a sufficient argument in his first book of *Free-Will*, the sixth chapter. For the law of *Moses*, which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to last until the time of the *Pedagogy* of God's people, or introduction to *Christ* should be expired ; which

^a P. 2. q. 2. art. 1. ^b Th. q. 36. art. 1. ^c Tho. & Aug. ^d Psal. 148. ^e L. 1. de lib. arb. c. 6.

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time of expiration some think our Saviour noted to be come, when on the cross he said, ^a *Consummatum est*. But I rather think these words of our Saviour to have no other signification, than that now the prophecy of their giving him vinegar to drink was fulfilled. For so St. John expounds it, when he saith, ver. 28. *That Christ seeing all (other) things to be fulfilled, Ut consummaretur scriptura*, That the scripture in this also might be fulfilled, said, *I thirst*: tho' I deny not, but at the same time also the date of the law was expired, to wit, of the law ceremonial, and of so much of the judicial, as appertaineth peculiarly to the Jews, and agreeth not with the law of the new testament and gospel of Christ. For the immutable law of God, tho' prescribing things mutable, is not therefore changed in it self; but the things prescribed, change according to this eternal ordinance, of which the *Wisdom of Solomon*, *And being one she can do all things, and remaining in herself reneweth all*.

S E C T. VI.

Of the law of nature.

OF the law of nature, as it is taken in general, I find no definition among the schoolmen: only as it is considered in man, it is called, The impression of divine light, and a participation of the eternal law in the reasonable creature; ^b *Lex naturalis est impressio divini luminis in nobis, & participatio legis æternæ in rationali creatura*. Ulpian defines the natural law to be the same which nature hath taught all living creatures; *Jus naturale est quod natura omnia animalia docuit*: and he afterwards addeth, *Jus istud non humani generis proprium, sed omnium animalium quæ terra marique nascuntur, avium quoque commune est*; The law of nature is not proper to man alone, but the same is common to all living creatures, as well to birds, as to those which the land and sea produceth. But this definition is not general, but of the natural law in things of life.

The law of nature in general, I take to be that disposition, instinct, and formal quality, which God in his eternal providence hath given and imprinted in the nature of every creature, animate and inanimate. And as it is *divinum lumen* in men, enlightning our formal reason; so is it more than sense in beasts; and more than vegetation in plants. For it is not sense alone in beasts, which teacheth them at first sight, and without experience or instruction, to fly from the enemies of their lives: seeing that bulls and horses appear unto the sense more fearful and terrible, than the least kind of dogs: and yet the hare and deer feed by the one, and fly from the other, yea, tho' by them never seen before, and that as soon as they fall from their dams. Neither is it sense which hath taught other beasts to provide for winter, birds to build their nests, high or low, according to the tempestuous or quiet seasons: or the birds of *India* to make their nests on the smallest twigs which hang over rivers, and not on any other part of the tree, or elsewhere, to save their eggs and young ones from the monkeys, and other beasts, whose weight such a twig will not bear: and which would fear to fall into the water. The instances of this kind are exceeding many which may be given. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of plants, that some trees, as the female of the *Palmito*, will not bear any fruit, except the male grow in sight. But this they do by that law, which the infinite and unsearchable wisdom of God had in all eternity provided for them,

and for every nature created. In man this law is double, corrupt and incorrupt; corrupt, where the reason of man hath made it self subject, and a vassal to passions, and affections brutal: and incorrupt, where time and custom hath bred in men a new nature, which also, as is aforesaid, is a kind of law. For it was not by the law of nature incorrupt, which ^d St. *Augustine* calleth the law of reason, but by a nature blinded and corrupted, that the *Germans* did anciently allow of theft, and that other nations were by law constrained to become idolaters; that by the laws of ^e *Lycurgus* it was permitted to men to use one another's wife, and to the women to choosethem others besides their husbands, to beget them with child: which law in those parts hath lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

The ^f *Scythians*, and the people of both *Indies*, hold it lawful to bury with them the best beloved wives: as also they have many other customs remembered by G. *Valentia*, against nature and right reason.

And I know not from what authority it is, that these laws some men avow to be natural: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile: to become faithless among the faithless: to provide for our selves by another man's destruction: that injury is not done to him that is willing: to destroy those whom we fear, and the like. For taking the definition of natural laws, either out of ^g St. *Augustine* or *Aquinas* (the one calling it *the impression of divine light*; the other, *the dictate or sentence of practic reason*) the same can teach us, or incline us to no other thing, than to the exercise of justice and uprightness: and not to offer or perform any thing towards others, save that which we would be content should be offered or performed towards our selves. For such is the law of nature to the mind, as the eye is to the body; and that which according to ^h *David* sheweth us good, that is, the observation of those things which lead us thereby to our last end; which is eternal life: tho' of themselves not sufficient without faith and grace.

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of nature, where the corruption is not taken for the law, is, as aforesaid, the impression of God's divine light in men, and a participation of the law increated and eternal. For without any law written, the right reason and understanding, which God hath given us, are abilities within our selves, sufficient to give us knowledge of the good and evil, which by our gratitude to God, and distribution of right to men, or by the contrary, we prepare and purchase for our selves. ⁱ *For when the Gentiles* (saith St. Paul) *which have not the law, do by nature those things contained in the law: they having not the law, are a law unto themselves*. Now, to love God by whom we are, and to do the same right unto all men, which we desire should be done unto us, is an effect of the purest reason: in whose highest turrets, the quiet of conscience hath made her resting place, and habitation; *In arce altissima rationis quies habitat*. Therefore, the *Gentiles* (saith St. Paul) ^k *which shew the effects of the law written in their hearts, have their consciences for a witness of those effects: and the reprobate their thoughts to accuse them*.

And it is most true, that whosoever is not a law unto himself (while he hopeth to abuse the world by the advantage of hypocrisy) worketh nothing else, but the betraying of his own soul, by crafty unrighteousness, purchasing eternal perdition. For it

^a John 19. 30. ^b Aug. in Epit. ad Hil. 89. & in Evang. Joh. tract. 49. ^c Ulp. de Justitia & Jure, l. 1. in 1. d. 1. ^d Ulp. l. 4. c. 1. de locat. Rom. 7. 23. ^e Theod. l. 9. de condit. allie. ^f Cræcorum. ^g Acosta. ^h Nemo jure nature com. ⁱ *terius detrimento locupletior fieri debet*. ^j Paul. 4. ^k Rom. 2. 14. ^l Rom. 2. 15.

helpeth us not to hide our corrupt hearts from the world's eye, seeing from him who is an infinite eye, we cannot hide them: some garlands we may gather in this may-game of the world, *Sed flos ille, dum loquimur, arefcit*; Those flowers wither while we discourse of their colours, or are gathering them. That we should therefore inhabit and dwell within our selves, and become fearful witnesses of our secretest evils, did that reverend philosopher *Pythagoras* teach in this golden precept: *Nil turpe committas, neque coram aliis, neque tecum, maxime omnium verere teipsum*; Commit nothing foul or dishonest, faith he, neither to be known to others, nor to thine own heart, but above all men reverence thine own conscience. And this may be a precept of nature and right reason: by which law, men, and all creatures, and bodies, are inclined to those operations, which are answerable to their own form; as fire to give heat. Now, as the reasonable mind is the form of man, so is he aptly moved to those things which his proper form presenteth unto him: to wit, to that which right reason offereth; and the acts of right reason, are the acts of virtue: and in the breach of the rules of this reason, is man least excusable, as being a reasonable creature. For all else, both sensitive, growing, and inanimate, obey the law which God imposed on them at their first creation.

The earth performeth her office, according to the law of God in nature; for it bringeth forth the bud of the herb which seedeth seed, &c. and the beast which liveth thereon. He gave a law to the seas, and commanded them to keep their bounds: which they obey. ^bHe made a decree for the rain, and a way for the lightning of the thunders. He caused the sun to move, and to give light, and to serve for signs and for seasons. Were these as rebellious as man, for whose sake they were created, or did they once break the law of their natures and forms; the whole world would then perish, and all return to the first *Chaos*, darkness and confusion.

By this natural law, or law of human reason, did *Cain* perceive his own wickedness, and offence, in the murder of *Abel*: for he not only feared the displeasure of God, but the revenge of men: it being written in his reason, that whatsoever he performed towards others, the same by others might be done unto him again. And that this judgment of well and evil doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternal law, before the law written: *Moses* in the person of God witnesseth, *Gen. iv. If thou do well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou do not well, sin lieth at thy door.*

The schoolmen are large also in this question of the natural law, the same being opened amply by *Reinerius*, *Antoninus*, and *Valentia*. But it is not to my purpose to write a volume of this subject.

But this law which *Thomas Aquinas* calleth *An act of reason taken properly*, and not a habit, as it is an evident natural judgment of practick reason: they divide into indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration (as that good is to be followed, and evil eschewed;) and demonstrable, which is evidently proved, out of higher and more universal propositions. Again, as it answereth the natural appetite, prescribing things to be desired as good, or to be avoided as evil (as of the first, to desire to live, and to satisfy hunger, &c. and of the second, to eschew pains, sorrow, and death;) in this consideration they divide it, according to the divers kinds of appetites that are in us. For in every man there are three sorts of appetites, which answer the three degrees of natural law. The first is to be that which

we are; in which is comprehended the desire both to live, and to preserve our being and life, also the desire of issue, with care to provide for them: for the father after his death lives in his children; and therefore the desire of life comprehends the desire of children. And to these appetites are referred the first indemonstrable laws of nature, for the most part. For it needs no proof, that all creatures should desire to be, to live, and to be defended, and to live in their issue, when they cannot in themselves. And as man is a being, *Ens* or *Res*; so he doth desire good and shun evil. For it is common to all things, to desire things agreeable to their own natures, which is, to desire their own good. And so is good defined by *Aristotle*, to be that which all desire. Which definition *Basil* upon the xlvth *Psalme* approveth: *Recte quidem bonum definierunt, quod omnia expetunt*; Rightly have some men defined good or goodness, to be that which all things desire.

The second kind of appetite is of those things which appertain to us, as we have sense. Whence, by the law of nature, we desire the delights of every sense; but with such moderation, as may neither glut us with satiety, nor hurt us with excess. For as sense it self is for the preservation of life and being: so is it meet, even by the law of nature, that the sensitive appetite should not carry us to the destruction, either of our life or being. And altho' (seeing both these kinds of appetites are in beasts) we may well say, that nature hath given divers laws unto them: in which sense the civilians define natural right, or *jus naturale*, to be the same which nature hath taught all living creatures; yet the schoolmen admit not, that the instincts of beasts can be properly called a law, but only a *jus*, or right, which is the matter and aim of every law. For so they distinguish it, where *Ulpian* affirmeth, that *jus naturale* is that, which nature hath taught all living creatures. In this place, faith *Valentia*, *jus* is not to be taken for a law, but for the matter of the law. And yet where *Ulpian* also distinguisheth the right belonging to living creatures in general, from the right belonging to men; calling the one *jus nature*, the other *jus gentium*: the divines understand the law of nature more largely, that is, for all evident dictates, precepts, or bidlings of divine reason, both in beasts and men; and restrain the law of nations to a kind of human right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertain properly to man, as he is a living creature reasonable: as well with relation to God, and to our neighbour, as for our selves; and the laws of this appetite are the commandments of our religion.

Now altho' there are many other branches and divisions of this law of nature answering the division of matter, which it prescribeth, and as manifold, as the moral actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth: yet is the law of nature but one law, according to *Aquinas*: first, because it hath one fountain or root in the natural or motive faculty, which is but one, stirring up to good, and declining the contrary: secondly, Because all is contained in that general natural precept, that good is to be followed and ill avoided: and thirdly, Because all the parts are reduced to one and the same last end.

That this law of nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifest: and chiefly man, because he is endued with reason; in whom as reason groweth, so this band of observing the law of nature increaseth; *"Postquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod scriptum est, adveniente mandato, peccatum revixit"*

^a Gen. i. ^b Job. 28. ^c Tho. q. 94. Art. 2. ^d Ethic. I. c. 1. ^e Basil.

When reason grew to perfection, then it came to pass, which was written by *St. Paul*, when the commandment came, sin revived. Neither is it a small warrant for this law of nature, when those which break the same, are said by *St. Paul*, *"To be delivered over unto a reprobate sense (or mind) to do those things which are not convenient :* and again, *"that their consciences bear witness and their thoughts accuse them.* For tho' this law of nature stretch not to every particular; as to command fasting and the like, yet it commandeth in general all good, and whatsoever is agreeable to right and reason. And therefore, said *Damascene*, *"Homines facti sunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam est ;* Men, saith he, are made evil, by declining unto that which is contrary to nature : and *St. Augustine*, *Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est ;* Every vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrary unto it.

Neither yet are the rules of this law of nature so streight, but that they suffer exceptions in some particulars. For whereas by this law all men are born lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of portions, according to unequal merit : by taking from the evil, and giving to the good : and by permitting and commanding that all men shall enjoy the fruits of their labours to themselves : according to the rules of justice and equity.

And tho' the law of nature command, that all things be restored which are left in trust, yet in some causes, this her law she suffereth to be broken : as to deny a mad man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was sober. But the universal principles can no more be changed, than the decrees of God are alterable : who according to *"St. Paul*, *abideth faithful, and cannot deny himself.*

S E C T. VII.

Of the written law of God.

AFTER the eternal and natural, the law positive or imposed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather explication of the former, hath two kinds ; divine and human. Again, the divine positive law is double ; the old and new : the old was given unto *Moses* in mount *Sinai* or *Horeb*, at such time as the world had stood 2513 whole years, and in the 67th day of this year, when as *Ascatades* or *Ascades* governed the *Assyrians* ; *Merathus*, the *Sycionians* ; *Triopus*, the *Argives* ; *Cecrops*, *Attica*, and *Acheres*, *Egypt* : to wit, after the promise to *Abraham* 430 years. And this, it seems, was the first written law which the world received. For the very word *Nomos* signifying a law, was not then, nor long after, invented by the *Grecians* ; no not in *Homer's* time, who lived after the fall of *Troy* 80 years at least : and *Troy* it self was cast down 335 years after *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. This law it pleased God to engrave in stone, that it might remain a lasting book of his express'd will in the Church ; and that the priests and people might have whereof to meditate, till the coming of *Christ* : and that so these children of *Israel*, tho' bred among an idolatrous people in *Egypt*, might be without excuse : the slight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

The reason known to us why this law was not written before, is, that when the people were few, and their lives long, the elders of families might easily without any written law instruct their own children : and yet as they increased, so doubtless

they had, besides the law of nature, many precepts from God, before the law written. But now at length, forasmuch as the law of nature did not define all kinds of good and evil ; nor condemn every sin in particular : nor sufficiently terrify the consciences of offenders : nor so expound divine worship, as for those after-ages was required, who gave every day less authority than other to the natural law ; in these respects it was necessary, that the law should be written, and set before the eyes of all men : which before they might, but would not read in their own consciences. The schoolmen, and the fathers before them, inlarge the causes and necessity why the law was written, whereof these are the chiefest.

The first, for restraining of sin, directly grounded upon this place of *David* ; *The law of the Lord is undefiled, converting souls : the testimonies of the Lord are faithful, giving wisdom to children.* For the human law, saith *St. Augustine*, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment ; seeing thereby it might take away something seeming necessary, and hinder common profit : but the divine law written, forbiddeth every evil, and therefore by *David* it is called undefiled.

Secondly, It serveth for the direction of our minds. For the laws of men can only take knowledge of outward actions, but not of internal motions, or of our disposition and will : and yet it is required, that we be no less clean in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words *converting our souls*, added by *David* : wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the cabalists. *Actiones hominum nullæ essent, nisi prius in mente dicerentur ;* The actions of men, say they, would be none at all, were they not first conceived in the mind.

Thirdly, It leadeth us to the knowledge of truth, which by reason of diversity of opinion, and difference of peculiar laws among sundry nations, we cannot be assured of ; but the law of God bindeth all men, and is without error : and therefore also said *David* ; *That the testimony of the law of God is faithful : giving wisdom to children.*

S E C T. VIII.

Of the unwritten law of God, given to the patriarchs by tradition.

NOW, that in all this long tract of time, between the creation and the written law, the world and people of God were left altogether to the law of reason and nature, it doth not appear. For the patriarchs of the first age received many precepts from God himself, and whatsoever was first imposed by *Adam*, the same was observed by *Seth*, who instructed *Enos* : from whom it descended to *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Joseph*, and *Moses*. Yea many particular commandments afterwards written, were formerly imposed and delivered over by tradition ; which kind of teaching the *Jews* afterwards called *Cabala*, or *Receptio* ; Precepts received from the mouth of their priests and elders : to which the *Jews* after the law written, added the interpretation of secret mysteries, reserved in the bosoms of their priests, and unlawful to be uttered to the people. But the true *Cabala* was not to be concealed from any ; as being indeed the divine law revealed to the patriarchs, and from them delivered to the posterity, when as yet it was unwritten. The commandments which God gave unto *Adam* in the begin-

^a Rom. 1. 28.

^b Rom. 2. 15.

^c Lib. 2. Fid. orthod. c. 30.

^d 2 Tim. 2. 13.

^e Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 1.

ning, were, that he should impose names to all beasts, according to their natures ; to whose perfection of understanding they were sufficiently known. For finding the reason of his own name *Adam* or *Adamah*, earth, or red clay, he gave other names significant, not only to beasts, but to his children and nephews, which afterwards his issues imitated ; as the name of *Seth* signifieth, as some take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the church, or rather, one given in recompence for *Abel* that was slain : and *Enosh* signifieth man or miserable, &c. Further, God commanded *Adam* to till the ground, and to live by the labour thereof : God also gave him the choice of all fruits, but the forbidden ; and in *Adam* also was marriage first instituted : all men thence-after being commanded to cohabit with their wives, rather than with their father and mother.

That murder and cruelty was also forbidden, both before the law written, and before the flood it self, is manifest. God himself making it appear, that it was one of the greatest causes of the destruction of mankind by the general flood. For God said unto *Noah*, *An end of all flesh is come before me : for the earth is filled with cruelty through them : and behold I will destroy them^a from the earth.* That offence therefore, for which all perished, could not be unknown to all that perished : God's mercy and justice interposing between the untaught and revenge.

This commandment God repeated to *Noah*, after the waters were dried up from the earth. *Who-so sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed : for in the image of God hath he made man.*

Also the law of honouring and reverencing our parents, was observed among the faithful, and the contrary punished by the father's curse : as, *Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.* Again, we find that the unnatural sin of the *Sodomites* was punished in the highest degree ; as with fire from heaven. The sin of adultery and ravishment, was before the law no less detested than the rest, as appeareth by that revenge, taken for *Dina's* forcing : and by the judgment which *Juda* gave against *Tamar*, That she should be burnt : and by the repentance of *Pharaoh* and *Abimelech*, against whom this sentence was pronounced, *Thou art but dead, because of the woman which thou hast taken : for she is a man's wife.* To these we may add the ordinance of sacrifice, of distinction of clean beasts, of circumcision, of the brother to raise up seed to his brother, that left a widow childless, and divers other constitutions, partly moral, and partly ceremonial, which being delivered before the written law, were after by it confirmed. So that this *Divine law imposed*, of which the law of *Moses* containeth that which is called the *Old Testament*, may be said, not only to have been written in the hearts of men, before it was engraven in stone, but also in substance, to have been given in precept to the patriarchs. For as *St. Paul* witnesseth of himself, *I knew not sin, but by the law :* so the law ever naturally preceded, and went before offences, tho' written after offences committed.

It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by some kind of unwritten law ; the angels intuitively ; men by reason ; beasts by sense and instinct, without discourse ; plants by their vegetative powers ; and things inanimate by their necessary motions, without sense or preception.

SECT. IX.

Of the moral, judicial, and ceremonial law, with a note prefixed, How the scripture speaketh not always in one sense, when it nameth the law of Moses.

NOW as the word [*law*] in general, as is aforesaid, hath divers significations, and is taken for all doctrine which doth prescribe and restrain : so this law, called the *law of Moses* in particular, is taken by *St. Paul* diversly ; as sometimes for all the *Old Testament*, as, *Now we know whatsoever the law saith, it saith to them which are under the law.*

When it is opposed, or differenced from the prophets and *Psalms*, it is there taken for the five books of *Moses*. For so *St. Luke* hath distinguished them ; as, *All must be fulfilled which are written of me in the law, in the prophets, and in the psalms.*

When it is opposed to the gospel, then it is taken for the law moral, ceremonial, and judicial ; as, *Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by faith without the works of the law.*

When it is opposed to grace, it signifieth the declaration of God's wrath, and our guilt of condemnation ; or the extremity of the law, and *summum jus* : as, *For ye are not under the law, but under grace.*

When it is opposed to the truth, namely, where the ceremonies or signs are taken for the things signified ; as the sacrifice for Christ, and the like : then it signifieth but shadows and figures ; as *The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.*

Lastly, When it is opposed to the time of Christ's coming, it signifieth the whole policy of the *Jews* commonweal ; as, *Before faith came, we were kept under the law, &c.* or the law of the order and institution of the *Aaronical priesthood* ; as, *All the prophets, and the law, or the priests, prophesied unto John.* And if the priesthood be changed, the law also, to wit, of the priesthood, must needs be changed.

The word [*law*] is sometimes also taken by the figure *Metonymia*, for interest, authority, and empire, or for constraining force ; as, *The law of the Spirit of life, the law or the force of sin and death, the enforcements of concupiscence, &c.*

But the *written law of Moses*, or the law of the *Old Testament*, of which we now speak, is thus defined : The law is a doctrine, which was first put into the minds of men by God, and afterwards written by *Moses*, or by him repeated, commanding holiness and justice, promising eternal life conditionally, that is, to the observers of the law, and threatening death to those which break the law in the least. For, according to *St. James*, *Who-soever keepeth the whole, and faileth in one point, is guilty of all.* The definition of the schoolmen, in which both the old and new law are comprehended, is thus given, *Lex divina est divinum decretum, hominibus prescribens modum necessarium ut apte pervenire possint ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, quæ est ultimus humanæ vitæ finis* ; The divine law (say they) is the decree of God, prescribing unto men a necessary mean, whereby they may aptly attain supernatural beatitude, which is the last end of man's life.

^a The common reading is *cum terra* : but God did not destroy the earth, and why may not this preposition in this place have the same force which it hath, according to *Junius*, *Gen. 4. 1. Item 44. 4. and Deut. 34. 1. Especially, seeing these words are but a repetition of that which is said, verse 7. Delebo hominem de superficie terræ.* ^b *Gen. 9. 6.* ^c *Gen. 9. 25.* ^d *Gen. 34. 25.* ^e *Gen. 34. 24.* ^f *Rom. 3. 19.* ^g *Luke 24. 44.* ^h *Rom. 3. 28.* ⁱ *Rom. 6. 4.* ^k *Gal. 3. 18.* ^l *John 1. 17.* ^m *Gal. 3. 23.* ⁿ *Luke 16. 6.* ^o *Heb. 7. 12. and 10. 1.* ^p *Rom. 8. 2. and 7. 23.* ^q *James 2. 10.*

The law of *Moses* hath three parts : moral, ceremonial, and judicial. The moral part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that evil to be avoided, in particular ; as also it declareth, for whose sake it is to be done ; as *do this, for I am the Lord* ; whereas the law of nature commands it but in general. Again, the moral law entreateth of virtue and goodness ; the ceremonial of divine service, and of holiness (for external worship, and the order of hallowing ourselves unto God, is called ceremony ;) and the judicial teacheth the particular government, fit for the commonwealth of the *Jews*, and prescribeth orders for justice and equity. And therefore was it said of *St. Paul, Rom. vii. 12. The commandment is just, holy and good* : just, or justice, being referred to the judicial ; holy or holiness, to the ceremonial ; good, or honest, to the moral. The judicial part is touching the government of the commonwealth of the *Jews*, in which many things must needs be proper to that estate, as such as were instituted either in respect of place or persons.

The ceremonial is divided into four parts, according to the four kinds of things, of which it speaketh, to wit, sacrifice, holy things, sacraments, and observances. To sacrifices belong beasts, and the fruits of the earth ; to holy things the tabernacle, temple, vessels, altars, and the like ; to sacraments, circumcision, the passover and such like. For the observances, they consisted either in prohibition of certain meats, as not to eat the blood and fat of beasts : or in some other outward things, as in washings, purifyings, anointings, and attire, as not to wear mixt garments of linen and woollen ; as also it prohibiteth other unnatural and improper commixtions, as, *Thou shalt not yoke together in a plough an ox and an ass*, or cast mingled seed in one field. It also exhorteth natural compassion, and forbiddeth cruelty even to beasts, birds and plants, whereby the creatures of God might be destroyed without any profit to man. For so some refer these precepts ; *Thou shalt not kill the bird sitting on her nest, nor beat down the first buds of the tree, nor muzzle the labouring ox*, and the like, to the ceremonial law.

Neither is there any of these three parts of the law of *Moses*, but it hath as yet in some respects, the same power which it had before the coming of Christ. For the moral liveth still, and is not abrogated or taken away : saving in the ability of justifying or condemning ; for therein are we commanded to love and worship God, and to use charity one towards another ; which for ever shall be required at our hands. Therein also are we in particular directed, how this ought to be done : which power of directing by special rules and precepts of life it retaineth still. For these things also are commanded in both testaments to be observed ; tho' principally for the fear of God in the one, and for the love of God in the other.

The ceremonial also liveth in the things which it fore-signified. For the shadow is not destroyed, but perfected, when the body itself is represented to us. Besides, it still liveth, in that it giveth both instruction and testimony of Christ, and in that it giveth direction to the Church for some ceremonies and types of holy signification, which are still expedient ; tho' in a far fewer number than before Christ's coming, and in a far less degree of necessity.

Lastly, The judicial liveth in substance, and concerning the end and the natural and universal equity thereof.

But the moral faileth in the point of justification,

the ceremonial, as touching the use and external observation (because Christ himself is come, of whom the ceremonies were signs and shadows) and the judicial is taken away, as far forth as it was peculiar to the *Jews* commonweal and policy.

SECT. X.

A proposal of nine other points to be considered, with a touch of the five first.

AS for that which remaineth in the general consideration of the divine written law, it may in effect be reduced into these nine points.

1. The dignity and worth of the law.
2. The majesty of the law-giver.
3. The property and peculiarity of the people receiving it.
4. The conveniency of the time in which it was given.
5. The efficacy and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the Old and New Testament.
7. The end and use of the law.
8. The sense and understanding of the law.
9. The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The dignity of the law is sufficiently proved by *St. Paul* in these words, *Wherefore the law is holy, and the commandment is holy, and just, and good* : which three attributes are referred, as aforesaid, to the moral, ceremonial, and judicial.

2. The majesty of the law-giver is approved in all his creatures : who, as he hath given all things their lives, and beings, so he only gave the law, who could only give the end and reward promised, to wit, the salvation of mankind : but he gave it not to *Moses* immediately, but by the ministry of angels, as it is said. *And the law was ordained by angels, in the hand of a Mediator* : and in the *Acts*, *He gave the law by the ordinance of angels*.

3. The propriety and peculiarity of the people, receiving this law, is in three respects. First, In that they were prepared : Secondly, In that they were a nation apart and severed : Thirdly, In that they were the children of the promise made to *Abraham*. Prepared they were, because they had the knowledge of one God, when all other nations were idolaters. A nation apart and severed they were, because of God's choice and election. Children of the promise they were, for the promise was made by God unto *Abraham*, and his seed : not unto his seeds, as to *Esau* and *Jacob*, but to his seed, as to *Jacob*, or *Israel* singularly, of whom Christ. *Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made : he saith not to the seeds, as speaking of many, but to thy seed, as of one, which is Christ*.

4. The conveniency of the time, in which it was given, is noted by *St. Augustine* : that it was about the middle time, between the law of nature and grace : the law of nature continued from *Adam* to *Moses* : the law written in the commandments, received by *Moses* in the world's year 2514, continued to the baptism of *John* ; from which time began the law of grace, which shall continue to the world's end. Other reasons for the conveniency are formerly given.

5. The fifth consideration is of the efficacy of this law, the same being a disposition to, or sign of, our justification : but not by itself sufficient, but as a figure of Christ in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteousness in moral precepts. For through the passion of Christ were sins forgiven, who taketh

^a Gal. 3. 19.

^b Gal. 3. 6.

away the sins of the world: and therefore St. Paul calleth the rudiments of the law ^a *beggarly and weak*; beggarly, as containing no grace, weak; as not able to forgive and justify. The ^b blood of goats and bulls, and the ashes of an heifer could only cleanse the body; but they were figures of Christ's blood, which doth cleanse the inward soul. ^c *For if the law could justify, then Christ died in vain.*

SECT. XI.

Of the sixth point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the old and new testament.

THE old and new testament differ in name, and in the mean and way proposed for attaining to salvation; as the old by works, the new by grace: but in the thing it self, or object and remote end, they agree: which is, man's happiness and salvation.

The old testament, or law, or letter, or the witness of God's will, was called the old, because it preceded the new testament; which is an explication of the old: from which the new taketh witness. Yet the new of more excellency, in that it doth more lively express, and openly and directly delineate the ways of our redemption. It is also called the old, to shew that in part it was to be abrogated: ^d *In that he saith the new testament, he hath abrogated the old.* For the old law, tho' greatly extolled by the prophets, and delivered with wonderful miracles, yet was it constituted in a policy perishable: but the new was given in a promise of an everlasting kingdom, and therefore called in the *Apocalypse*, a testament and gospel for ever during.

The old testament is called a law, because the first and chief part is the law of *Moses*, of which the prophets and *Psalms* are commentaries, explicating that law.

The new testament is called the gospel, because the first and chief part thereof is the glad tidings of our redemption: the other books, as the epistles or letters of the apostles, and the acts or story of the apostles, are plentiful interpreters thereof: the word *Euangelion* signifying a joyful, happy, and prosperous message, or (as *Homer* used it) the reward given to the messenger, bringing joyful news. It is also sometimes taken for a sacrifice, offered after victory, or other pleasing success, as by *Xenophon*. In the scriptures it hath three significations. First, for glad tidings in general, as in *Isaiah* lii. 7. concerning peace: Secondly, by an excellency it is restrained to signify that most joyful message of salvation, as in *Luke* ii. 10. whence also by figure it is taken for the history of ^e *Christ*: and so we understand the four gospels.

Lastly, For the preaching and divulging the doctrine of Christ, as *1 Cor.* ix. 14. and *2 Cor.* viii. 18.

The agreement of both testaments (taken, I think, as they are divided in volumes) is by *Daneus* comprised in these four.

In their author.

In the substance of the covenant, or things promised.

In the foundation, to wit, Christ.

In the effects, that is, in righteousness and justification.

In the author they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one testament and will of God in substance of doctrine. For as there was ever one church, so was there one covenant, one adoption, and one doctrine. As the old law doth point at Christ, so doth the new law teach Christ: the old proposing him as to come, the new as al-

ready come; one and the same thing being promised in both; both tending to one and the same end, even the salvation of our souls: which, according to St. *Peter*, is the end of our faith. For altho' it be said, that *Moses* did promise by observing the law an earthly kingdom, a land flowing with milk and hony, the propagation of children, and other worldly blessings: yet all these were but figures to teach, and pledges to assure the fathers of those spiritual blessings by Christ; for by the earthly he raised their minds to the hope of heavenly. And the fathers, notwithstanding these worldly goods, did yet acknowledge themselves strangers, and pilgrims, expecting the heavenly *Jerusalem*: According to this place of *Heb.* xi. 13. *All these died in faith, and received not the promises, but saw them afar off, and believed them: confessing that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.* To which purpose also St. *Augustine*; ^f *Omnino pauci veterem legem intelligunt, non attendentes per promissa terrena æterna promitti*; Few (saith he) do understand the old law: not attending that by things earthly eternal are promised. And St. *Jerome*, ^g *Noluit Deus pascere Judeos more pecorum corporalibus donis opibusque, ut Judæi somniant*; God would not feed the Jews as beasts with corporal gifts and riches, as themselves dream. And this may be gathered out of God's own words, *Ego sum Deus tuus, & ero vobis in Deum*; I am thy God, and I will be your God; for the words, *I will be your God*, prove that it was not for the present, or for perishable things, that God gave them this promise; but in respect of the future: to wit, the safety of their souls. For as God created both body and soul, so hath he of his goodness not left the better part uncared for, which liveth ever.

The agreement between the old and new testament in substance, infers also the agreement in foundation. For Christ is called the foundation of the law, laid both by the apostles and prophets: in whom all the promises of God in the old and new, are assured: the fathers having eaten the same spiritual food, which we eat in our sacraments.

The agreement in effects is, in that the knowledge of our sin and misery, which is taught us by the law, maketh way, and, as it were, serveth in subordination to the gospel, the proper effects whereof are mercy and salvation: to which the law serving as an introduction (for to those which acknowledge their sin and misery, God sheweth his mercy and salvation) may be said to agree with the gospel in the effects. For otherwise, if we sever the law from subordination to the gospel, the effects are very different: the one sheweth the way of righteousness by works, the other by faith; the law woundeth, the gospel healeth: the law terrifieth, the gospel allureth: *Moses* accuseth, Christ defendeth: *Moses* condemneth, Christ pardoneth: the old restraineth the hand, the new the mind. ^h *Data est lex quæ non sanaret* (saith St. *Augustine*) *sed quæ ægrogantes probaret*; The law was given not to help, but to discover sickness: and St. *Chrysostom*, *Data est lex, ut se homo inveniret; non ut morbus sanaretur, sed ut medicus quæreretur*; The law was given that man might find and know his own imperfection: not that his disease was thereby holpen; but that he might then seek out the physician. For Christ came to save the world, which the law had condemned. And as ⁱ *Moses* was but a servant, and Christ a son, so the greatest benefit was reserved to be brought, as by the *worthiest person*, saith *Cyril*: for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

^a Gal. 4. ^b Heb. 9. ^c Gal. 2. ^d Heb. 8. 13. ^e Acts 1. ^f Lib. de Civitate Dei. 18. 15. ^g In Sophon. 3. 9. ^h Homil. ad Rom. ⁱ Heb. 7.

S E C T. XII.

Of the rest of the points proposed.

THE seventh consideration is of the end and use of the law: which is to bring us to Christ: for finding no righteousness in our own works, we must seek it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and utmost end: the next and proper end of the law, is to prescribe righteousness, and to exact absolute and perfect obedience to God. ** Cursed is he which continueth not in all the things of this law.*

The second end of the law, is to render us inexcusable before God: who knowing so perfect a law, do not keep it: the law requiring a perfect and intire, not a broken or half obedience: but both inward and outward righteousness, and performance of duty to God and men.

The third and chief end of the law is, as hath been said, to send us to Christ, and his Grace, being in our selves condemned and lost. For the law was delivered with thunder, and with a most violent and fearful tempest, threatening eternal death.

The fourth end of the law was to design, and preserve, the place of the church and true people of God; and to hold them in one discipline and awe, till the coming of Christ: after whom the church was to be dispersed over the whole world.

These be the ends of the moral law. The end and use of the ceremonial law, is to confirm the truth of Christ, and the new testament. The use of the judicial, to teach us natural equity and right, whereto we must conform our selves.

The sense and understanding of the law is double, literal and spiritual: by the literal, we are taught the worship and service of God: by the spiritual, the figures and mystical fore-speakings of Christ.

Lastly, for the durance or continuance of the law, the same had being until the passion of Christ: before which time, and while Christ taught in the world, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true sacrifice was offered upon the altar of the cross, then the Jewish sacrifices and ceremonies, which were types and figures of Christ (Christ being the body of those shadows) ceased to bind the consciences any longer: the mystery of our redemption being now by Christ and in him finished. In token whereof the veil of the temple rent asunder; noting that the ceremonial veils and shadows were now to be removed, not that the moral law of the commandments was hereby abolished, or weakened at all: otherwise than that it had not power to condemn according to the Jewish doctrine, as aforesaid. For the observing of the law was by Christ himself severely commanded: our love towards God being thereby to be witnessed. And herein David so much rejoiced, as he preferred the observation of the law, before all that the world could yield. *In via testimoniorum tuorum delectatus sum, sicut in omnibus divitiis;* I have been delighted in thy law as in all manner of riches: and again, *The law of thy mouth is good for me above thousands of gold and silver. This is the love of God* (saith St. John i. 5.) *that we keep his commandment.* And that there is no excuse for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himself in *Deuteronomy* witnesseth, ** This commandment* (saith he) *which I command thee this day is not bid from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven that thou shouldest say who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it us, and cause us to hear it that we may do it? neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it us?*

&c. but the word is very near unto thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart for to do it. Behold (saith Moses) *I have set before thee this day life and death, good and evil, in that I command thee this day to love the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and to keep his commandments, and his ordinances, and his laws, that thou mayst live, &c.* Neither is it said in vain in St. Matthew ix. 17. *Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serva mandata;* If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments: and in St. John xii. 50. *Scio quia mandatum ejus vita eterna est;* I know that his commandment is life everlasting. And if this be the charity of God, or of men towards God, as St. John hath taught, to wit, that we keep his commandments: certainly he is but a liar, that professeth to love God, and neglecteth to observe the word of his will, with all his power. And tho' I confess it is not in man's ability, without the special grace of God, to fulfil the law (Christ only as man excepted) yet if we rightly consider the merciful care which God had of his people in those his commandments, we shall find in our selves, how we borrow liberty, and rather let slip our affections, and voluntarily loosen them, from the chains of obedience, to which the word of God and divine reason hath fastened them, than that we are excusable by those difficulties and impossibilities, which our mind (greedy of liberty) proposeth to it self. *For this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments, and his commandments are not grievous,* 1 John iii. 12. and if we examine every precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the ballance of our consciences; it is not hard for any man to judge, by what easy persuasions, we steal away from our own power, as unwilling to use it against our pleasing desires.

S E C T. XIII.

Of the several commandments of the Decalogue: and that the difficulty is not in respect of the commandments, but by our default.

FOR by the first we are commanded to acknowledge, serve, and love one God. Now, whereby are we inticed to the breach of this precept? seeing every reasonable man may conceive and know, that infinite power cannot be divided into many infinities: and that it is of necessity that by this Almighty unity, all things have been caused, and are continued. And if brute beasts had this knowledge of their Creator, and how in his providence he hath also provided for every of them, ** which giveth to beast their food, &c.* there is no doubt but that they would also serve and love him only.

The second precept is the forbidding of idolatry, and worship of images: the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the invention of an ill intent in the beginning, seeing this is generally true: ** Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta sunt;* All ill examples did spring and arise from good beginnings. For their first erection was to keep the memory of men famous for their virtue: until (saith *Lactantius*) the devil crept into them, and (having blotted out the first intent) working in weak and ignorant souls, changed the nature of the one, and the reason of the other, to serve himself thereby. For what reasonable man, if he be not forsaken of God, will call on those blind, deaf, and dumb, and dead stocks, more worthless than the most worthless of those, that having life and reason, implore their help, which have neither: yea, of more vile prize and baser, than the basest of beasts, who have sense and esti-

** Levit. 18. 5. b Gen. 49. 10. The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shilo come.
 * Deut. 30. 11, 12, 13 & 14. Rom. 10. 6, 7, 8. d Psal. 147. 9 e Glob. in verb. Calum*

mation? for what do we thereby (saith the *Wisdom of Solomon*) ^a *but call to the weak for help, pray to the dead for life, require aid of him that hath no experience, assistance in our journies of him that cannot go, and success in our affairs of him that hath no power?* And whether the idolater, or the block, to which he prayeth, be more senseless, *David* maketh a doubt. ^b *For (saith he) they that make them are like unto them, and so are all the rest that trust in them.*

The breach of the third commandment is neither persuaded by worldly pleasure, nor worldly profit: the two greatest inchanters of mortal men. No, we are no way allured to this horrible disdain of God, unless the hate of good men, and God's curse, be accounted an advantage. For as our corruptest nature gives us nothing towards it, so can it satisfy no one appetite, except everlasting sorrow, and hell dwell in our desire. And therefore this strange custom hath the devil brought up among men, without all subtlety of argument, or cunning persuasion, taking thereby the greatest and most scornful advantage over us. For slaughter satisfieth hatred, theft gives satisfaction to need, adultery to lust, oppression to covetousness: but this contemptuous offence of blasphemy, and the irreverent abuse of God's name, as it giveth no help to any of our worldly affections, so the most savage nations of the world do not use it.

The fourth commandment, to keep the sabbath day holy, hath neither pain, burthen, nor inconvenience. For it giveth rest to the labourer, and consolation to their masters. And that this law was imposed on man for his benefit, *Moses* teacheth in the reason of the law: as in *Exod. xxiii. 12.* *And in the seventh day thou shalt rest, that thine ox and thine ass may rest, and the son of thy maid, and the stranger may be refreshed.*

The first of the second table to honour our parents, with whom we are one and the same, is a gratitude which nature it self hath taught us towards them, who after God gave us life and being, have begotten us, and born us, cherished us in our weak and helpless infancy, and bestowed on us the harvest and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore in the temporal and judicial ordinances, cursing of parents, or the offering them violence, was made death.

The next is, that thou shalt not murder, that is, thou shalt not do the acts following the affections of hatred. For the law of God, and after it our own laws, and in effect the law of all nations, have made difference between slaughter casual, and furious. *Affectio enim tua* (saith *Bracon*) *imponit nomen operi tuo*; It is the affection and will that makes the work such as it is. And certainly whosoever cannot forbear to commit murder, hath neither the grace of God, nor any use of his own will.

The third of the second table, commands us from adultery. Now, if the preservation of ^c virginity have been possible, for thousands of men and women, who in all ages have mastered their fleshly desires, and have returned chaste to the grave: it cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbear the dishonour and injury, which we offer to others by such a violation, seeing marriage is permitted by the laws of God, and men, to all that affect it. And there is no man living, whom the desire of beauty and form hath so constrained, but he might with ease forbear the prosecution of this ill: did not himself give suck to this infant, and nourish warmth till it grow to strong heat, heat till it turn to fire, and fire to flame.

The fourth of the second table, is, that we

shall not steal. And if that kind of violent robbery had been used in *Moses's* time, which many ruffians practise now-a-days in *England*, and; to the dishonour of our nation, more in *England* than in any region of the world among Christians, out of doubt he would have censured them by death, and not by restitution, tho' quadruple. For I speak not of the poor and miserable souls; whom hunger and extreme necessity inforceth, but of those detested thieves, who, to maintain themselves lord-like, assault, rob, and wound the merchant, artificer, and labouring-man, or break by violence into other men's houses, and spend in bravery, drunkenness, and upon harlots, in one day, what other men sometimes have laboured for all their lives; impoverishing whole families, and taking the bread and food from the mouths of their children. And that this commandment might easily be observed, it would soon appear, if princes would resolve but for a few years to pardon none. For it is the hope of life, and the argument of sparing the first offence, that encourageth these hell-hounds. And if every man presume to be pardoned once, there is no state or commonwealth, but these men would in a short time impoverish or destroy it.

The fifth commandment of this second table, is, the prohibition of false witness: from which if men could not forbear, all surety of estate and life were taken away. And so much did God detest a false witness, and a false accuser, especially in matters criminal, that the law ordained him to suffer the same death or punishment, which he sought by falsehood to lay on his brother.

The last of the ten commandments forbiddeth us to covet any thing, which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wives for concupiscence, or their goods for desire of gain. And this precept seemeth the hardest for men to observe; so esteemed by reason of our frail affections: and yet if we judge hereof rightly, it may be doubted whether it extend to all our inconsiderate fancies and vain thoughts. For altho' it be not easy to master all our sudden passions, yet we may restrain and hinder their growing, and farther increase, if we please to intend our strength, and seek for grace. How the word coveting reacheth to all those, it is to be considered. For *Concupiscentia*, according to some, *est effrenatus habendi appetitus*; An unbridled, or unrestrained appetite of having: And as touching such an appetite, we cannot excuse our selves by any our natural frailty, or unadvised error; but, as I suppose, the word concupiscence is more largely taken, either for a determinate and unbridled evil intent, or for some urging inclination thereunto. All the question is of the later sort: which is, *Actus imperfectus, id est, non deliberatus ratione quæ est principium proprium actus boni aut vitiosi*; Such passions or inclinations are imperfect acts, that is, not deliberated upon by reason, which is the proper principle of a good or vicious action. And sure, it may seem, that so long as we resist such motions, they harm us not: as they say, *Quamdiu refragamur, nihil nocent: nocent autem cum eas dominari permittimus*; As long as we give no assent unto them, it is thought by some that they hurt us not: and that then only they hurt when we suffer them to bear sway. But these men, as it seems, make nothing forbidden in this tenth precept, but what have been forbidden in the other: for in every commandment, not only the outward act, but also the inward assent unto evil, tho' it break not out into act, is forbidden: therefore, that we may know the difference between this commandment and the rest, the di-

^a *Wisd. 13. 19.* ^b *Psal. 35. 18.* ^c *Nuptiæ replent terram, Virginitas Paradisum.*

inction of desires is to be held: that some are with assent, and unbridled; others bridled, and without assent. For so even the moral philosopher can tell us, that the continent man hath evil desires, but without assent (for they are bridled by the strength of right reason) as on the other side, the incontinent hath good desires, but restrained and suppressed by contrary passions. The evil desires, when they are accompanied with assent, are in every commandment forbidden, together with the outward act: and therefore if we will have any thing proper to this commandment, we must needs say, that the evil desires of the continent man (that is, even those which we resist and bridle) are here forbidden. For tho' he that bridleth his evil desires, be much better than he that yieldeth unto them: yet such a man, even according to the heathen philosopher, is not worthy the name of a virtuous man. For *Aristotle* himself makes *continentia*, not to be virtue, but only a degree unto it: confessing, that tho' the continent man do well in bridling his evil affections; yet he doth not all, seeing he ought not so much as to have them at all. Neither is it much more, that true divinity delivereth touching this matter. For, as he saith, that in the continent man the having of these evil desires, tho' he resist them, is the cause that he cannot be called a virtuous man: so we, that the having of them is a sin. Only in this we excell him here: that we are able out of divinity to give the true reason of this doctrine: which is, that every one sinneth, that doth not love God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth, that the evil desires of the continent man, that is, of him that bridleth them, must needs be sin: seeing such desires, tho' bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleased God, to make us know, that by our faithful endeavours to keep his commandments, we witness our love towards himself: we may not safely give liberty to our vanities, by casting back upon God (who is justice it self) that he hath given us precepts altogether beyond our power, and commandments impossible for us to keep. For, as he is accursed (saith *St. Jerome*) that avows that the law is in all things possible to be observed: so he hath made this addition: *Maledictus qui dicit impossibilia Deum præcepisse*; Accursed is he that saith that God hath commanded things (in themselves, and not thro' our fault) impossible. Now, as the places are many which command us to keep the law: so is our weakness also in the scriptures laid before us; and therefore it is thus safely to be understood, that we should without evasion, or without betraying of our selves, do our faithful endeavours to observe them: which if we do unfeignedly, no doubt, but God will accept our desires therein. For that there is no man just, *David* witnesseth; ^a *Enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight no flesh that liveth shall be justified.* And in *1 Kings viii. 46.* *There is no man that sinneth not:* and again, ^b *Who can say I have made my heart clean?* But seeing there is no sin grievous without deliberation; let every man's conscience judge him, whether he give way willingly, or restrain himself in all that he can; yea, or no: for when a king gives to his subject a commandment upon pain of loss of his love, to perform some service: if the subject neglecting the same, seek to satisfy his sovereign with shilting excuses, out of doubt such a prince will take himself to be derided therein.

If there were not any religion nor judgment to come, yet the Decalogue were most necessary to be observed.

AND if we consider advisedly, and soberly, of the moral law, or ten commandments, which God by the hand of *Moses* gave unto his people, it will appear that such was his merciful providence in the choice of them, as were there neither pain nor profit adjoined to the observing, or not observing of them; were there no divine power at all, nor any religion among men; yet if we did not for our own sakes strive to observe these laws, all society of men, and all endeavours, all happiness and contentment in this life would be taken away, and every state and common-wealth in the world fall to the ground and dissolve. Therefore, these laws were not imposed as a burthen, but as a blessing: to the end that the innocent might be defended; that every man might enjoy the fruits of his own travel; that right might be done to all men from all men; that by justice, order, and peace, we might live the lives of reasonable men, and not of beasts; of free-men, and not of slaves; of civil men, and not of savages. And hereof making our human reason only judge, let us see the inconveniences in this life which would follow by the breach and neglect of these laws.

As first, What would the issue be if we acknowledged many Gods? Would not a far greater hatred, war, and blood-shed follow, than that which the difference of ceremony, and diversity of interpretation, hath already brought into the world, even among those nations which acknowledge one God, and one Christ?

And what could it profit mankind to pray to idols, and images of gold, metal, dead stones, and rotten wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the loss of time, and an impossibility to receive thencefrom, either help or comfort?

The breach of the third commandment bringeth therewith this disadvantage and ill to man, that whosoever taketh the name of God in vain, shall not at any time benefit himself by calling God to witness for him, when he may justly use his holy name.

The observing the sabbath holy, giveth rest to men and beasts, and nature her self requireth intermission of labour.

If we despise our parents, who have given us being, we thereby teach our own children to scorn and neglect us, when our aged years require comfort and help at their hands.

If murder were not forbidden, and severely punished, the race of mankind would be extinguished: and whosoever would take the liberty to destroy others, giveth liberty to others to destroy himself.

If adultery were lawful and permitted, no man could say unto himself, this is my son: there could be no inheritance proper, no honour descend to posterity, no endeavour by virtue and undertaking to raise families; murders and poisonings between man and wife, would be daily committed, and every man subject to most filthy and unclean diseases.

If stealth and violent rapine were suffered, all mankind would shortly after perish, or live as the savages, by roots and acorns. For no man labour-eth but to enjoy the fruits thereof. And such is the mischief of robbery, as where *Moses* for lesser crimes appointed restitution four-fold, policy of state and necessity hath made it death.

^a Psal. 143.

^b Prov. 20. 9.

To permit false witnesses, is to take all mens lives and estates from them by corruption: the wicked would swear against the virtuous: the waster against the wealthy: the idle beggar and loiterer, against the careful and painful labourer: all trial of right were taken away, and justice thereby banished out of the world.

The coveting of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a distraction of mind with an inward vexation: for while we covet what appertains to others, we neglect our own: our appetites are therein fed with vain and fruitless hopes, so long as we do but covet; and if we do attain to the desire of the one, or the other, to wit, the wives or goods of our neighbours, we can look for no other, but that ourselves shall also, either by theft or by strong hand, be deprived of our own.

Wherein then appeareth the burden of God's commandments, if there be nothing in them, but rules and directions for the general and particular good of all living? Surely, for our own good, and not in respect of himself, did the most merciful and provident God ordain them; without the observation of which, the virtues of heavenly bodies, the fertility of the earth, with all the blessings given us in this life, would be unto us altogether unprofitable and of no use. For we should remain but in the state of brute beasts, if not in a far more unhappy condition.

S E C T. XV.

Of human law, written and unwritten.

HUMAN law, of which now it followeth to speak, is first divided into two, *viz.* Written, and unwritten. The unwritten consists of usage, approved by time: which *Isidore* calls *Mores*: and he defines *Mores* to be *Consuetudines vetustate probate*, to be *customs approved by antiquity or unwritten laws*. Now custom differeth from use, as the cause from the effect: in that custom is by use and continuance established into a law: but yet there, where the law is defective, saith *Isidore*.

And of customs there are two general natures, containing innumerable particulars, the first are written customs, received and exercised by nations, as the customs of *Burgundy* and *Normandy*: the ancient general custom of *England*, and the customs of *Castile*, and other provinces.

The second are these petty customs, used in particular places, cities, hundreds, and manors. The general or national customs are some written, others unwritten.

The particular of petty customs are seldom written, but witnessed by testimony of the inhabitants. The customs of the dutchy of *Cornwall* comprehending also the *Stannery* of *Devon*, as touching *Tin*, and *Tin* causes, are written in *Devon*, but not in *Cornwall*. But howsoever use and time hath made these customs as laws, yet ought every custom to be *rationabilis*, as well as *prescripta*.

^a *Non firmatur tractu temporis quod de jure ab initio non subsistit*; That which at first was not grounded upon good right, is not made good by continuance of time. And (saith *Ulpian*) ^b *Quod ab initio vitiosum est, non potest tractu temporis convalescere*; Course of time amends not that which was naught from the first beginning. For these two defences are necessary in all laws of custom; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law divine and natural; the other, that the cause and reason be strong, proving a right birth, and necessary continuance: it being

manifest, that every custom, which is against the law, had its beginning from evil deeds, and therefore not without the former considerations to be allowed. And it is true, that all customs of this nature were but tolerated for a time, by the law-makers, tho' they have been since continued, because posterity is not bound to examine by what cause their ancestors were thereto moved. For *non sufficit simplex toleratio*. And it is in this sort overruled in the law; *Per populum consuetudo contra legem induci non potest, nisi de voluntate illius qui novam legem, & novam constitutionem statuere potest, qui solus princeps est*; The people cannot bring in a new custom against law, save by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is only the prince.

Human law generally taken, to wit, human law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doom of practic reason: by which human actions are ruled and directed. *Papinian* calls the law a common precept, the advisement of wisemen, and the restraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. *Isidore* calls the law a constitution written, agreeing with religion, fittest for government and common profit: and more largely, *Omne id quod ratione consistit*; All that stands with reason.

Lastly, and more precisely it is thus defined: ^c Human law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the law natural and eternal: made by the rational discourse of those that exercise publick authority: prescribing necessary observances to the subject. That every law ought to be a righteous decree, *St. Augustine* teacheth, saying: *Mibi lex esse non videtur, quæ justa non fuerit*; It seems to be no law at all to me, which is not just: and just it cannot be, except it agree with the law natural and eternal. For there is no law just and legitimate (saith *St. Augustine*) which the law-makers have not derived from the eternal; ^d *Nihil justum atque legitimum est, quod non ab æterna lege sibi homines derivaverint*.

Secondly, It ought to be constituted by discourse of reason, whereby it is distinguished from the law natural, to wit, the natural, indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration, from whence the law human is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, That it ought to be made by an authorized magistracy, it cannot be doubted, be the government, of what kind soever. For it falleth otherwise under the title of those decrees called *Violentie*, or *Iniquæ Constitutiones*; *Violences*, or *Wicked Constitutions*.

Of human law there are four properties, especially answering these four conditions in the former definition. First, As it is drawn out of the law of nature: so every particular of the human law may be resolved into some principle or rule of the natural.

Secondly, It is to be considered as it is referred unto, and doth respect the common good.

Thirdly, It is to be made by publick authority.

Fourthly, Concerning the matter of the law, it prescribeth, and directeth, all human actions. And so is the law as large and diverse, as all human actions are diverse, which may fall under it. For according to *Thomas*, ^e *Alia lex Julia de adulteriis, alia Cornelia de sicariis*; The law of *Julian* against adultery is one, the *Cornelian* against ruffians, is another. Now the human law, generally taken, is, in respect of the first of these considerations, divided into the law of nations, and the civil.

The law of nations is taken less or more properly; less properly for every law which is not of it

^a In reg. jur. v. 2. q. 117. art. 1. ^b Ulp. l. 29. ^c Greg. de Val. Tho. q. 91. art. 3. & q. 94. art. 2. ^d Lib. 1. de lib.

Arb. cap. 6. ^e Tho. q. 95. art. 2.

self, but from other higher principles deduced : and so it seemeth that *Ulpian* understands it : for he defineth *jus gentium*, or the law of nations, to be that which is only common amongst men, as religion, and the worship of God : which is not in the very nature of this law of nations : but from the principles of the scriptures, and other divine revelations. But the law of nations properly taken, is that *dictate*, or *sentence*, which is drawn from a very probable, tho' not from an evident principle, yet so probable that all nations do assent unto the conclusion, as that the free passage of *Ambassadors* be granted between enemies, &c. which national law, according to divers acceptations, and divers considerations had of the human law, may be sometimes taken for a *species* of the natural, sometimes of the human.

Jus Civile, or the civil law, is not the same in all common-wealths, but in divers estates it is also diverse and peculiar, and this law is not so immediately derived from the law of nature, as the law of nations is : for it is partly deduced out of such principles, as all nations do not agree in, or easily assent unto ; because they depend on particular circumstances, which are diverse, and do not fit all estates. Hereof *Ulpian*, *Jus civile, neque in totum à naturali & gentium recedit, neque per omnia ei servit : itaque cum aliquid addimus vel detrahimus juri communi, jus proprium, id est civile, efficitur* ; The civil law (saith he) doth neither wholly differ from the law of nature and nations, nor yet in all points obey it : therefore, when we add ought to, or take from the law that is common, we make a law proper, that is, the civil law.

The law now commonly called the civil law, had its birth in *Rome* : and was first written by the *Decemviri* 303 years after the foundation of the city. It was compounded as well out of the *Athenian*, and other *Grecian* laws, as out of the ancient *Roman* customs and laws regal. The regal laws were devised by the first kings, and called *leges regie*, or *Papyrianæ*, because they were gathered by *Papyrus*, *Tarquin* then reigning. For tho' so many of the former laws as maintained kingly authority were abolished, with the name : yet those of *Servius Tullius*, for commerce and contracts, and all that appertained to religion, and common utility, were continued, and were a part of the laws of the twelve tables. To these laws of the twelve tables were added (as the times gave occasion) those made by the senate, called *Senatus-consulta* : those of the common people, called *Plebi-scita* : those of the lawyers called *responsa prudentum* : and the edicts of the *annual magistrate* : which edicts being first gathered and interpreted by *Julian*, and presented to *Adrian* the emperour, they were by him confirmed and made perpetual laws : and the volume styled, *Edictum perpetuum* : as those and the like collections of *Justinian* afterwards were.

The difference anciently between laws and edicts, which the *French* call *Reglements*, consisted in this, that laws are the constitutions made or confirmed by sovereign authority (be the sovereignty in the people, in a few, or in one) and are vitual general and permanent : but an edict (which is but *jussum magistratus*, unless by authority it be made a law) hath end with the officer, who made the same, saith *Varro*. *Qui plurimum edicto tribunt, legem annuam esse dicunt* ; They who ascribe the most unto an edict, say that it is a law for one year. Tho' *Isidore* doth also express by the word *constitutiones* or *edicts*, those ordinances called *Acts of prerogatives* : as *Constitutio vel edictum est, quod rex, vel*

Imperator, constituit, vel edicit ; An ordinance or edict is that which a king or emperour doth ordain or proclaim.

Lastly, The human law is divided into the secular, and into the ecclesiastical, or canon. The secular commanding temporal good, to wit, the peace and tranquillity of the commonwealth : the ecclesiastical the spiritual good, and right government of the ecclesiastical commonwealth, or church : *Ilud naturæ legem, hoc divinam spectat* ; That respecteth the law of nature, this the law of God. And so may *jus civile* be taken two ways : first, As distinguished from the law of nations, as in the first division : secondly, As it is the same with the secular, and diverse from the ecclesiastical. But this division of the *schoolmen* is obscure : for altho' the civil be the same with the secular, as the civil is a law ; yet the secular is more general, and comprehendeth both the civil and all other laws not ecclesiastical. For of secular laws, in use among christian princes, and in christian commonwealths, there are three kinds ; the civil which hath every-where a voice, and is in all Christian estates (*England* excepted) most powerful ; the laws of *England* called common, and the laws of custom or provincial. In *Spain* besides the law civil, they have the customs of *Castile*, and other provinces. In *France* besides the civil, the customs of *Burgundy*, *Blois*, *Berry*, *Nivernois*, and *Lodunois*, &c. *Tous lieux situes & assis en Lodunois, seront gouvernez selon les costumes du dit Pays* ; All places lying within the precincts of *Lodunois*, shall be governed according to the customs of that place. There are also in *France* the customs of *Normandy*, and these of two kinds, general and local ; and all purged and reformed by divers acts of the three estates. The charters of confirmation of these ancient customs, before and since their reformation, have these words : *Nos autem registrum prædictum, usus laudabiles, & consuetudines antiquas, &c. laudamus, approbamus, & auctoritate regia confirmamus* ; The register aforesaid, laudable use, and ancient customs, we praise, approve, and by our kingly authority confirm. The common law of *England* is also compounded of the ancient customs of the same, and of certain maxims by those customs of the realm approved. Upon which customs also are grounded those courts of *Record*, of the *Chancery*, *King's Bench*, *Common Pleas*, and *Exchequer*, with other small courts.

These ancient customs of *England* have been approved by the kings thereof, from age to age : as that custom by which no man shall be taken, imprisoned, disseised, nor otherwise destroyed, but he must first be put to answer by the law of the land, was confirmed by the statute of *Magna Charta*. It is by the ancient custom of *England*, that the eldest son should inherit without partition : in *Germany*, *France*, and elsewhere otherwise, and by partition. In *Ireland* it is the custom for all lands (that have not been resigned into the king's hands) that the eldest of the house shall enjoy the inheritance during his own life : and so the second and third eldest (if there be so many brothers) before the heir in lineal descent : this is called the custom of *Tanistry*. For example, If a lord of land have four sons, and the eldest of those four have also a son, the three brothers of the eldest son shall, after the death of their brother, enjoy their father's lands before the grandchild : the custom being grounded upon the reason of necessity. For the *Irish* in former times having always lived in a subdivided civil war, not only the greatest against the greatest, but every baron and gentleman one against another, were inforc'd

^a In leg. 6. ff. de justitia juro.

^b Dion. Hal.

^c C. Sigon. l. 1. out of Pomponius.

^d Art. 3. tit. 5. G. Cull.

to leave successors of age and ability to defend their own territories. Now as in *Normandy, Burgundy*, and other provinces of *France*, there are certain peculiar, and petty customs, besides the great and general custom of the land; so are there in *England*, and in every part thereof. But the greatest bulk of our laws, as I take it, are the acts of parliament: laws propounded and approved by the three estates of the realm, and confirmed by the king, to the obedience of which all men are therefore bound, because they are acts of choice, and self-desire. ^a *Leges nulla alia causa nos tenent quam quod judicio populi receptæ sunt*; The laws do therefore bind the subjects, because they are received by the judgment of the subject. ^b *Tum demum humanæ leges habent vim suam, cum fuerint non modo institutæ, sed etiam firmatæ approbatione communitatis*; It is then that human laws have their strength, when they shall not only be devised, but by the approbation of the people confirmed.

Isidore fastneth these properties to every Christian law, that the same be honest, that it be possible, that it be according to nature, and according to the custom of the country; also for the time and place convenient, profitable, and manifest, and without respect of private profit, that it be written for the general good. He also gives four effects of the law, which *Modestinus* comprehends in two: to wit, obligation and instigation: the former binds us by fear, to avoid vice: the latter encourageth with hope, to follow virtue. For, according to *Cicero*, *Legem oportet esse vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricemque virtutum*; It behoveth the law to be a mender of vices, and a commender of virtues. The part obligatory or binding us to the observation of things commanded or forbidden, is an effect common to all laws: and it is two-fold, the one constraineth us by fear of our consciences, the other by fear of external punishment. These two effects the law performeth, by the exercise of those two powers, to wit, *Coactive* and *Directive*.

The second of these two effects remembered by *Modestinus*, is instigation, or encouragement to virtue, as *Aristotle* makes it the end of the law, to make men virtuous. For laws being such as they ought to be, do, both by prescribing and forbidding, urge us to well-doing: laying before us the good and the evil, by the one and the other purchased. And this power affirmative commanding good, and power negative forbidding evil, are those into which the law is divided, as touching the matter: and in which *David* comprehendeth the whole body and substance thereof: saying, ^c *Declina à malo & fac bonum*; Decline from evil, and do good.

SECT. XVI.

That only the prince is exempt from human laws, and in what sort.

NOW whether the power of the human law be without exception of any person, it is doubtfully disputed among those that have written of this subject, as well divines as lawyers; and namely, whether sovereign princes be compellable; yea, or no? But whereas there are two powers of the law, as aforesaid, the one *Directive*, the other *Coactive*: to the power *Directive*, they ought to be subject, but not to that which constraineth. For as touching violence or punishment, no man is bound to give a prejudicial judgment against himself: and if equals have not any power over each other, much less have inferiours over their superiours, from whom they receive their authority and strength.

And speaking of the supreme power of laws, simply then is the prince so much above the laws, as the soul and body united, is above a dead and senseless carcase. For the king is truly called, *Jus vivum & lex animata*; An animate and living law. But this is true, that by giving authority to laws, princes both add greatness to themselves, and conserve it, and therefore was it said of *Bracton* out of *Justinian*. *Merito debet rex tribuere legi, quod lex attribuit ei: nam lex facit ut ipse sit rex*; Rightfully ought the king to attribute that to the law, which the law first attributeth to the king; for it is the law that doth make kings.

But whereas ^d *Bracton* ascribeth this power to the human law, he is therein mistaken. For kings are made by God, and laws divine: and by human laws only declared to be kings. As for the places remembered by the divines and lawyers, which infer a kind of obligation of princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of conscience, and profit arising from the examples of virtuous princes, who are to give an account of their actions to God only.

^e *Tibi soli peccavi*, saith *David*; Against thee only have I sinned: therefore the prince cannot be said to be subject to the law. *Princeps non subicitur legi*: for seeing, according to the schoolmen, the law human is but *Quoddam organum & instrumentum potestatis gubernativæ: non videtur posse ejus obligatio ad eum se extendere, ad quem ipsa vis potestatis humanæ non pertinet: sed vis potestatis humanæ non se extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa residet. Ergo neque lex condita per talem potestatem obligare potest ipsum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia activa, est principium transmutandi aliud*: Seeing human law (say they) is but a kind of organ or instrument of the power that governeth, it seems that it cannot extend it self to bind any one whom no human power can controul, or lay hold of: but the governour himself, in whom the governing power doth reside, is a person that cannot by himself, or by his own power be controuled. And therefore the law which is made by such a power, cannot bind the law-maker himself: for every active ability is a cause or principle of alteration in another body, not in the body in which itself resides. And seeing princes have power to deliver others from the obligation of the law. ^f *Ergo etiam potest ipsemet princeps sive legislator sua se voluntate prohibito ab obligatione legis liberare*; Therefore also may a prince or law-maker at his own will and pleasure deliver himself from the bond of the law. Therefore in the rules of the law it is thus concluded. *Subditi tenentur leges observare necessitate coactionis, princeps vero sola voluntate sua, & intuitu boni communis*; The subjects are bound to fulfil the law by necessity of compulsion, but the prince only by his own will, and regard of the common good.

Now concerning the politic laws, given by *Moses* to the nation of the *Israelites* whether they ought to be a precedent, from which no civil institutions of other people should presume to digress, I will not presume to determine, but leave it as a question for such men to decide, whose professions give them greater ability. Thus much I may be bold to affirm, that we ought not to seem wiser than God himself, who hath told us, that there are no laws so righteous as those which it pleased him to give to his elect people to be governed by. True it is, that all nations have their several qualities, wherein they differ, even from their next borderers, no less than in their peculiar languages, which disagreeable conditions to govern aptly one

^a Ulp. ff. de Leg. Leg. 32.

^b Aug. de vera relig. cap. 31.

^c Psal. 37. ^d Bract.

^e Greg. de Valentia de leg.

and the same law very hardly were able. The *Roman* civil laws did indeed contain in order, a great part of the then known world, without any notable inconvenience, after such time as once it was received and become familiar: yet was not the administration of it alike in all parts, but yielded much unto the natural customs of the sundry people, which it governed. For whether it be thro' a long continued persuasion; or (as astrologers more willingly grant) some influence of the heavens; or peradventure some temper of the soil and climate, affording matter of provocation to vice (as plenty made the *Sybarites* luxurious: want and opportunity to steal, makes the *Arabians* to be thieves) very hard it were to forbid by law, an offence so common, with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be distinguished from just and honest. By such rigour was the kingdom of *Congo* unhappily diverted from the Christian religion, which it willingly at the first embraced, but after with great fury rejected, because plurality of wives was denied unto them, I know not how necessarily, but more contentiously than seasonably. In such cases, methinks, it were not amiss to consider, that the High God himself permitted some things to the *Israelites*, rather in regard of their natural disposition (for they were hard-hearted) than because they were consonant unto the ancient rules of the first perfection. So, where even the general nature of man doth condemn (as many things it doth) for wicked and unjust; there may the law given by *Moses*, worthily be deemed the most exact reformer of the evil, which forceth man, as near as may be, to the will and pleasure of his Maker. But where nature or custom hath entertained a vicious, yet not intolerable habit, with so long and so publick approbation, that the virtue opposing it, would seem as uncouth, as it were to walk naked in *England*, or to wear the *English* fashion of apparel in *Turky*: there may a wise and upright law-giver, without presumption, omit somewhat that the rigour of *Moses's* law required; even as the good king *Hzechiah* did, in a matter merely ecclesiastical, and therefore the less capable of dispensation, praying for the people; *"The good Lord be merciful unto him, that prepareth his whole heart to seek the Lord, the God of his fathers, tho' he be not cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary: which prayer the Lord heard and granted."*

To this effect it is well observed by *Dr. Willet*, that the moral judicials of *Moses* do partly bind, and partly are let free. They do not hold affirmatively that we are tied to the same severity of punishment now, which was inflicted then; but negatively they do hold, that now the punishment of death should not be adjudged, where sentence of death is not given by *Moses*: Christian magistrates ruling under Christ the *Prince of peace*, that is, of clemency and mercy, may abate of the severity of *Moses's* law, and mitigate the punishment of death, but they cannot add unto it to make the burden more heavy: for to shew more rigour than *Moses*, becometh not the gospel.

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath been the subject of many learned discourses, neither will I take upon me to speak any thing definitively in a case which dependeth still in some controversy among worthy divines. Thus much (as in honour of the judicial law, or rather of him that gave it) I may well and truly say, that the defence of it hath always been very plausible. And surely, howsoever they be not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a general and

only law; yet shall we hardly find any other ground, whereon the conscience of a judge may rest, with equal satisfaction, in making interpretation, or giving sentence upon doubts, arising out of any law besides it. Hereof, perhaps, that judge could have been witness, of whom *Fortescue*, that notable bulwark of our laws, doth speak, complaining of a judgment given against a gentlewoman at *Salisbury*, who being accused by her own man, without any other proof, for murdering her husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to ashes: the man who accused her, within a year after being convicted for the same offence, confessed that his mistress was altogether innocent of that cruel fact, whose terrible death he then (tho' over-late) grievously lamented: but this judge, saith the same author, *'Sæpius ipse mihi fassus est, quod nunquam in vita sua animum ejus de hoc facto ipse purgaret'*; He himself often confessed unto me, that he should never, during his life, be able to clear his conscience of that fact. Wherefore that acknowledgment which other sciences yield unto the metaphysicks, that from thence are drawn propositions, able to prove the principles of sciences, which out of the sciences themselves cannot be proved, may justly be granted by all other politick Institutions, to that of *Moses*; and so much the more justly, by how much the subject of the metaphysicks, which is, *Ens quatenus Ens*, Being as it is being, is infinitely inferiour to the *Ens Entium*, The being of beings, the only good, the fountain of truth, whose fear is the beginning of wisdom. To which purpose well saith *St. Augustine*, *Conditor legum temporalium si vir bonus est & sapiens, illam ipsam consulit eternam, de qua nulli animæ judicare datum est*; The author of temporal laws, if he be good and wise, doth therein consult the law eternal, to determine of which there is no power given to any soul. And as well prince *Edward*, in *Fortescue's* discourse, *Nemo potest melius aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quam posuit Dominus*; No man can lay a better or another foundation, than the Lord hath laid.

C H A P. V.

The story of the Israelites from the receiving of the law, to the death of Moses.

S E C T. I.

Of the numbering and disposing of the host of Israel, for their marches through the wilderness: with a note of the reverence given to the worship of God, in this ordering of their troops.

WHEN *Moses* had received the law from God, and published it among the people, and finished the tabernacle of the ark and sanctuary; he mustered all the tribes and families of *Israel*: and having seen what numbers of men, fit to bear arms, were found in every tribe, from 20 years of age upwards; he appointed unto them, by direction from the Lord, such princes and leaders, as in worth and reputation were in every tribe most eminent. The number of the whole army was 603550 able men for the wars, besides women and children; also, besides the strangers which followed them out of *Egypt*. This great army was divided by *Moses* into four gross and mighty battalions, each of which contained the strength of three whole tribes.

^a 2 Chron. 30. 18, 19.

^b Isaiah 9.

^c Cap. 5. 3.

The first of these containing 186400 able men, consisted of three regiments, which may well, in respect of their numbers, be called armies; as containing the three whole tribes of *Judah*, *Issachar*, and *Zabulon*. In the tribe of *Judah* were 74600 fighting men, led by *Naasson*: in *Issachar* 54400 led by *Netbaneel*: in *Zabulon* 57400 led by *Eliab*. All these marched under the standard of the tribe of *Judah*, who held the van-guard, and was the first that moved and marched, being lodged and quartered at their general incamping on the east-side of the army; which was held the first place, and of greatest dignity.

The second battalion, or army, called in the scriptures the host of *Reuben*, had joined unto it *Simeon* and *Gad*, in number 151,450. All which marched under the standard of *Reuben*. In the tribe of *Reuben* were 46500 under *Elizur*: in *Simeon* 59300 under *Shelumiel*: in *Gad* 45650 under *Elisaph*. These had the second place, and incamped on the south-side of the tabernacle.

The third army marched under the standard of *Ephraim*, to whom were joined the regiments of *Manasseh* and *Benjamin*; who joined together, made in number 108100 able men. These marched in the third place, incamping on the west quarter of the tabernacle. *Ephraim* had 40500 under *Elisbama*: *Manasseh* 32200 under *Gamaliel*: *Benjamin* 35400 under *Abidam*.

The fourth and last army, or squadron, of the general army, containing 157600 able men, marched under the standard of *Dan*; to whom were joined the two tribes of *Nephtali* and *Asher*. And these had the re-re-ward, and moved last, incamping on the north-side. *Dan* had 62700 under *Abiezzer*: *Asher* 41500 under *Pagiel*: *Nephtali* 53400 under *Ahira*.

Besides these princes of the several tribes, there were ordained captains over thousands, over hundreds, over fifties, and over tens; as it may appear by that mutiny and insurrection against *Moses*, *Numbers* xvi. 1, 2. For there arose up against *Moses* 250 captains of the *Assembly, famous in the congregation, and men of renown*: of which number were *Korab*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. Which three principal mutineers, with those 250 captains that followed them, were not any of the twelve princes of the tribes, or general colonels before spoken of, as by their names *Numb.* i. is made manifest.

The blessing which *Israel* gave to his children, took place not only in the division of the land of *Promise*, and other things of more consequence, long after following; but even in sorting them under their several standards in the wilderness it was observed. For *Judah* had the precedency and the greatest army, which also was wholly compounded of the sons of *Leah*, *Jacob's* wife. *Reuben* having lost his birth-right, followed in the second place, accompanied with his brother *Simeon*, who had undergone his father's curse; and with *Gad*, the son of his mother's hand-maid. *Joseph*, who in temporal blessings had the prerogative of the first-born a double portion, was accounted as two tribes, and divided into two regiments: the younger (according to *Jacob's* prophecy) taking place before the elder. He was assisted by *Benjamin*, his best beloved brother, the other son of *Rachel*. To *Dan*, the eldest son of *Jacob's* concubines, was given the leading of the fourth army, according to *Jacob's* prophecy. He had with him under his standard none of the children of *Leah*, or *Rachel*, but only the sons of the hand-maids.

In the middle of these four armies, was the tabernacle, or portable temple of the congregation

carried, surrounded by the *Levites*. Near unto which, as the heathens and pagans could not approach, by reason of these four powerful armies, which guarded the same: so was it death for any of the children of *Israel* to come near it, who were not of the *Levites*, to whom the charge was committed. So sacred was the movable temple of God, and with such reverence guarded and transported, as 22000 persons were dedicated to the service and attendance thereof: of which 8580 had the peculiar charge, according to their several offices and functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the armies of the people observed the former order in their incampings: so did the *Levites* quarter themselves, as in an inner square, on every side of the tabernacle; the *Gershurites* on the west, within the army and standard of *Ephraim*, over whom *Elisaph* commanded, in number 7500. The family of *Cobath* on the south side, guided by *Elizaphan*, within the army of *Reuben*, and between him and the tabernacle, in number 8600. The third company were of the family of *Merari*, over whom *Zuriel* commanded, in number 6200, and these were lodged on the north side within the army of *Dan*; on the east side, and next within those tribes and forces which *Judah* led, did *Moses* and *Aaron* lodge, and their children, who were the first and immediate commanders, both of the ceremonies, and of the people; under whom, as the chief of all the other *Levitical* families, was *Eleazar* the son of *Aaron*, his successor in the high priesthood.

This was the order of the army of *Israel*, and of their incamping and marching: the tabernacle of God being always set in the middle and center thereof. The reverend care, which *Moses* the prophet and chosen servant of God, had in all that belonged even to the outward and least parts of the tabernacle, ark and sanctuary, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeal borne towards God himself. The industry used in the framing thereof, and every, and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expence in the provisions; the dutiful observance in the laying up and preserving the holy vessels; the solemn removing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the provident defence of the same, which all ages have in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away in this superfluous age, by those of the family, by the *Anabaptist*, *Brownist*, and other sectaries, as all cost and care bestowed and had of the church, wherein God is to be served and worshipped, is accounted a kind of popery, and as proceeding from an idolatrous disposition: insomuch as time would soon bring to pass (if it were not refilled) that God would be turned out of churches into barns, and from thence again into the fields and mountains, and under the hedges; and the offices of the ministry (robbed of all dignity and respect) be as contemptible as these places; all order, discipline, and church-government, left to newness of opinion, and mens fancies: yea, and soon after, as many kinds of religions would spring up, as there are parish-churches within *England*: every contentious and ignorant person cloathing his fancy with the spirit of God, and his imagination with the gift of *Revelation*; insomuch as when the truth, which is but one, shall appear to the simple multitude, no less variable than contrary to itself, the faith of men will soon after die away by degrees, and all religion be held in scorn and contempt. Which distraction gave a great prince of *Germany* cause of this answer to those that persuaded him to become a *Lutheran*,

Si me adjungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab aliis; si me aliis adjungo, a vobis condemnor; quid fugiam video, sed quid sequar non habeo; If I adjoin myself to you, I am condemned by others; if I join with others, I am condemned by you; what I should avoid I see, but I know not what I should follow.

S E C T. II.

The offerings of the twelve princes: the passover of the second year: the departing of Jethro.

NOW when *Moses* had taken order for all things necessary, provided for the service of God, written the laws, numbred his army, and divided them into the battles and troops before remembered, and appointed them leaders of all sorts: the twelve princes or commanders of the tribes, brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, six covered chariots, and twelve oxen to draw them, therein to transport, as they marched, the parts of the tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto, the sanctuary excepted; which for reverence was carried upon the shoulders of the sons of *Korah*, to whom the charge was committed; and the chariots in which were conveyed the other parts of the tabernacle and vessels thereto belonging, were delivered to the *Levites* for that service, namely to the sons of *Gershan* and *Merari*.

Besides these chariots, each of these commanders, princes, or heads of tribes, offered unto God, and for his service in the temple, a charger of fine silver, weighing 130^b sheckles: a silver bowl of 70 sheckles: after the sheckle of the sanctuary: and an incense cup of gold of ten sheckles; which they performed at the same time when the altar was dedicated unto God by *Aaron*: and before they marched from *Sinai* towards their conquest: besides the beasts which they offered for sacrifice, according to the law ceremonial, the weight of all the twelve silver chargers, and twelve silver bowls, amounted unto 2400 sheckles of silver: and the weight of gold in the incense cups, to 120 sheckles of gold: which makes of sheckles of silver 1200, every sheckle of gold valuing ten of silver; so that the whole of gold and silver which they offered at this time, was about 420 *l. Ster.* This done, *Moses*, as in all the rest by the spirit of God conducted, gave order for the celebrating of the passover: which they performed on the 14th day of the second month of the second year: and on the 20th day of the same the cloud was lifted up from above the tabernacle, as a sign of going forward; *Moses* beginning his march with this invocation to God, *Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee, fly before thee.* Then all the people of *Israel* removed from their encamping at the foot of the mountain *Sinai*, towards *Paran*; the army or great squadron of *Juda*, led by *Naafon*, taking the vanguard, followed by *Nethaneel* and *Eliab*, leaders of the tribes of *Issachar* and *Zabulon*: after whom the rest marched as in the figure express'd. And because the passage thro' so many deserts and mountains was exceeding difficult: *Moses* leaving nothing unforesight which might serve for the advancement of his enterprize, he instantly entreated his father-in-law, whom in *Numbers* x. he calleth *Hobab*, to accompany them in their journey towards *Canaan*: promising

him such part and profit of the enterprize, as God should bestow on them: for this man as he was of great understanding and judgment (as appeared by the counsel he gave to *Moses* for the appointing of judges over the people) so was he a perfect guide in all those parts, himself inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at *Midian* or *Madian*: and (as it seemeth) a man of great years and experience, for he was then the priest or prince of *Madian*, when *Moses* fled first out of *Egypt*, and married his daughter: which was 42 years before this request made. And tho' *Moses* himself had lived forty years in these parts of *Arabia*, thro' which he was now to travel: yet the better to assure his passage, and so great a multitude of souls, which could not be so few as a million, it was necessary to use many guides and many conductors. To this request of *Moses* it may seem by the places, *Exod.* xviii. 27. and *Numb.* x. 30. that *Jethro*, otherwise called *Hobab*, yielded not: for it is evident, that he went back from *Moses* into his own country. But because it appeareth by other places of scripture, that the posterity of this *Hobab* was mingled with the *Israelites*: it is most likely that this his return to his own country was rather to fetch away his family, and to take his leave of his own country, by setting things in order, than to abide there.

S E C T. III.

The voyage from Horeb to Kades: the mutinies by the way: and the cause of their returning back to the Red sea.

AFTER this dismissal of *Hobab*, *Israel* began to march towards the deserts of *Paran*: and after three days wandring, they sat down at the sepulchres of lust, afterward called *Tabera*, or *Incenso*: by reason that God consumed with fire those mutineers and murmurers, which rose up in this remove, which happened about the 23d day of the same month. And from this 23d day of the second month, of the second year, they rested, and fed themselves with quails (which it pleased God by a sea-wind to cast upon them) to the 24th day of the third month, to wit, all the month of *Sinan* or *June*; whereof surfeiting, they died great numbers: from whence in the following month, called *Thamus*, answering to our *July*, they went on to *Hazereth*: where *Miriam* the sister of *Moses* was stricken with the leprosy, which continued upon her seven days, after whose recovery *Israel* removed toward the border of *Idumea*: and encamped at *Rithma*, near *Kades Barnea*, from whence *Moses* sent the twelve discoverers into the territory of *Canaan*: both to inform themselves of the fertility and strength of the country: as also to take knowledge of the ways, passages, rivers, fords and mountains. For *Arad* king of the *Canaanites* surprized divers companies of the *Israelites*, by lying in ambush near those ways, thro' which the discoverers and searchers of the land had formerly pass'd. Now after the return of the discoverers of *Kades*, the wrath of God was turned against *Israel*; whose ingratitude and rebellion after his so many benefits, so many remissions, so many miracles wrought, was such, as they esteemed their deliverance from the *Egyptian* slavery, his feeding them, and conducting them thro' that great and terrible wilderness (for so *Moses* calleth it) with the victory

^a Numb. 7. ^b The Hebrew *gerah* weigheth sixteen grains: so a *gerah* of silver is about three half pence Sterling: the sheckle of the sanctuary (as it is expounded *Exod.* 30. 13.) containeth 20 *gerahs*, so a sanctuary sheckle of silver is about seven pence: the common sheckle is but half so much, to wit, ten *gerahs*, as it is usually expounded; the *Vallapandus* labours to prove that the common and the sanctuary sheckle were all one. Numb. 9. 5. Numb. 10. 11. *Exod.* xl. 34. Numb. 9. 17. ^c *Judg.* 1. 16 and 4. 11. Also 1 Sam. 15. 6. and 2 Reg. 10. 15. 1 Chron. 2. 55. Jer. 35. ^d Numb. 11. 12 and 13. ^e Numb. 21. ^f Deut. 1. 19. ^g Deut. 1. 27

which he gave them against the powerful *Amalekites*, to be no other than the effects of his hatred, thinking that he led them on and preserved them, but to bring them, their wives and children to be slaughtered, and given for a prey and spoil to the *Amorites* or *Canaanites*. For it was reported unto them, by the searchers of the land, that the cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many strong towers and castles: that many of the people were giant-like (for they confess'd that they saw the sons of *Anak* there) who were men of fearful stature, and so far over-topped the *Israelites*, as they appeared to them, and to themselves, but as grasshoppers in their respect. Now as this mutiny exceeded all the rest, wherein they both accused God, and consulted to chuse them a captain (or as they call it now-a-days an *Eleto*) to carry them back again into *Egypt*: so did God punish the same in a greater measure, than any of the former. For he extinguished every soul of the whole multitude (*Joshua* and *Caleb* excepted) who being confident in God's promises, persuaded the people to enter *Canaan*, being then near it, and at the mountain foot of *Idumea*, which is but narrow, laying before them the fertility thereof, and assuring them of victory. But as men, whom the passion of fear had bereaved both of reason and common sense: ^a they threatened to stone these encouragers to death, accounting them as men either desperate in themselves, or betrayers of the lives, goods, and children of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God resisted these wicked purposes, and interposing the fear of his bright glory between the unadvised fury of the multitude, and the innocency and constancy of his servants, preserved them thereby from their violence: threatening an entire destruction of the whole nation, by sending among them ^a ^b consuming and merciless pestilence. For this was the tenth insurrection and rebellion which they had made, since God delivered them from the slavery of the *Egyptians*. But ^c *Moses* (the mildest or meekest of all men) prayed unto God to remember his infinite mercies: alledging that this so severe a judgment, how deservedly soever inflicted, would increase the pride of the heathen nations: and give them occasion to vaunt that the God of *Israel* failing in power to perform his promises, suffered them to perish in these barren and fruitless desarts. Yet as God is no less just than merciful, as God is slow to anger, so is his wrath a consuming fire, the same being once kindled by the violent breath of man's ingratitude: and therefore, as with a hand less heavy than hoped for, he scourged this iniquity, so by the measure of his glory (evermore jealous of neglect and derision) he suffered not the wicked to pass unpunished; reserving his compassion for the innocent; whom, because they participated not with the offences of their fathers, he was pleased to preserve, and in them to perform his promises, which have never been frustrate.

S E C T. IV.

Of their unwillingness to return: with the punishment thereof, and of divers accidents in the return.

NOW when *Moses* had revealed the purposes of God to the people: and made them know his heavy displeasure towards them: they began to bewail themselves, tho' over-late: the times of grace and mens repentance, having also their appointment. And then when God left them to themselves, and was no more among them, after

they had so often play'd and dallied with his merciful sufferings; they would needs amend their former disobedience by a second contempt, and make offer to enter the land contrary again to the advice of *Moses*; who assured them, that God was not now among them: and that the ark of his covenant should not move, but by his direction, who could not err: and that the enemies sword, which God had hitherto bended and rebated, was now left no less sharp than death: and in the hands of the *Amalekites*, and *Canaanites* no less cruel. But as men, from whom God hath withdrawn his grace, do always follow those counsels which carry them to their own destructions: so the *Hebrews*, after they had forsaken the opportunity by God and their conductors offered, and might then have entred *Judea* before their enemies were prepared and joined; did afterwards, contrary to God's commandment, undertake the enterprize of themselves, and ran headlong and without advice into the mountains of *Idumea*. There the *Canaanites* and the *Amalekites* being joined and attending their advantage, set on them, brake them, and of their numbers slaughtered the greatest part: and following their victory and pursuit, consumed them all the way of their flight even unto *Hormah*: the *Amalekites*, in revenge of their former loss, and overthrow at *Raphidim*: the *Canaanites* to prevent their displantation and destruction threatened. Of which powerful assembly of those two nations (assisted in all likelihood with the neighbour kings joined together for their common safety) it pleased God to forewarn *Moses*, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For he commanded him to return by those painful passages of the desarts, thro' which they had formerly travelled, till they had found the banks of the *Red* sea again: in which retreat, before they came back to pass over *Jordan*, there were consumed 38 years: and the whole number of the six hundredth and odd thousand, which came out of *Egypt* (*Moses*, *Joshua* and *Caleb* excepted) were dead in the wilderness, the stubborn and careless generations were wholly worn out, and the promis'd land bestow'd on their children: which were increased to 600000, and more. For besides the double fault both of refusing to enter the land upon the return of the discoverers, and the presumption then to attempt it, when they were countermanded: it seemeth that they had committed that horrible idolatry of worshipping *Molech*, and the host of heaven. For altho' *Moses* doth not mention it, yet ^d *Amos* doth, and so doth the martyr *Stephen*; as also that the *Israelites* worshipped the sun and moon in after-times it is proved out of sundry other places.

Now after the broken companies were returned to the camp at *Kades*, *Moses*, according to the commandment received from God, departed towards the south from whence he came, to recover the shores of the *Red* sea. And so from *Kades* or *Rithma* he removed to *Remmonparez*, so called of abundance of pomegranates there found and divided among them. From thence he went on to *Libnah*, taking that name of the frankincense there found. From ^e *Libnah* he cross'd the valley, and sat down at *Reffa* near the foot of the mountain. And after he had rested there, he bended towards the west, and encamped at *Coelata*: where one of the *Hebrews*, for gathering broken wood on the *Sabbath*, was stoned to death. After which, *Moses* always keeping the valley, between two great ledges of mountains (those which bound the desert of *Zin*, and those of *Pharan*) cross'd the same from

^a Numb. 14. 10. ^b Numb. 14. 12. ^c Numb. 12. 3. ^d Amos 5. 25. Acts 7. 42. ^e 2 King. 17. 16. and 21. 3. and 23. 4, 5, 11. ^f Chron. 31. 7. Jerem. 19. 13, &c. ^g Numb. 33. 21. No. 11.

Ceelata, and marched eastward to the mountain of *Sapber*, or *Sepher*: this making the twentieth mansion. From thence he passed on to *Harada*; then to *Maceloth*; and then to *Thabab*; and so to *Thara* or *Thare*, the four and twentieth mansion. Where, while *Moses* rested, the people began that insolent and dangerous mutiny of *Korah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*: who, for their contempt of God and his ministers, were some of them swallowed up alive, and by the earth opening her mouth devoured; others, even two hundred and fifty which offered incense with *Korah*, were consumed with fire from heaven; and 14700 of their party, which murmured against *Moses*, stricken dead with a sudden pestilence: one of the greatest marvels and judgments of God, that hath been shewed in all the time of *Moses*'s government, or before. For among so great a multitude, those lay-men, who would have usurped ecclesiastical authority, were suddenly swallowed up alive into the earth with their families and goods; even while they sought to overthrow the order, discipline, and power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliously contending against the high priest and magistrate, to whom God had committed the government both of his Church and commonweal of his people. And the better to assure the people, and out of his great mercy to confirm them, it pleased him in this place also to approve by miracle the former election of his servant *Aaron*, by the twelve rods given in by the heads of the twelve tribes; of which *Moses* received one of every head and prince of his tribe: which being all withered and dry wands, and on every rod the name of the prince of the tribe written, and *Aaron*'s on that of *Levi*; it pleased God, that the rod of *Aaron* received by his power a vegetable spirit, and having lain in the tabernacle of the congregation before the ark one night, had on it both buds, blossoms, and ripe almonds.

From *Tharab* the whole army removed to *Me-thra*, and thence to *Esmona*, and thence to *Mose-roth*, (or *Masurit* after St. *Jerome*) and from *Mose-roth* to *Benejacon*: and so to *Gadgad*, which *Jerome* calleth *Gadgada*; thence to *Jetabata*, the thirtieth mansion; where from certain fountains of water gathered in one, *Andrichomius* maketh a river, which falleth into the *Red sea*, between *Madian* and *Ezion-gaber*.

Now altho' it be very probable, that at *Ezion-gaber*, where *Solomon* furnished his fleets for the *East-Indies*, there was store of fresh water; and tho' *Herodotus*, l. 3. maketh mention of a great river in *Arabia* the stony, which he calleth *Corys*, from whence, saith he, the inhabitants convey water in pipes of leather to other places, by which device the king of *Arabia* relieved the army of *Cambyfes*: yet is *Andrichomius* greatly deceived, as many times he is, in finding these springs at *Gadgad*, or *Jetabata*; being the nine and twentieth or thirtieth mansion. For it was at *Punon*, that those springs are spoken of, which in *Deut.* x. 7. is also called *Jetabata*, or *Jotbath*, a land of running waters, and which by probability fall into the river *Zared*, the next adjoining. And that these springs should fall into the *Red sea* at *Ezion-gaber*, or *Eloth*, I cannot believe, for the way thither is very long. And this I find in *Belonius*, that there are divers torrents of fresh water in those sandy parts of *Arabia*: which tho' they continue their course for a few miles, yet they are drunk up by the hot and thirsty sand, before they can recover the banks of the *Red sea*.

From *Jetabata*, *Moses* directed his journey towards the *Red sea*, and encamped at *Hebrona*; and from thence to *Ezion-gaber*: which city in *Josephus*'s time had the name of *Berenice*; and in *Jerome*'s, *Essia*. From thence keeping the sea and *Eloth* on his right hand, he turned towards the north, as he was by God commanded: ^a*Ezion-gaber* being the farthest place towards the south-east that *Moses* travelled in that passage.

It seemeth that *Ezion-gaber*, or *Azion-gaber*, *Eloth* and *Madian*, were not at this time in possession of the kings of *Edom*. For it is said, ^b*That the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron in the mount Hor, near the coast of the land of Edom*; so as the mount *Hor* was at that time on the border of *Idumea*. And if *Ezion-gaber*, and the other places near the *Red sea*, had at this time been subject to the *Idumeans*, *Moses* would have also demanded a free passage thro' them. It is true, that in the future the *Idumeans* obtained these places: for it is said, ^c*And they arose out of Midian, and came to Paran, and took men with them*; which were those companies that followed young *Hadad* of *Idumea* into *Egypt*, when he fled from *Joab*. Likewise it is said of *Solomon*, that he made a navy of ships in *Ezion-gaber* besides *Eloth*, in the land of *Edom*.

SECT. V.

Of *Moses*'s arrival at *Zin Kades*: and of the accidents while they abode there.

FROM *Ezion-gaber* he turned again towards the north, and pitched in the wilderness of *Zin*, which is *Kadesb*: or in *Beroth*, of the children of *Jacan*; where they sat down in the first month of the fortieth year after they left *Egypt*. For at the next mansion *Aaron* died in the first day of the fifth month of the fortieth year: the nine and thirtieth year taking end at *Ezion-gaber*. And at this city of *Kades* (for so it was thought to be) or near it, died ^d*Miriam*, or *Mary*, *Moses*'s sister, whose sepulchre was to be seen in St. *Jerome*'s time, as himself avoweth. From hence, ere they departed to mountain *Hor*, ^eall the people murmured most violently against *Moses*, by reason of the scarcity of water. For neither the punishments by fire from heaven; by being devoured and swallowed up by the earth; by the sudden pestilence which often seized them; nor any miracle formerly shewing either the love or wrath of God, could prevail with this nation any longer, than while they were full fed and satisfied in every of their appetites: but instead of seeking for help and relief at God's hands, when they suffered hunger, and thirst, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and casting ungratefully on *Moses* all their misadventures; yea, tho' they well knew, that their own fathers had left their bodies in the deserts, and that they were now entered into the fortieth year, wherein all their miseries were to take end. And being, as it were, in sight of the land promised, they again as obstinately tempted God as in former times, and neither trusted his promises, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of God are without beginning; so his mercies being without end, he commanded ^f*Moses* to strike a rock adjoining with his rod; and the waters issued out in a great abundance, with which both themselves and their cattle were satisfied. Nevertheless, because God perceived a kind of dissidence both in *Moses* and *Aaron*, at this place: therefore he per-

^a Deut. 2. ^b Numb. 20. 12. ^c 1 Kings 11. 18.

^d Numb. 20. 1. ^e Numb. 20. 3. ^f Numb. 20. 9.

mitted neither of them to enter the land promised; whereto perchance their worldly desires might invite them. But it pleased him to end the travels of *Aaron* at the mountain *Hor*, being the next, and 34th station. At which mountain of *Hor*, *Aaron* was despoiled of the garments of his priesthood, and the same put on *Eleazar* his son, as God had commanded. Which done, *Moses* and *Eleazar* defended the mountain; but God received *Aaron* on the top thereof, and he was no more seen.

Of this mountain called *Hor*, otherwise *Mosera*, as in *Deut.* x. 6. those *Horites* took name, which the *Idumeans* had formerly vanquished. Some there are which make *Mosera*, which was the 27th mansion, and *Mosera* which they write *Moseroth* for difference, which was the 34th mansion, and is also called *Hor*, to be two distinct places: because *Moses*, in passing from *Cadesbarne* towards *Eson-gaber*, incamped at *Mosera*, after he departed from *Ilesmona*, and before he came to *Benjaacan*. And this *Mosera*, which is also called *Hor*, he came unto after he left *Cades*, where *Miriam*, *Moses's* sister died; the first being the 27th, and the second being the 34th mansion. But for *Hor*, which is called *Mosera*, it should have been written, *Hor juxta Mosera*, *Hor* near *Mosera*; for it is but one root of a mountain, divided into divers tops, as *Sinai* and *Horeb* are: whercof the west part *Moses* calleth *Mosera*, and the east part *Horeb*. By the west part *Moses* incamped, as he pass'd towards the *Red* sea, on his left hand; by the east part, as he went back again northwards towards *Moab*: as in the description of *Moses's* passage thro' *Arabia*, the reader may perceive.

Now it was from *Cades*, before they came to *Hor*, because *Hor* belonged to *Edom*, that *Moses* sent messengers to the prince of *Idumea*, praying him that he might pass with the people of *Israel* thro' his territory into the land of *Canaan*, which bordered it. For it was the nearest way of all other from the city of *Kadesh*, where *Moses* then incamped; whereas otherwise taking his journey by the rivers of *Zared*, *Arnon*, and *Jordan*, he might have run into many hazards in the passage of those rivers, the far way about, and the many powerful kings, which commanded in those regions. Now the better to persuade the prince of *Idumea* herunto, *Moses* remembred him, that he was of the same race and family with *Israel*: calling him by the name of brother, because both the *Idumites* and *Israelites* were the sons of one father, to wit, *Isaac*; inferring thereby, that he had more reason to favour and respect them, than he had to assist the *Canaanites*; against whom *Esau* his ancestor had made war, and driven out the *Horites* (who were of their ancient races descended of *Cham*) out of the region of *Seir*, calling it by his own name *Edom*, or *Edumea*. He also making a short repetition of God's blessings bestowed on them, and of his purposes and promises, assured *Edom*, or the king thereof, that he would no way offend his people, or waste his country; but that he would restrain his army within the bounds of the common and king's highways, paying money for whatsoever he used, yea, even for the water, which themselves or their cattle should drink. For ^b *Moses* was commanded by God not to provoke the children of *Esau*. But the king of *Edumea* knowing the strength of his own country, the same being near *Canaan*, rampard with high and sharp mountains: and withal suspecting, as a natural wise man, that 600000 strangers being once entred his country, it would rest in their wills to give him law, resolvedly ^c refused them passage,

and delivered this answer to the messengers: That, ^d if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and resist them by all possible means. And not knowing whether such a denial might satisfy or exasperate, he gathered the strength of his country together, and shewed himself prepared to defend their passage. For it is written: *Then Edom came out against him* (to wit, *Moses*) *with much people, and with a mighty power*. Whereupon *Moses* considering, that the end of this enterprize was not the conquest of *Seir* or *Edumea*, and that the land promised was that of *Canaan*: like unto himself, who was of a natural understanding the greatest of any man, and the skilfullest man of war that the world had, he refused to adventure the army of *Israel* against a nation, which, being overcome, gave but a passage to invade others; and which by reason of the feat of their mountainous country, could not but have endangered, or (at least) greatly enfeebled the strength of *Israel*, and rendred them less able, if not altogether powerless, to have conquered the rest.

S E C T. VI.

Of their compassing Idumea and travelling to Arnon, the border of Moab.

HE therefore leaving the way of *Idumea*, turned himself towards the east, and marched towards the deserts of *Moab*. Which when *Arad* king of the *Canaanites* understood, and that *Moses* had blanced the way of *Edumea*; and knowing that it was *Canaan*, and not *Edom* which *Israel* aimed at, he thought it safest, rather to find his enemies in his neighbour's country, than to be found by them in his own: which he might have done with a far greater hope of victory, had *Moses* been inforced first to have made his way by the sword thro' *Idumea*, and thereby, tho' victorious, greatly have lessened his numbers. But altho' it fell out otherwise than *Arad* hoped for, yet being resolved to make trial what courage the *Israelites* brought with them out of *Egypt*, before they came nearer his own home, leading the strength of his nation to the edge of the desert, he set upon some part of the army; which, for the multitude, occupied a great space, and for the many herds of cattle that they drove with them, could not incamp so near together, but that some quarter or other was evermore subject to surprize. By which advantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance unexpected, he slew some few of the *Israelites*, and carried with him many prisoners.

Now it is very probable, that it was this *Canaanite*, or his predecessor, which joined his forces with the *Amalekites*, and gave an overthrow to those mutinous *Israelites*, which without direction from God by *Moses* would have entred *Canaan* from *Cadesbarne*. For it seemeth that the greatest number of that army were of the *Canaanites*, because in the first of *Deut.* 44. the *Amorites* are named alone without the *Amalekites*, and are said to have beaten the *Israelites* at that time. And this *Arad*, if he were the same that had a victory over *Israel* near *Cadesbarne*, or if it were his predecessor that then prevailed, this man finding that *Moses* was returned from the *Red* sea, and in his way towards *Canaan*, and that the south part of *Canaan* was first to be invaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of *Moses's* purpose to compass *Moab*, determined while he was yet in the desert to try the quarrel. And whereas it followeth in the 3d verse of the xiith chapter of *Numbers*, that the *Israelites* utterly destroy'd

^a Numb. 33. ^b Deut. 2. 4. ^c Numb. 20. 20, 21. ^d Numb. 20. ^e Numb. 14. 45

the *Canaanites* and their cities, they are much mistaken that think, that this destruction was presently performed by the *Israelites*. But it is to be understood, to have been done in the future, to wit, in the time of *Joshua*. For had *Moses* at that time entred *Canaan* in the pursuit of *Arad*, he would not have fallen back again into the desarts of *Zin* and *Moab*, and have fetched a wearisome and needless compass, by the rivers of *Zared* and *Arnon*.

Neither is their conjecture to be valued at any thing, which affirm, that *Arad* did not inhabit any part of *Canaan* it self, but that his territory lay without it, and near the mountain *Hor*. For *Hor* and *Zin* *Cades* were the south borders of *Edom*, and not of *Canaan*. And it was in the south of the land of *Canaan* that *Arad* dwelt: which south part of *Canaan* was the north part of *Edom*.

Again, *Horma* (for so far the *Israelites* after their victory pursued the *Canaanites*) is seated in the south of *Judea*. There is also a city of that name in *Simoon*. But there is no such place to the south of *Edom*. And were there no other argument, but the mutiny which followed presently after the repetition of this victory, it were enough to prove, that the same was obtained in the future, and in *Joshua's* time, and not at the instant of *Arad's* assault. For had the *Israelites* at this time sack'd the cities of *Arad*, they would not the next day have complained for want of water and bread. For where there are great cities, there is also water and bread. But it was in the time of *Joshua*, that the *Israelites* took their revenge, and after they had pass'd *Jordan*: *Joshua* then governing them; who in the xiith chapter and 14th verse, nameth this *Arad* by the name of his city so called; and with him the king of *Horma*: to which place the *Israelites* pursued the *Canaanites*. And he nameth them amongst those kings, which he vanquished and put to death.

Now after this assault and surprise by *Arad*, *Moses* finding that all entrance on that side was defended, he led the people eastward to compass *Idumea* and the *Dead* sea, and to make his entrance by *Arnon* and the plains of *Moab*, at that time in the possession of the *Amorites*. But the *Israelites*, to whom the very name of a desert was terrible, began again to rebel against their leader; till God by a multitude of fiery serpents (that is, by the biting of serpents, whose venom inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their error, and afterwards, according to his plentiful grace, cured them again by their beholding an artificial serpent, by his commandment set up.

From the mount *Hor*, *Moses* leaving the ordinary way, which lieth between the *Red* sea and *Cœlesyria*, incamped at *Zalmora*: and thence he removed to *Phunon*, where he erected the brazen serpent; making these journies by the edge of *Edumea*, but without it. For *Phunon* was sometime a principal city of the *Edomites*. Now where it is written in *Numbers* xxi. 4. That from mount *Hor*, they departed by the way of the *Red* sea, which grieved the people, it was not thereby meant that the *Israelites* turned back towards the *Red* sea; neither did they march (according to *Ponsæca*) *per viam, quæ habet a latere mare rubrum*, by the way that sided the *Red* sea; but indeed they cross'd, and went athwart the common way from *Galaad*, *Trachonitis*, and the countries of *Moab* to the *Red* sea, that is, to *Ezion-gaber*; *Eloth* and *Midian*: which way, as it lay north and south, so *Israel*, to shun the border of *Edom*, and to take the utmost east part of *Moab*, cross'd the common way towards the east, and then they turned again towards the north, as before.

From *Phunon* he went to *Oboth*; where they en-

tred the territory of *Moab*, adjoining to the land of *Suph*, a country bordering on the *Dead* sea; and from thence to *Abarim*, the 38th mansion, that is, where the mountains so called take beginning, and are as yet but small mountains of hills, on the east border of *Moab*; from whence they recovered *Dibon Gad*, or the river of *Zared*, which riseth in the mountains of *Arabia*, and runneth towards the *Dead* sea, not far from *Petra* the metropolis thereof, being the 39th station. And having pass'd that river, they lodged at *Dibon Gad*, and from thence they kept the way to *Diblatthaim*, one of the cities of *Moab*; which *Jeremy* (chap. xlviii. ver. 22.) calleth the *House of Diblatthaim*, the same which afterwards was destroy'd among the rest by *Nebuchadnezzar*. From thence they came to the river of *Arnon*, and incamped in the mountains of *Abarim*: tho' in *Numbers* xxii. *Moses* doth not remember *Helmondiblatthaim*, but speaketh of his remove from the river of *Zared*, immediately to the other side of *Arnon*; calling *Arnon* the border of *Moab*, between them and the *Amorites*: speaking, as he found the state of the country at that time. For *Arnon* was not anciently the border of *Moab*, but was lately conquered from the *Moabites*, by *Sehon*, king of the *Amorites*: even from the predecessor of *Balaac-Peor* then reigning. From *Diblatthaim*, *Moses* sent messengers to *Sehon* king of the *Amorites*, to desire a passage thro' his country: which tho' he knew would be denied him, yet he desired to give a reason to the neighbour nations, of the war he undertook. And tho' *Edom* had refused him as *Sehon* did, yet he had no warrant from God to enforce him. *Moses* also in sending messengers to *Sehon* observed the same precept, which he left to his posterity, and successors, for a law of the war, namely in *Deut.* xx. 10. in these words, *When thou comest near unto a city to fight against it, thou shalt offer it peace, which if it do accept of and open unto thee, then let all the people found therein be tributaries unto thee, and serve thee; but if it refuse, &c. thou shalt smite all the males thereof with the edge of the sword.* Which ordinance all commanders of armies have observed to this day, or ought to have done.

SECT. VII.

Of the book of the battles of the Lord, mentioned in this story, and of other books mentioned in scripture which are lost.

NOW concerning the war between *Israel* and *Sehon*, *Moses* seemeth to refer a great part of this story to that book, entitled, *Liber bellorum Domini*; The book of God's battles; and therefore passeth over many encounters, and other things memorable, with greater brevity in this place. His words after the *Geneva* translation are these: *Wherefore it shall be spoken in the book of the battles of the Lord, what things he did in the Red sea, and in the rivers of Arnon.* The *Vulgar* copy differeth not in sense from this: but the *Greek Septuagint* vary. For the *Greek* writes it to this effect, *For thus it is said in the book: the war of the Lord bath burnt (or inflamed) Zoob, and the brooks of Arnon.* *Junius*, for the *Red* sea, which is in the *Genevan*, and *Vulgar* edition, names the region of *Suph*, a country bordering the *Dead* sea towards the east, as he conjectureth. The text he readeth thus. *Idcirco dici solet in recensione bellorum Jehova, contra Vahobum in regione Suph: & contra flumina, flumina Arnonis*; Therefore it is spoken in repeating of the battles of *Jehovah*, against *Vahob* in the country of *Suph*: and against the rivers, the rivers

^a *Numb.* 33. 40. ^b *Numb.* 21. 14. ^c *Numb.* 21. 14. ^d Of the Country of *Suph*, see more, chap. 10. §. 4. t. 2. and of the force of the word *Suph*, also chap. 18. §. 3.

of *Arnon*. In which words he understands, that amongst the wars which the Lord disposed for the good of the *Israelites*, there was in those times a famous memory in the mouth of most men, concerning the war of *Sehon* against *Vabeb* the king of the *Moabites*, and of his winning the country near *Arnon*, out of the possession of the *Moabites*. For this *Vabeb* was the immediate predecessor of *Balac*, who lived with *Moses*; though it be written that this *Balac* was the son of *Zippor*, and not of *Vabeb*. For it seems (as it is plain in the succession of the *Edomites*) that these kingdoms were elective and not successive. And as *Junius* in this translation understandeth no special book of the battles of the Lord: so others, as *Vatablus* in his annotations, doubt whether in this place any special book be meant; and if any; whether it be not a prediction of wars in future ages, to be waged in these places, and to be written in the book of *Judges*. *Siracides*, cap. xlv. tells us plainly, that those battles of the Lord were fought by *Joshua*. *Who was there (saith he) before him like to him? for he fought the battles of the Lord.* But seeing the histories of the Scripture elsewhere often pass over matters of great weight in few words, referring the reader to other books, written of the same matter at large: therefore it seemeth probable, that such a book as this there was; wherein the several victories by *Israel* obtained, and also victories of other kings, making way for the good of the *Israelites*, were particularly and largely written. And that the same should now be wanting, it is not strange, seeing so many other volumes, filled with divine discourse, have perished in the long race of time, or have been destroy'd by the ignorant and malicious heathen magistrate. For the books of *Henoch*, howsoever they have been in later ages corrupted, and therefore now suspected, are remembered in an epistle of *Thaddæus*, and cited by *Origen* *περί ἀρχαῶν*, and by *Tertullian*.

That work also of the patriarch *Abraham*, of *formation*, which others bellow on *Rabbi Achiba*, is no where found. The books remembered by *Joshua*, chap. x. ver. 13. and in the 2d of *Samuel*, chap. i. ver. 18. called the *Book of Jasher*, or *Juthorim*, is also lost; wherein the stay of the sun and moon in the midst of the heavens is recorded, and how they stood still, till *Israel* had avenged themselves of their enemies: out of which also *David* took the precept of teaching the children of *Juda*, to exercise their bows against their enemies.

Some think this to be the book of eternal predestination, in which the just are written, according to *Psalms* xlix. 28. where it is said, *Let them be put out of the book of life, neither let them be written with the righteous.* *Jerome* thinks, that *David* by this book understood those of *Samuel*; *Rabbi Solomon*, that the books of the law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the just *Abraham*, of *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *Moses*, are written; others, that it was the book of *Exodus*; others, as *Theodoretus*, that it was a commentary upon *Joshua* by an unknown author.

The book of *Ghozai*, concerning *Manassah*, remembered in the 2d of *Chron.* xxxiii. 18, 19. Of this book, also lost, *Jerome* conceives that the prophet *Isaiab* was the author.

The same mischance came as well to the story of *Solomon*, written by *Abia Silonites*, who met with *Jeroboam*, and foretold him of his obtaining the kingdom of *Israel* from the son of *Solomon*: as to the books of *Nathan* the prophet, and

to those of *Jeedo* and *Seer*, remembered in the 2d of *Chron.* ix. 29. with these have the books of *She-maiab* and of *Iddo*, remembered in the 2d of *Chron.* xii. 15. perished: and that of *Jehu* the son of *Hanani*, of the acts of *Jehosaphat*, cited in the 2d of *Chron.* xx. 34. Also that book of *Solomon*, which the *Hebrews* write *Hascirim*, of 5000 verses, of which that part called *Canticum Canticorum* only remaineth, 1 *Kings* iv. 32. and with this divers others of *Solomon's* works have perished, as his book of the natures of trees, plants, beasts, fishes, &c. 1 *Kings* iv. 33. with the rest remembered by *Origen*, *Josephus*, *Jerome*, *Cedrenus*, *Cicco Asculanus*, *Picus Mirandula*, and others.

Of these and other books many were consumed with the same fire, wherewith *Nebuchadnezzar* burnt the temple of *Jerusalem*. But let us return thither where we left.

SECT. VIII.

Of *Moses's* sparing the issue of *Lot*: and of the giants of those parts: and of *Sehon* and *Og*.

WHEN *Moses* had past *Arnon*, he incamped on the other side thereof at *Abarim*, opposite to the city of *Nebo*, leaving the city of *Midian* on his left hand, and attempting nothing upon the *Moabites* on that side. For *Moab* did at this time inhabit on the south side of *Arnon*, having lost all his ancient and best territory, which was now in the possession of *Sehon* the *Amorite*. For *Moses* was commanded by God not to molest *Moab*, neither to provoke them to battle, God having given that land to the children of *Lot*; the same which was anciently possess'd by the *Emims*, who were men of great stature, and comparable to those giants called *Anakims*, or the sons of *Anac*.

God also commanded *Moses* to spare the *Ammonites*, because they likewise were descended of *Lot*: who had expelled from thence those giants, which the *Ammonites* called *Zamzummims*. For it seemeth that all that part, especially to the east of *Jordan*, even to the desert of *Arabia*, as well on the west, as on the east side of the mountains of *Gilead*, was inhabited by giants. And in the plantation of the land promised, the *Israelites* did not at any time pass those mountains to the east of *Bas-fan*, but left their country to them, as in the description following is made manifest. We find also, that as there were many giants both before and after the flood: so these nations, which anciently inhabited both the border of *Canaan*, and the land it fell, had among them many families of giant-like men. For the *Anakims* dwelt in *Hebron*, which sometimes was called the city of *Arbab*, which *Arbab* in *Joshua* is called the father of the *Anakims*; and the greatest man of the *Anakims*. There had also been giants in the land of the *Moabites*, called *Emims*: and their chief city was *Aroer* or *Ar*, near the river of *Arnon*. To the giants of the *Rephaims*, the *Ammonites* gave the name of *Zamzummims*; which were of the same ancient *Canaanites*: and their chief city was *Rabba*, afterwards *Philadelphia*. They were also called *Zuzims*, which is as much to say, as *Viri robusti, horrendique gigantes*; Strong men, and fearful giants, who inhabited other cities of *Ham*, or *Hom*, in the same province, and not far to the north of *Aroer*.

Now *Moses* having pass'd *Arnon*, and being incamped at *Abarim*; and having (as before) sent to *Sehon*, as he had done to *Edom*, to pray a passage through his country, was denied it. For *Sehon* being made proud by his former conquest up-

^a Num. 21. 6. ^b 1 Chron. 1. ^c Hieron. in quæst. super lib. Regum. ^d Hieron. in annot. in Paralip. ^e Deut. 2. 9.

^f Jos. 13. 13. ^g 14. 15.

on *Vahab* the *Moabite*, which nation the *Amorites* esteemed but as strangers and usurpers (themselves being of the sons of *Canaan*, and the *Moabites* of *Lot*) refused to grant *Israel* any entrance that way; and withal prepared to encounter *Moses* with as much speed as he could, because *Moses* incamped in the country of his new conquests, to wit, the plains of *Moab*, the 42d and last mansion: which *Moses* wasted with the multitude of his people and cattle. Towards him therefore hastening himself, they encountered each other at *Jabaz*: where *Sehon* with his children and people were broken and discomfited: and the victory so pursued by *Moses*, as few or none of the *Amorites* escaped. He also slaughtered all the women and children of the *Amorites*, which he found in *Essebon*, and all the other cities, villages, or fields; they being of the race of *Canaan*, as those of *Basan* also were: and descended of *Emoreus* or *Amoreus*: for ^a *Moses* calleth the *Basanites* also *Amorites*. And altho' *Israel* might now have taken a ready way and passage into *Judea*, being at this time, and after this victory, at the banks of *Jordan*: yet he knew it to be perilous to leave so great a part of that nation of the *Amorites* on his back, as inhabited all the region of *Basan* or *Traconitis*: and therefore he led on his army to invade *Og*, a person of exceeding strength and stature, and the only man of mark remaining of the ancient giants of those parts, and who at that time had 60 cities walled and defended: lying between the mountain of *Hermon* (which mountain, saith *Moses*, the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites* *Shenir*) and the river of *Jordan*. And it befell unto the king of *Basan* (who attended *Moses's* coming at *Edrei*) as it did unto *Sibon*: for he and his sons perished, and all his cities were taken and possessed. After this, *Moses* withdrawing himself back again to the mountains of *Abarim*, left the prosecution of that war unto *Jair* the son of *Manasseh*: who conquering the east parts of *Basan*, to wit, the kingdom of *Argob*, even unto the nations of the *Gessuri* and *Machati*, 60 walled cities: called the same after his own name *Havoth Jair*: of all which conquests afterwards the half tribe of *Manasseh* possess'd the north part as far as *Edrei*, but the east part that belonged to *Sibon* the *Amorite*, with the mountains of *Gilead* adjoining, was given to *Ruben* and unto *Gad*.

S E C T. IX.

Of the troubles about the Midianites, and of Moses's death.

After these victories, and while *Israel* sojourn'd in the valley of *Moab*, the *Midianites* and *Moabites* (over both which nations it seemeth that *Balaam* king of the *Moabites* then commanded in chief) sought, according to the advice of *Balaam*, both by alluring the *Hebrews* to the love of their daughters, and by persuading them to honour and serve their idols, to divide them both in love and religion among themselves: thereby the better both to defend their own interest against them, as also to beat them out of *Moab*, and the countries adjoining. The *Israelites*, as they had ever been inclined, so were they now easily persuaded to these evil courses, and thereby drew on themselves the plague of pestilence, whereof there perished ^b 24000 persons: besides which punishment of God the most of the offenders among the *Hebrews*, were by his commandment put to the sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that *Phineas* the son of *Eleazar* had pierced the bodies of *Zimri*, a prince of

the *Simeonites*, together with *Cosbi*, a daughter of one of the chief of the *Midianites*, the plague ceased, and God's wrath was appeased. For such was the love and kindness of his all-powerfulness, respecting the ardent zeal of *Phineas* in prosecuting of *Zimri* (who being a chief among the *Hebrews* became an idolater) as he forgave the rest of *Israel*, and stay'd his hand for his sake.

In this valley it was that *Moses* caused the people to be numbred the third time: and there remained of able men fit to bear arms ^c 601730, of which at his last enterprise, he appointed 12000 to be chosen out, to invade the cities of *Midian*, who, together with the *Moabites*, practised with *Balaam* to curse *Israel*: and after that sought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worship of the true God, to the service of *Beth-I'm*: and to the rest of their barbarous idolatry. Over which companies of 12000 *Moses* gave the charge to *Phineas*, the son of *Eleazar* the high priest: who slew the five princes of the ^d *Midianites*, which were, or had lately been, the vassals of *Sehon*, as appeareth by ^e *Joshua*. These five princes of the *Midianites* slain by *Eleazar*, were at that time but the vassals of ^f *Sehon* the *Amorite*, to wit, *Evi*, *Rekem*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Reba* the dukes of *Sehon*, saith *Joshua*. He slew also all the men, male children, and women: saving such as had not yet used the company of men, but those they saved and dispers'd them among the children of *Israel* to serve them.

And ^g *Moses* having now lived 120 years, making both his own weakness of body known to the people, and his inability to travel: and also that he was forewarned of his end by the spirit of God: from whom he received a new commandment to ascend the mountains of *Abarim*, and thereon to render up his life: he hastned to settle the government in *Joshua*: whom he persuaded with most lively arguments to prosecute the conquest begun, assuring him of God's favour and assistance therein. And so having spent these his latter days after the conquest of *Og* and *Sehon*, king of the *Amorites*, in the repetition and exposition of the law (or an iteration of the law, according to ^h St. *Augustine*) using both arguments, prayers, and threats unto the people: which he often repeated unto them; thereby to confirm them in knowledge, love, fear, and service, of the all-powerful God: he ⁱ blessed the twelve tribes, that of *Simeon* excepted, with several and most comfortable blessings: praising the greatness and goodness of him, unto whom in his prayers he commended them: he also commanded the priests to lay up the book of the law, by the side of the ark of God: the last that he indited was that propheticall song, beginning, ^k *I hearken ye heavens and I will speak, and let the earth hear the words of my mouth*: and being called by God from the labours and sorrows of this life, unto that rest which never afterwards hath disquiet, he was buried in the land of ^l *Moab*, over against *Beth-Peor*: but no man knoweth of his sepulchre to this day, which happened in the year of the world 2554.

S E C T. X.

Observations out of the story of Moses, how God disposeth both the smallest occasions, and the greatest resistances, to the effecting of his purpose.

NOW let us a little, for instruction, look back to the occasions of sundry of the great events, which have been mentioned in this story of the life of *Moses*, for (excepting God's miracles, his promise, and fore-choice of this people) he

^a Deut. 1. 8. ^b Numb. 25. 9. ^c Numb. 26. 51. ^d Numb. 31. 8. ^e Jos. 13. 21. ^f Jos. 13. 21. ^g Deut. 31. 2. ^h Aug. 1. 4. de Mirab. facr. script. ⁱ Deut. 33. ^k Deut. 32. 1. ^l Deut. 34. 6.

wrought in all things else by the medium of mens affections, and natural appetites. And so we shall find, that the fear which *Pharaoh* had of the increase of the *Hebrews*, multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next natural cause of the sorrows and loss, which befel himself, and the *Egyptian* nation: which numbers when he sought, by cruel and ungodly policies, to cut off and lessen, as when he commanded all the male children of the *Hebrews* to be slain, God (whose providence cannot be resisted, nor his purposes prevented by all the foolish and savage craft of mortal men) moved compassion in the heart of *Pharaoh's* own daughter, to preserve that child, which afterwards became the most wise, and of all men the most gentle and mild, the most excellently learned in all divine and human knowledge, to be the conductor and deliverer of his oppressed brethren, and the overthrow of *Pharaoh*, and all the flower of his nation; even then, when he sought by the strength of his men of war, of his horse and chariots, to tread them under, and bury them in the dust. The grief which *Moses* conceived of the injuries, and of the violence offered to one of the *Hebrews* in his own presence, moved him to take revenge of the *Egyptian* that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his own nation, by threatening him to discover the slaughter of the *Egyptian*, moved him to fly into *Midian*: the contention between the shepherds of that place, and *Jethro's* daughters, made him known to their father: who not only entertained him, but married him to one of those sisters: and, in that solitary life of keeping of his father-in-law's sheep, far from the press of the world, contenting himself (tho' bred as a king's son) with the lot of a poor herdsman, God found him out in that desert, wherein he first suffered him to live many years, the better to know the ways and passages thro' which he purposed that he should conduct his people toward the land promised: and therein appearing unto him, he made him know his will and divine pleasure for his return into *Egypt*. The like may be said of all things else, which *Moses* afterwards by God's direction performed in the story of *Israel* before remembred. There is not therefore the smallest accident, which may seem unto men as falling out by chance, and of no consequence: but that the same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by; yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either presently, or in many years after, when the occasions are either not considered, or forgotten.

CHAP. VI.

Of the nations with whom the Israelites had dealing after their coming out of Egypt; and of the men of renown in other nations, about the times of Moses and Joshua, with the sum of the history of Joshua.

SECT. I.

How the nations, with whom the Israelites were to have war, were divers ways, as it were, prepared to be their enemies.

IN like manner if we look to the quality of the nations, with whom the *Israelites*, after their coming out of *Egypt*, had to do, either in the wilderness, or afterwards: we shall find

them long before-hand, by the disposing providence of God, as it were prepared for enmity: partly in respect that they were most of them of the issue of *Canaan*, or at least of *Ham*: and the rest (as the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Ismaelites*) were mingled with them by mutual marriages: whereas the *Israelites* still continued strangers, and separate from them: and so partly in this respect, and partly by ancient injuries or enmities, and partly by reason of diversity in religion, were these nations, as it were, prepared to be enemies to the *Israelites*, and so to serve for such purposes as God had reserved them for. To make these things more manifest, we must understand, that this part of *Syria*, bounded by the mountains of *Libanus*, and *Zidon* on the north, by the same mountains continued as far as the springs of *Arnon* on the east: by the way of *Egypt*, and the *Red* sea on the south, and by the *Mediterranean* sea on the west: was inhabited and peopled by two nations, the one springing from the sons of *Cham*, the other from *Sem*: but those of *Sem*, were but as strangers therein for a long time, and came thither in effect but with one family, to wit, that of *Abraham*, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greatest part were the *Canaanites*, the ancient lords and possessors of those territories, by process of time divided into several families and names: whereof some of them were of eminent stature and strength, as the *Anakims*, *Zamzumims*, or *Zuzei*, *Emims*, *Horites*, and others. These (as men most valiant and able commonly do) did inhabit the utter borders and mountains of their countries: the rest were the *Zidonians*, *Jebusites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Hetites*, and others, who took name after the sons of *Canaan*, and after whom the country in general was still called.

As for the *Hebrews* which descended of *Shem* by *Abraham*, they were of another family, and strangers in that country: especially the *Israelites*, and this was some cause why the *Canaanites* did not affect them, or endure them: no more than the *Philistines* did, who descended also of *Cham* by *Mizraim*. For tho' *Abraham* himself being a stranger was highly esteemed and honoured among them, especially by the *Amorites* inhabiting the west part of *Jordan*: yet now even they which descended from *Abraham*, or from his kindred, abode and multiplied in those parts, were alienated in affections from the *Israelites*: as holding them strangers and intruders: making more account of their alliance with the *Canaanites*, and the rest of the issue of *Cham*, with whom they daily contracted affinity: than of their old pedigree from *Abraham*.

True it is, that these nations descended of *Abraham*, or of his kindred, who had linked themselves and matched with the *Canaanites* and others, had so far possessed themselves of the borders of those regions, as they began to be equal in strength to the bordering *Canaanites*, if not superiour. For of *Lot* came those two great families of the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*: of *Esau* the *Idumeans*: of *Madian* the *Madianites*: of *Ismael*, the eldest son of *Abraham*, came the *Ismaelites*, with whom are joined, as of the same nation, the *Amalekites*, whom tho' the more common opinion thinketh to have been a tribe of *Edom*, because *Esau* had a grandchild of that name, yet manifest reason convinceth it to have been otherwise. For the *Israelites* were forbidden to provoke the *Edomites*, or do them any wrong, whereas contrariwise *Amalek* was cursed, and endless war decreed against him: but hereof more elsewhere, Chap. viii. Sect. iii. Of

^a It also seemeth that *Hus*, the son of *Nachor*, and *Buz* his brother, planted themselves in the east-side of *Jordan* about *Basan*: where they find the land of *Hus*: in which both *Job* dwelt, as one of the issue of *Hus* the son of *Nachor*, and *Elshu* his friend, which is called a *Buzate*. See hereafter, Chap. 10. Sect. 7. ^b Exod. 17. 16. ^c Deut. 11. 5. ^d Deut. 11. 5.

^a*Ismael's* eldest son, *Naboth*, sprung the *Arabians* of *Petrea*, called *Nabathæi*. Now even as *Abraham* besought God to bless *Ismael*, so it pleased him both to ^bpromise and perform it. For of him those twelve princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that tract of land between *Havilah* upon *Tygris*, and *Sur*, which is the west part of the desert of *Arabia Petrea*. Yet howsoever the strength of these later named nations, which descended from *Abraham*, were great yet it is not unlikely but that some reason which moved them not to favour the entrance of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*, was in respect of fear: because all princes and states do not willingly permit any stranger or powerful nation to enter their territories. Wherefore, tho' all these families before named, were not so united, in and among themselves, but that they had their jealousies of each other, and contended for dominion; yet fearing a third more strong than themselves, whether they stood a-part, or united, they were taught by the care of their own preservation, to join themselves together against *Israel*; tho' they did it nothing so maliciously and resolvedly as the *Canaanites* did. For the *Idumeans* only denied the *Hebrews* a passage: which the *Moabites* durst not deny: because their country lay more open; and because themselves had lately been beaten out of the richest part of their dominions, by the *Amorites*: and as for the *Ammonites* their country lay altogether out of the way, and the strength of *Sehon* and *Og*, kings of the *Amorites*, was interjacent: and besides that, the border of the *Ammonites* was strong by reason of the mountains which divided it from *Bashan*. Again, that which moved the *Moabites* in their own reason not much to interrupt *Israel*, in the conquest of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, and of *Og* his confederate: was, that the *Moabites* might hope after such time as the *Amorites* were beaten by *Moses*, that themselves might recover again their own inheritance: to wit, the valleys and plains lying between the mountains of *Arabia* and *Jordan*: but as soon as *Sehon* was slain, and that the king of *Moab*, *Balaac*, perceived that *Moses* allotted that valley to the tribes of *Gad* and *Reuben*, he began to practise with *Balaam* against *Israel*, and by the daughters of *Midian*, as aforesaid, to allure them to idolatry. And thus at length the *Moabites* by special occasion were more and more stirred up to enmities against *Israel*. And as for divers of the rest that were descended from *Abraham's* kindred, we may note, how in the beginning, between the authors of their pedigrees, God permitted some enmity to be as it were prefiges of future quarrels, which in the posterity might be the easier incensed by the memory of old grudges: and withal by some disdain from the elder in nature to the younger. For the *Ismaelites* being descended from the eldest son of *Abraham*, and the *Edomites* from the eldest son of *Isaac*, *Jacob* being but a second son of a second brother, those princes which were descended of the elder houses, being natural men, might scorn to give place, much less to subject themselves to their inferiours, as they took it; and for a more aggravation, the issues of *Esau*, princes of *Idumea*, might keep in record, ^dthat their parent was bought out of his birth right by *Jacob's* taking his advantage, and that he was ^edeceived of his father's blessing also by him; and that ^f*Jacob* after reconciliation came not unto him, as he promised, unto *Seir*, or *Idumea*.

So also in the posterity of *Ismael*, it might remain as a seed, or pretence of enmity, that their

forefather was by the instigation of *Sarah* cast out into the desert, with his mother *Hagar*; and had therein perished, but that it pleased God by his angel to relieve them. *Ismael* also had an *Egyptian* both to his mother and to his wife: and *Amalek* was also an *Horite* by his mother; which *Horites* were of the ancient *Canaanites*. The *Idumeans* also, or *Edomites*, were by their maternal line descended of the *Canaanites*. For ^g*Esau* took two wives of that nation: one of them was *Adah* the daughter of *Elon* the *Hittite*, and the other *Aholibamah* the grand-child of *Zibeon* the *Hevite*, lord of *Seir*, before the same was conquered by *Esau*, and called after his name *Edom*, or *Edumæa*.

Lastly, It appears that all those families of the *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, &c. were in process of time corrupted, and drawn from the knowledge and worship of God, and became idolaters, infected and seduced by the conversation of those people among whom they dwelt, and by those wives of the *Canaanites* which they had married: only a few of the *Kenites*, and those *Midianites* which inhabited on the edge of the *Red sea*, whereof *Jethro* was priest, or prince, or both, worshipped the true and everliving God.

SECT. II.

Of the kings of the Canaanites and Midianites, mentioned in the ancient wars of the Israelites.

OF the kings of the *Canaanites*, descended of *Cham* (or *Melchizedek* may be thought to be of a better pedigree) we find four named by *Moses*, and thirty one remembered by *Joshua*, tho' few of these named, otherwise than by these cities over which they commanded; to which each of them had a small territory adjoining, and no other dominion. These *Canaanites* in a general consideration are to be understood for all those nations descended of *Cham* by *Canaan*, as the *Hittites*, *Jebusites*, *Amorites*, *Gergesites*, *Hevites*, &c. and so here we understand this name in speaking of the kings of the *Canaanites*: and so also we call the country of their habitation, the holy land, or the land of promise: for God hath appointed that the seven principal families should be rooted out: and that his own people should inherit their lands and cities. But if we consider of the name and nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by *Jordan* on the east, and by the *Mediterranean sea* on the west: in which narrow country, and in the choicest places thereof, those *Canaanites* which held their paternal name, chiefly inhabited.

The first kings of these nations, named in the scriptures, was ^h*Hamor*, or *Hever*, of the *Hevites*, whom *Siméon* and *Levi* slew, together with his son *Sichem*, in revenge of their sister's ravishment.

Arad was the second king which the scriptures have remembered, who had that part of *Canaan* towards the south, neighbouring *Edom* and the dead sea; the same which surprized *Israel*, as they encamped in the ⁱwilderness in the edge of *Idumea*.

The third named, was *Sehon* king of *Essebon*, who before *Moses's* arrival had beaten the *Moabites* out of the west part of *Arabia Petrea*, or *Nabathæa*, and thrust them over ^k*Arnon* into the deserts, the same whom *Moses* overthrew in the plains of *Moab*; at which time he took *Essebon*, and all the cities of the *Amorites*.

Presently after which victory, ^l*Og* was also slain by *Israel*, who commanded the north part of that valley between the mountains *Trachoni*, or *Galaad*, and *Jordan*, who was also a king of the ^m*Amorites*.

^a Exod. 17. 16. ^b Gen. 17. ^c Numb. 21. 24. ^d Gen. 25. ^e Gen. 27. ^f Gen. 33. 14. ^g Gen. 36. ^h Gen. 34. ⁱ Numb. 21. 1. ^k Numb. 21. 21. ^l Josh. 9. ^m Joseph. Ant. lib. 4. c. 5. ⁿ Numb. 21. 35.

The fifth was *Adonizedek*, king of the *Jebusites*, and of *Jerusalem*, with whom *Joshua* nameth four other kings.

Hobam king of *Hebron*.

Piram king of *Jarmuth*.

Japia king of *Lachis*, and

Deber king of *Eglon*; who were all ^a*Amorites*, overthrown in battle, and hanged by *Joshua*. After this overthrow, *Joshua* nameth *Jabin* king of *Hazor*, and

Jobab king of *Madon*; whom he also slaughtered, and took his cities: and this *Jabin* seemed to have some dominion over the rest, for it is said in the text, ^b*For Hazor before time was the head of all those kingdoms*.

After these *Adonibezek* that notorious tyrant is named; who confessed that he had cut off the thumbs of the hands and feet of seventy kings, enforcing them to gather crumbs under his table: who, after *Juda* and *Simeon* had used the same execution upon himself, acknowledged it to be a just revenge of God: this king was carried to *Jerusalem*, where he died.

The last king named is *Jabin* the second, who as it seemeth had rebuilt *Hazor*, burnt by *Joshua*. For at such time as he employed *Sisera* against *Israel*, whom he oppressed twenty years, after the death of *Ehud*, he inhabited *Hazor*. This *Jabin*, ^c*Barak* (encouraged by *Deborah*) overthrew; and his captain *Sisera* had by *Jael*, the wife of ^d*Heber* the *Kenite*, a nail driven into his head while he slept in her tent; *Jabin* himself perishing afterwards in that war.

The *Madianites* had also their kings at times, but commonly mixt with the ^e*Moabites*; and they held a corner of land in *Nabathea*, to the south-east of the dead sea. They descended from *Madian*, *Abraham*'s son by ^f*Keturah*. *Raguel* surname *Gethogleus* or *Jethres*, saith *Josephus*, called *Jethro* in *Exodus*, *Kenis* in the first of *Judges*, the son of *Dathan*, the grand-child of *Jexanis*, or *Joksham*, the great grand-child of *Abraham* by ^g*Keturah*, was priest or prince of the *Madianites* by the *Red sea*, whose daughter or niece *Moses* married; and of whom I have spoken elsewhere more at large. This *Jethro*, if he were not the same with *Hobab*, must be his father: and this *Hobab* had seven daughters. He guided *Moses* in the wilderness, and became one of the *Israelites*: of him descended the *Kenites*, so called of his father ^h*Raguel*'s surname, of which *Kenites* was *Heber*, which had peace with *Jabin* the second, even now remembered.

At such time as *Saul* invaded the *Amalekites*, he knowing the good affection of the *Kenites* to *Israel*, gave them warning to separate themselves: and yet the ⁱ*Kenites* had strong seats, and lived in the mountains of the deserts.

The kings of the *Canaanites*, and *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, as many as I find named, were these.

1. *Memor* the *Hevite* of *Sichem*.
2. *Arad* of the south parts.
3. *Sehon* of *Essebon*.
4. *Og* of *Basan*.
5. *Adonizedek* the *Jebusite*, king of *Jerusalem*.
6. ^j*Hobam* of *Hebron*.
7. *Piram* of *Jarmuth*.
8. *Japia* of *Lachis*.

9. *Debir* of *Eglon*.
10. *Jabin* of *Hazor*.
11. ^k*Jobab* of *Modon*.
12. *Adonibezek* of *Bezek*, and
13. *Jabin* the second king of *Hazor*.

Of the *MADIANITES* these:

^l*Evi* or *Evis*.

Rekam or *Recem*, who built *Petra*, the metropolis of *Petræa*, so called by the *Greeks*: and by *Isaiah* xvi. 1. and *Selah*, which is as much as *Petra*: and so also it is called 2 *Reg.* xiv. 7. where it is also called *Joktheel*.

Zur.

Hur, and

Reba.

^m*Oreb*.

Zeb.

Zebah.

Zalmunna.

After the death of *Barac*, judge of *Israel*, the four last named of these *Madianite* kings, vexed *Israel* seven years: till they being put to flight by *Gideon*, two of them, to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeb*, were taken and slain by the *Ephraimites*, at the passage of *Jordan*, as in the 6th, 7th, and 8th of *Judges* it is written at large. Afterwards in the pursuit of the rest, *Gideon* himself laid hands upon *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, or *Zalmunna*, and executed them, being prisoners; in which expedition of *Gideon* there perished 120000 of the *Madianites*, and their confederates. Of the *Idumeans*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, I will speak hereafter in the description of their territories.

SECT. III.

Of the *Amalekites* and *Ishmaelites*.

OF the kings of the *Amalekites*, and *Ishmaelites*, I find few that are named; and tho' of the *Ishmaelites* there were more in number than of the rest (for they were multiplied into a greater nation, according to the promise of God made unto ⁿ*Abraham*) yet the *Amalekites*, who together with the *Midianites*, were numbered among them, were more renowned in ^o*Moses*'s time than the rest of the *Ishmaelites*. So also were they when *Saul* governed *Israel*. For *Saul* pursued them from *Sur* into *Havilah*, to wit, over a great part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the desert. The reason to me seemeth to be this: That the twelve princes which came of *Ishmael*, were content to leave those barren deserts of *Arabia Petræa*, called *Shur*, *Paran* and *Sin*, to the issue of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, that joined with them (for so seem the *Amalekites* to have been, and so were the *Midianites*;) themselves taking possession of a better soil in *Arabia* the happy, and about the mountains of *Galaad* in *Arabia Petræa*. For *Nabaioth*, the eldest of those twelve princes, planted that part of *Arabia Petræa*, which was very fruitful, tho' adjoining to the desert, in which *Moses* wandred, afterwards called *Nabathea*: the same which neighboureth *Judea* on the east side. They also peopled a province in *Arabia* the happy, whereof the people were in after-times called *Napathei*, [b] changed into [p.]

^a Josh. 10. ^b Joseph. Ant. 1. 5. c. 1. ^c Josh. 11. 10. ^d Judg. 1. ^e Joseph. l. 5. c. 2. ^f Judg. 4. ^g Judg. 4. ^h Psal. 85. ⁱ Joseph. l. 5. c. 6. ^j Exod. 3. ^k Cedron. p. 34. ^l Judg. 1. ^m 1 Sam. 15. 6. ⁿ Josh. 10. ^o Josh. 11. ^p These five just were all at one time kings of several portions of the *Madianites*, slain by *Phineas*, and the 12000 which he led against them. ^q Numb. 31. 8. ^r These four last were likewise at one time slain in the pursuit of *Gideon*'s victory, *Judg.* 7. 25. and chap. 8. 12. ^s Gen. 17. 2. ^t Judg. 7.

Kedar, the second of *Ishmael*'s sons, gave his own name to the east part of *Basan* or *Batanea* which was afterwards possessed by *Manasseh*, so much thereof as lay within the mountains of *Traconi*, or *Gilead*. Which nation *Lampridius* calleth *Kedarens*, and *Pliny*, *Cedreans*.

Adbeel sat down in the desert *Arabia*, near the mountains which divided it from the happy; and gave name to the *Adubens*, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Agubens*.

Mibsam was the parent of the *Masamancuses*, near the mountain *Zamath*, in the same *Arabia* the happy.

The *Raabens* were of *Mishma*; who joined to the *Orchens*, near the *Arabian* gulf, where *Ptolomy* setteth *Zagmais*.

Of *Duma* were the *Dumeans*, between the *Adubens* and *Raabens*: where the city *Dumeth* sometimes stood.

Of *Massa* the *Massani*; and of *Hadar*, or *Chadar*, the *Athrita*, who bordered the *Napatheans* in the same happy *Arabia*.

Thema begat the *Themaneans*, among the *Arabian* mountains, where also the city of *Thema* is seated.

Of *Yetur* the *Itureans*, or *Chamatbens*; of whom *Tobu* was king in *David*'s time.

Of *Nabhri* the *Nubeian Arabians*; inhabiting *Syria Zoba*: over whom *Adadezer* commanded while *David* ruled *Israel*.

Cadma, the last and twelfth of *Ishmael*'s sons, was the ancestor of the *Cadmoneans*; who were afterwards called *Asitæ*, because they worshipped the fire with the *Babylonians*.

The *Amalekites* gave their kings the name of *Agag*, as the *Egyptians* the name of *Pharaoh* to theirs, and the ancient *Syrians*, *Adad* to theirs, and the *Arabians*, *Nabatheans*, *Aretas*, as names of honour.

The *Amalekites* were the first that fought with *Moses*, after he pass'd the *Red sea*; when of all times they flourished most, and yet were vanquished.

Afterwards they joined with the *Canaanites*, and beat the *Israelites* near *Cades-barne*. After the government of *Othoniel*, they joined them with the *Moabites*; after *Barac* with the *Madianites*, and invaded *Israel*. God commanded, that as soon as *Israel* had rest, they should root out the name of the *Amalekites*; which *Saul* executed in part, when he wasted them from the border of *Egypt*, to the border of *Chaldea*: from *Havilah* to *Shur*.

In *David*'s time they took *Ziklag* in *Simeon*: but *David* followed them, and surprized them, recovering his prisoners and spoils. And yet, after *David* became king, they again vexed him, but to their own loss.

In *Hzekiab*'s time as many of them as joined to *Idumea* were wasted and displanted by the children of *Simeon*.

S E C T. IV.

Of the instauration of civility in Europe about those times, and of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*.

THERE lived at this time, and in the same age together with *Moses*, many men exceeding famous, as well in bodily strength, as in all sorts of learning. And as the world was but even now enriched with the written law of the living God, so did art and civility (bred and fostered far off in the east, and in *Egypt*) begin at this time to discover a passage into *Europe*, and into those parts of

Greece neighbouring *Asia* and *Judea*. For if *Pelagus*, besides his bodily strength, was chosen king of *Arcadia*, because he taught those people to erect them simple cottages, to defend them from rain and storm: and learned them withal to make a kind of meal, and bread of Acorns, who before lived for the most part by herbs and roots: we may thereby judge how poor and wretched those times were, and how falsely those nations have vaunted of those their antiquities, accompanied not only with civil learning, but with all other kinds of knowledge. And it was in this age of the world, as both *Eusebius* and *St. Augustine* have observed, that *Prometheus* flourished: *Quem propterea ferunt de lato formasse homines, quia optimus sapientiae doctor fuisse perhibetur*; Of whom it is reported, that he formed men out of clay, because he was an excellent teacher of wisdom: and so *Theophrastus* expoundeth the invention of fire ascribed to *Prometheus*, *Ad inventa sapientiae pertinere*; To have reference to wise inventions: and *Eschylus* affirmeth, that by the stealing of *Jupiter*'s fire was meant, that the knowledge of *Prometheus* reached to the stars, and other celestial bodies. Again, it is written of him, that he had the art so to use this fire, as thereby he gave life to images of wood, stone, and clay: meaning that before his birth and being, those people among whom he lived had nothing else worthy men, but external form and figure. By that fiction of *Prometheus*, being bound on the top of the hill *Caucasus*, his entrails the while devoured by an eagle, was meant the inward care and restless desire he had to invelligate the natures, motions, and influences of heavenly bodies: for so it is said; *Ideo altissimum ascendisse Caucasum, ut sereno cælo quam longissime astra, signorum obitus & ortus spectaret*: That he ascended *Caucasus*, to the end that he might in a clear sky discern a-far off, the settings and risings of the stars: tho' *Diodorus Siculus* expounds it otherwise, and others diversly.

Of this man's knowledge *Eschylus* gives this testimony.

As agebant omnia

Ut fors ferebat: donec ipse reperi

Signorum obitus, ortusque qui mortalibus

Sunt utiles: & multitudinem artium

His reperi: componere inde literas;

Matremque musarum auxi ego memoriam

Perutilem cunctis, &c.

But fortune governed all their works, till when I first found out how stars did set and rise;

A profitable art to mortal men:

And others of like use I did devise;

As letters to compose in learned wise

I first did teach: and first did amplify

The mother of the muses memory.

Africanus makes *Prometheus* far more ancient, and but 94 years after *Ogyges*. *Porphyrus* says, that he lived at once with *Inachus*, who lived with *Isaac*.

There lived also at once with *Moses*, that famous *Atlas*, brother to *Prometheus*, both being the sons of *Japetus*, of whom tho' it be said, that they were born before *Moses*'s days, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more ancient date; yet the advantage of their long lives gave them a part of other ages among men, which came into the world long after them. Besides these sons of *Japetus*, *Eschylus* finds two other, to wit, *Oceanus* and *Hesperus*, who being famous in the west, gave name to the evening,

^a Plin. l. 6. c. 28. ^b Junius. ^c Exod. 17. ^d Numb. 14. ^e 1 Sam. 30. 2 Sam. 8. 12. ^f 1 Chron. 4. ^g Aug. l. 18. c. 8. de Civit. Dei. ^h Eschyl. in Prom. vinet. in c. 8. l. 18. de Civit. Dei. ⁱ L. Vives ex Hes. ^k Eschyl. in Prom. vinet. ^l Aug. l. 18. c. 3. de Civit. Dei.

and so to the evening-star. Also besides this *Atlas* of *Libya* or *Mauritania*, there were others, which bare the same name: but of the *Libyan*, and the brother of *Prometheus*, it was that those mountains which cross *Africa*, to the south of *Morocco*, *Sus*, and *Hea*, with the sea adjoining took name, which memory *Plato* in *Critias* bestows on *Atlas*, the son of *Neptune*.

Cicero, in the fifth of his *Tusculan* questions, affirmeth, that all things written of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*, were but by those names to express divine knowledge. *Nec vero Atlas sustinere Cælum, nec Prometheus affixus Caucaſo, nec stellatus Cepheus cum uxore traderetur, nisi divina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulæ traduxisset*; Neither should *Atlas* be said to bear up Heaven, nor *Prometheus* to be fastened to *Caucasus*, nor *Cepheus* with his wife to be stellified, unless their divine knowledge had raised upon their names these erroneous fables.

Orpheus sometimes express'd *Time* by *Prometheus*, sometimes he took him for *Saturn*; as *Rheæ conjux alme Prometheu*. But that the story of *Prometheus* was not altogether a fiction; and that he lived about this time, the most approved historians and antiquaries, and among them *Eusebius* and *St. Augustine* have not doubted. For the great judgment which *Atlas* had in astronomy, saith *St. Augustine*, were his daughters called by the names of constellations, *Pleiades* and *Hyades*: others attribute unto him the finding out of the moon's course, of which *Archas* the son of *Orchomenus* challengeth the invention. Of this *Archas*, *Arcadia* in *Peloponnesus* took name, and therefore did the *Arcadians* vaunt that they were more ancient than the moon. *Et luna gens prior illa fuit*: which is to be understood, saith *Natalis Comes*, before there had been any observation of the moon's course; or of her working in inferiour bodies. And tho' there be that bestow the finding out thereof upon *Endymion*: others (as *Xenagoras*) on *Typhon*: yet *Isacius Tzetzes*, a curious searcher of antiquities, gave it *Atlas* of *Libya*: who, besides his gifts of mind, was a man of unequalled and incomparable strength: from whom *Thales* the *Milesian*, as it is said, had the ground of his philosophy.

SECT. V.

Of Deucalion and Phaeton.

AND in this age of the world, and while *Moses* yet lived, *Deucalion* reigned in *Theſſaly*, *Crotopus* then ruling the *Argives*. This *Deucalion* was the son of *Prometheus*, saith *Herodotus*, *Apollonius*, *Hesiodus*, and *Strabo*. *Hesiodus* gave him *Pandora* for mother, the rest *Clymene*: *Homér*, in the 15th of his *Odyssey*, makes *Deucalion* the son of *Minos*; but he must needs have meant some other *Deucalion*; for else either *Ulyſſes* was mistaken, or *Homér*, who put the tale into his mouth. For *Ulyſſes*, after his return from *Troy*, feigned himself to be the brother of *Idomeneus*, who was son to this latter *Deucalion*, the son of *Minos*: but this *Minos* lived but one age before *Troy* was taken (for *Idomeneus* served in that war) and this *Deucalion* the son of *Prometheus*, who lived at once with *Moses*, was long before. In the first *Deucalion's* time happened that great inundation in *Theſſaly*: by which, in effect, every soul in those parts perished, but *Deucalion*, *Pyrrha* his wife, and some few others. It is affirmed, that at the time of this flood in *Theſſaly*, those people exceeded in all kind of wickedness and villany: and as the impiety of men is the forcible attractive of God's vengeance, so did all

that nation, for their foul sins, perish by waters: as in the time of *Noah*, the corruption and cruelty of all mankind drew on them that general destruction by the flood universal. Only *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* his wife, whom God spared, were both of them esteemed to be lovers of virtue, of justice, and of religion. Of whom *Ovid*:

*Non illo melior quisquam; nec amantior æqui
Vir fuit: aut illà reverentia ulla dearum.*

No man was better, nor more just than he:
Nor any woman godlier than she.

It is also affirmed that *Prometheus* foretold his son *Deucalion* of this overflowing, and advised him to provide for his own safety; who hereupon prepared himself a kind of vessel, which *Lucian* in his dialogue of *Timon* calls *Cibotium*; and others *Larnax*. And because to these circumstances, they afterwards add the sending out of the dove, to discover the waters fall and decrease, I should verily think that this story had been but an imitation of *Noah's* flood devised by the *Greeks*, did not the times so much differ, and *St. Augustine*, with others of the fathers, and reverend writers, approve this story of *Deucalion*. Among other his children, *Deucalion* had these two of note, *Helen*, of whom *Greece* had first the name of *Hellas*; and *Melantibo*, on whom *Neptune* is said to have begot *Delphus*, which gave name to *Delphos*, so renowned among the heathen for the oracle of *Apollo* therein founded.

And that which was no less strange and marvelous than this flood, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time also happened under *Phaeton*; not only in *Ethiopia*, but in *Isiris*, a region in *Italy*, and about *Cume*, and the mountains of *Vesuvius*: of both which, the *Greeks*, after their manner, have invented many strange fables.

SECT. VI.

Of Hermes Trismegistus.

BUT of all other which this age brought forth among the heathen, *Mercurius* was the most famous and renowned: the same which was also called *Trismegistus*, or *Ter maximus*: and of the *Greeks*, *Hermes*.

Many there were of this name: and how to distinguish, and set them in their own times, both *St. Augustine* and *Lactantius* find it difficult. For that *Mercury* which was esteemed the God of thieves, the God of wrestlers, of merchants, and seamen, and the God of eloquence (tho' all by one name confounded) was not the same with that *Mercury*, of whose many works some fragments are now extant.

Cicero, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, and certain of the *Greeks* reckon five *Mercuries*: of which, two were famous in *Egypt*, and there worshipped; one, the son of *Nilus*, whose name the *Egyptians* feared to utter, as the *Jews* did their *Tetragrammaton*; the other, that *Mercury* which slew *Argos* in *Greece*, and flying into *Egypt*, is said to have delivered literature to the *Egyptians*, and to have given them laws. But *Diodorus* affirms, that *Orpheus*, and others after him, brought learning and letters out of *Egypt* into *Greece*: which *Plato* also confirmeth, saying, that letters were not found out by that *Mercury* which slew *Argus*, but by that ancient *Mercury*, otherwise *Themet*; whom *Philo Biblius* writeth *Taautus*; the *Egyptians* *Thoyth*; the *Alexandrines*

* Lib. 13. c. 8. de Civitate Dei. b Ovid. de fast. l. 1. c Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. d Strab. l. 9. e August. de Civitate Dei, l. 18. c. 10. ex Eusebio & Hieronymo. f Laus. Vives out of Cicero, in Aug. de Civitate Dei, l. 8. c. 26.

Thot; and the *Greeks* (as before) *Hermes*.^a And to this *Taautus*, *Sanconiatbo*, who lived about the war of *Troy*, gives the invention of letters. But *St. Augustine* making two *Mercuries*, which were both *Egyptians*, calls neither of them the son of *Nilus*, nor acknowledgeth either of them to have slain *Argus*. For he finds this *Mercury*, the slayer of *Argus*, to be the grandchild of that *Atlas* which lived whilst *Moses* was yet young. And yet *Lud. Vives* upon *St. Augustine* seems to understand them to be the same with those, whom *Cicero*, *Alexandrinus*, and the rest have remembered. But that conjecture of theirs, that any *Grecian Mercury* brought letters into *Egypt*, hath no ground. For it is manifest (if there be any truth in prophane antiquity) that all the knowledge which the *Greeks* had, was transported out of *Egypt*, or *Phenicia*; and not out of *Greece*, nor by any *Grecian*, into *Egypt*. For they all confess that *Cadmus* brought letters first into *Boetia*, either out of *Egypt*, or out of *Phenicia*: it being true, that between *Mercurius* that lived at once with *Moses*, and *Cadmus*, there were these descents cast; *Crotopus* king of the *Argives*, with whom *Moses* lived, and in whose time about his tenth year *Moses* died; after *Crotopus*, *Sthenelus* who reigned 11 years; after him *Danaus* 50 years; after him *Lyneus*; in whose time, and after him in the time of *Minos* king of *Crete*, this *Cadmus* arrived in *Boetia*. And therefore it cannot be true, that any *Mercurius* about *Moses's* time, flying out of *Greece* for the slaughter of *Argus*, brought literature out of *Greece* into *Egypt*. Neither did either of those two *Mercuries* of *Egypt*, whom *St. Augustine* remembreth, the one the grandfather, the other the nephew or grandchild, come out of *Greece*. *Eupolemus* and *Artapanus* note, that *Moses* found out letters, and taught the use of them to the *Jews*; of whom the *Phenicians* their neighbours received them; and the *Greeks* of the *Phenicians* by *Cadmus*. But this invention was also ascribed to *Moses*, for the reason before remembered; that is, because the *Jews* and the *Phenicians* had them first from him. For every nation gave unto those men the honour of first inventors, from whom they received the profit. *Ficinus* makes that *Mercury*, upon part of whose works he commenteth, to have been four descents after *Moses*; which he hath out of ^b*Virgil*, who calls *Atlas*, that lived with *Moses*, the maternal grandfather of the first famous *Mercury*, whom others, as *Diodorus*, calls the counsellor and instructor of that renowned *Isis*, wife of *Osiris*. But ^c*Ficinus* giveth no reason for his opinion herein. But that the elder *Mercury* instructed *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth, and that such an inscription was found on a pillar erected on the tomb of *Isis*. *Lud. Vives*, upon the 26th chapter of the 8th book of *St. Augustine de Civitate Dei*, conceiveth that this *Mercury*, whose works are extant, was not the first which was entitled, *Ter Maximus*, but his nephew or grandchild. ^d*Sanconiaton*, an ancient *Phenician*, who lived shortly after *Moses*, hath other fancies of this *Mercury*; affirming that he was the scribe of *Saturn*, and called by the *Phenicians*, *Taautus*; and by the *Egyptians*, *Thoth* or *Thoyt*. It may be, that the many years which he is said to have lived, to wit, 300 years, gave occasion to some ^ewriters to find him in one time, and to others in other times. But by those which have collected the grounds of the *Egyptian* philosophy and divinity, he is found more ancient than *Moses*: because the inventor of the *Egyptian* wisdom, wherein it is said, that *Moses* was excellently learned.

It is true, that altho' this *Mercury*, or *Hermes*, doth in his divinity differ in many particulars from the scriptures, especially in the approving of images, which *Moses* of all things most detested; yet whosoever shall read him with an even judgment, will rather resolve that these works which are now extant, were by the *Greeks* and *Egyptian* priests corrupted, and those fooleries inserted, than that ever they were by the hand of *Hermes* written, or by his heart and spirit devised. For there is no man of understanding, and master of his own wits, that hath affirmed in one and the same tract, those things which are directly contrary in doctrine and in nature. For out of doubt (*Moses* excepted) there was never any man of those elder times that hath attributed more, and in a style more reverend and divine, unto Almighty God, than he hath done. And therefore if those his two treatises, now among us; the one converted by *Apuleius*, the other by that learned *Ficinus*, had been found in all things like themselves; I think it had not been perilous to have thought with *Eupolemus*, that this *Hermes* was *Moses* himself; and that the *'Egyptian* theology hereafter written, was devised by the first, and more ancient *Mercury*, which others have thought to have been *Joseph* the son of *Jacob*; whom, after the exposition of *Pharaoh's* dreams, they called *Saphanet Phane*, which is as much as to say, *Abconditorum Repertor*, a finder out of hidden things. But these are over-adventurous opinions. For what this man was, it is known to God. Envy and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worn out the certain knowledge of him: of whom, whosoever he were, *Lactantius* writeth in this sort: *Hic scripsit libros, & quidem multos, ad cognitionem divinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus majestatem summi ac singularis Dei asserit, iisdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos Deum & Patrem*; He hath written many books belonging to, or expressing the knowledge of divine things, in which he affirmeth the majesty of the most High and One God, calling him by the same names of God, and Father, as we do. The same father also feareth not to number him among the sibyls and prophets. And so contrary are these his acknowledgments to those idolatrous fictions of the *Egyptians* and *Grecians*, that for my self, I am persuaded, that whatsoever is found in him contrary thereunto, was by corruption inserted. For thus much himself confesseth: *Deus omnium Dominus & Pater, fons & vita, potentia & lux, & mens, & spiritus; & omnia in ipso, & sub ipso sunt. Verbum enim ex ejus esse prodiens, perfectissimum existens, & generator & opifex, &c.* God (saith he) the Lord and Father of all things, the fountain, and life, and power, and light, and mind, and spirit: and all things are in him and under him. For his word out of himself proceeding, being most perfect, and generative, and operative, falling upon fruitful nature, made it also fruitful and producing. And he was therefore (saith *Suidas*) called *Ter maximus, quia Trinitate loquutus est: in Trinitate unum esse Deum asserens*; Because he spake of the Trinity, affirming that there is one God in Trinity. *Hic ruinam* (saith *Ficinus*) *prævidit prisce religionis, hic ortum novæ fidei, hic adventum Christi, hic futurum judicium, resurrectionem sæculi, beatorum gloriam, supplicia peccatorum*. This *Mercury* foresaw the ruin of the old or superstitious religion, and the birth of the new faith; and of the coming of Christ, the future judgment, the resurrection, the glory of the blessed, and the torment or affliction of the wicked or damned.

^a Euseb. l. i. c. 6. de prep. Evang. ^b Virg. l. 4. ^c Aeneid. Ficin. in Prefat. Parmend. Mercurii Trimegisti. ^d Or Sanconiaton. See Euseb. de prep. Evang. l. i. c. 6. ^e Vives in l. 8. c. 16. Aug. de Civitate Dei ^f Masius. ^g l. i. c. 6. fol. 4.

To this I will only add his two last speeches reported by *Calcidius* the *Platonist*, and by *Volterran* out of *Suidas*. *Hactenus filii pulsus a patria, vixi peregrinus & exul, nunc incolumis repeto: cumque post paulum a vobis corporeis vinculis absolutus discessero, videtote ne me quasi mortuum lugeatis: nam ad illam optimam beatamque civitatem regredior; ad quam universi cives mortis conditione venturi sunt. Ibi namque solus Deus est summus princeps: qui cives suos replet suavitate mirifica; ad quam hæc, quam multi vitam existimant, mors est potius dicenda quam vita*; Hitherto, O son, being driven from my country, I have lived a stranger and banished man; but now I am preparing homeward again in safety. And when I shall after a few days (or in a short time) by being loosed from these bonds of flesh and blood depart from you, see that ye do not bewail me as a man dead; for I do but return to that best and blessed city, to which all her citizens (by the condition of death) shall repair. Therein is the only God, the most high and chief prince, who filleth or teedeth his citizens with a sweetness more than marvellous; in regard whereof this being, which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death, than a life. The other, and that which seemeth to be his last, is thus converted by others, agreeing in sense, but not in words with *Suidas*. *O cælum magni Dei sapiens opus, teque O vox patris quam ille primam emisit, quando universum constituit mundum, adjuro per unigenitum ejus verbum & spiritum cuncta comprehendentem, miseremini mei*; I adjure thee, O heaven, thou wise work of the great God, and thee O voice of the father, which he first uttered, when he framed the whole world, by his only begotten Word and Spirit, comprehending all things, have mercy upon me.

But *Suidas* hath his invocation in these words; *Obtestor te Cælum magni Dei sapiens opus, obtestor te vocem Patris quam locutus est primum cum primam mundum firmavit, obtestor te per unigenitum sermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius eslo*. I beseech thee O heaven, wise work of the great God, I beseech thee, O voice of the father, which he spake first when he established all the world, I beseech thee by the only begotten word, containing all things, be favourable, be favourable.

SECT. VII.

Of Jannes and Jambres, and some others that lived about those times.

There were also in this age both *Esculapius*, which after his death became the God of physicians, being the brother of *Mercurius*, as *Vives* thinks in his commentary upon *Augustine*, *de Civitate Dei*, l. 8. and also those two notorious forcerers, *Jannes* and *Jambres*, who in that impious art excelled all that ever have been heard of to this day: and yet *Moses* himself doth not charge them with any familiarity with devils, or ill spirits; words indeed that seldom came out of his mouth; however by the *Septuagint* they are called *Sophistæ* or *Venefici* and *Incantatores*, sophist poisoners, and incanters: by *Jerome*, *sapientes & malefici*, wise men and evil-doers: and so by *Vatablus*, who also useth the word *Magi*. The *Greek* it self seems to attribute somewhat of what they did to natural magick; calling them *φάρμακας*, workers by drugs. The *Genevian*, *Sorcerers* and *Incanters*; *Junius*, *Sapientes*, *Præstigiatores & Magi*. Magicians and wise-men here by him are taken in one sense; and *Prestigiatōrs* are such as dazel men's eyes, and make them

seem to see what they see not; as false colours, and false shapes. But as some virtues and some vices are so nicely distinguished, and so resembling each other, as they are often confounded, and the one taken for the other (religion and superstition having one face and countenance) so did the works and workings of *Moses*, and of *Pharoah's* forcerers, appear in outward shew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to be one and the same art and gift of knowledge. For the devil changeth himself into an angel of light: and imitateth in all he can the ways and workings of the most High. And yet on the contrary, every work which surmounteth the wisdom of most men; is not to be condemned as performed by the help or ministry of ill spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath given to natural things, as such as where he also bestoweth the knowledge to understand their hidden and best virtues, many things by them are brought to pass, which seem altogether impossible, and above nature or art: which two speculations of works of nature, and of miracle, the *Cabalists* distinguished by these names; *Opus de Beresith*, & *opus de Mercana*: the one they call *Sapientiam Naturæ*, The wisdom of nature: the other *Sapientiam Divinitatis*, The wisdom of divinity: the one *Jacob* practised in the breeding the pied lambs in *Mesopotamia*; the other *Moses* exercised in his miracles wrought in *Egypt*; having received from God the knowledge of the one in the highest perfection, to wit, the knowledge of nature: of the other so far as it pleased God to portion him, both which he used to his glory that gave them; assuming to himself nothing at all, either in the least or most. Also *St. Augustine* noteth that from the time that *Moses* left *Egypt*, to the death of *Joshua*, divers other famous men lived in the world, who after their deaths, for their eminent virtues and inventions, were numbred among the gods: as *Dionysius*, otherwise *Liber Pater*, who taught the *Grecians* the use of the vine in *Attica*: at which time also there were instituted musical plays to *Apollo Delphicus*; thereby to regain his favour, who brought barrenness and scarcity upon that part of *Greece*, because they resisted not the attempts of *Danaus*, who spoiled his temple and set it on fire: so did *Eriethonius* institute the like games to *Minerva*; wherein the victor was rewarded with a present of oil, in memory of her that first press'd it out of the olive.

In this age also *Xanthus* ravished *Europa*, and begat on her *Radamanthus*, *Sarpedon*, and *Minos*, which three are also given to *Jupiter* by other historians. To these *St. Augustine* addeth *Hercules*; the same to whom the 12 labours are ascribed, native of *Tyrinthia*, a city of *Peloponnesus*: (or, as others say, only nursed and brought up there) who came into *Italy*, and destroy'd many monsters there; being neither that *Hercules*, which *Eusebius* surnameth *Delphin*, famous in *Phenicia*; nor that *Hercules*, according to *Philostratus*, which came to *Gades*, whom he calleth an *Egyptian*: *Manifestum sit, non Thebanum Herculem, sed Egyptium ad Gades pervenisse, & ibi finem statuisse terræ* (saith *Philostratus*, l. 2.) It is manifest that it was the *Egyptian Hercules*, and not the *Theban*, which travelled as far as the streights of *Gades*, and there determined the bounds of the earth. In this time also, while *Moses* wandered in the desarts, *Dardanus* built *Dardania*.

But whosoever they were, or how worthy soever they were that lived in the days and age of

^a L. Vives in l. 8. Aug. de Civitate Dei, c. 26.

^b Exod. 9. 11.

^c Lib. De Civitate Dei, c. 12.

Moses, there was never any man, that was no more than man, by whom it pleased God to work greater things, whom he favoured more; to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) he so often appeared; never any man more familiar and conversant with angels; never any more learned both in divine and human knowledge; never a greater prophet in *Israel*. He was the first that received and delivered the law of God entire; the first that left to posterity by letters, the truth and power of one infinite God, his creating out of nothing the world universal, and all the creatures therein; that taught the detestation of idolatry, and the punishment, vengeance, and eradication which followed it.

^a *Syracides* calleth *Moses* the beloved of God and men, whose remembrance is blessed. He made him (saith the same author) like to the glorious saints, and magnified him by the fear of his enemies, made him glorious in the sight of kings, shewed him his glory, caused him to hear his voice, sanctified him with faithfulness and meekness, and chose him out of all men.

He is remembred among profane authors; as by *Clearchus* the *Peripatetick*; by *Megasthenes* and *Numenius* the *Pythagorian*. The long lives which the patriarchs enjoyed before the flood, remembred by *Moses*, *Esaius*, *Hieronymus*, *Egyptius*, *Hecateus*, *Elanicus*, *Acusilaus*, *Ephorus*, and *Alexander* the historian, confirm. The universal flood which God revealed unto *Moses*, *Berosus*, *Nicolaus Damascenus*, and others have testified. The building of the tower of *Babel*, and confusion of tongues, *Abydenus*, *Esaius*, and *Sybilla* have approved. *Berosus* also honoureth *Abraham*. *Hecateus* wrote a book of him. *Damascenus*, before cited, speaketh of *Abraham's* passage from *Damascus* into *Canaan*, agreeing with the books of *Moses*. *Eupolemon* writeth the very same of *Abraham* which *Moses* did. For, beginning with the building of *Babel*, and the overthrow thereof by divine power, he saith that *Abraham*, born in the tenth generation, in the city called *Camerina*, or *Urien*, excelled all men in wisdom; and by whom the astrology of the *Chaldeans* was invented. *Is justitia pietateque sua* (saith *Eusebius* out of the same author) *sic Deo gratus fuit, ut Divino præcepto in Phœnicem venerit, ibique habitaverit*; For his justice and piety he was so pleasing unto God, as by his commandment he came into *Phœnicia*, and dwelt there. Likewise *Diodorus Siculus*, in his 2d book and 5th chapter, speaketh reverently of *Moses*. There are many other among prophane authors, which confirm the books of *Moses*, as *Eusebius* hath gathered in the 9th of his *Preparation to the Gospel*, chapter the third and fourth, to which I refer the reader. Lastly, I cannot but for some things in it commend this notable testimony of *Strabo*, who writeth of *Moses* in these words. ^b *Moses enim affirmabat, docebatque, Ægyptios non recte sentire, qui bestiarum & pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt: itemque Afros & Græcos, qui Diis hominum figuram assinxerunt: id vero solum esse Deum, quod nos & terram & mare continet, quod cælum & mundum, & rerum omnium naturam appellamus: cujus profecto imaginem, nemo sanæ mentis, alicujus earum rerum, quæ penes nos sunt, similem audeat effingere. Proinde (omni simulachrorum effigione repudiata) dignum ei templum ac delubrum constituendum, ac sine aliqua figura colendum.* *Moses* affirmed and taught, that the *Egyptians* thought amiss, which attributed unto God the images of beasts and cattle: also that the *Africans* and *Greeks* greatly erred in giving un-

to their gods the shapes of men; whereas that only is God indeed, which containeth both us the earth and sea, which we call heaven, the world, and the nature of all things, whose image doubtless, no wise man will dare to fashion out unto the likeness of those things which are amongst us; that therefore (all devising of idols cast aside) a worthy temple and place of prayer was to be erected unto him, and he to be worshipped without any figure at all therein.

Now concerning the *Egyptian* wisdom, for which the martyr *Stephen* commended *Moses*, saying, *That Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in works and words*; the same is collected (how truly I know not) by *Diodorus*, *Diogenes Laertius*, *Iamblicus*, *Philo Judeus*, and *Eusebius Cæsariensis*, and divided into four parts, *viz.* mathematical, natural, divine and moral.

In the mathematical part, which is distinguished into geometry, astronomy, arithmetick, and musick, the ancient *Egyptians* excelled all others. For geometry, which is by interpretation, measuring of grounds, was useful unto them; because it consisting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper lands and territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of *Nilus*, were yearly overflowed and confounded, so as no man could know what in right belonged unto him.

For the second part, to wit, astronomy, the site of the country being a level and spacious plain, free and clear from clouds, yielded them delight with ease, in observing and contemplating the risings, fallings, and motions of the stars.

Arithmetick also, which is the knowledge of numbers, they studied; because without it, in geometry and astronomy, nothing can be demonstrated or concluded. But of musick they made no other account, nor desired farther knowledge, than seemed to them sufficient to serve and magnify their gods, their kings, and good men.

The natural part of this wisdom, which handleth the principles, causes, elements, and operations of natural things, differs little from peripatetical philosophy; teaching that *materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it all mix'd bodies and living creatures have their being; that heaven is round like a globe; that all stars have a certain sovent heat, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that rains proceed and be from mutations in the air; that the planets have their proper souls, &c.

The divine part of this wisdom, which is called theology, teacheth and believeth that the world had a beginning, and shall perish; that men had their first original in *Egypt*, partly by means of the temperateness of that country, where neither winter with cold, nor summer with heat, are offensive; and partly through the fertility that *Nilus* giveth in those places: that the soul is immortal, and hath transmigration from body to body: that God is one, the father and prince of all gods; and that from this God, other gods are, as the sun and moon, whom they worshipped by the names of *Osiris* and *Isis*, and erected to them temples, statues, and divers images, because the true similitudes of the gods is not known; that many of the gods have been in the estate of mortal men, and after death, for their virtues, and benefits bestowed on mankind, have been deified. That those beasts, whose images and forms the kings did carry in their arms when they obtained victory, were

^a *Syrac.* 45. 12. 3. ^b *Strab.* 1. 16. ^c *Acts* 7. 22.

adored for God's ; because under those ensigns they prevailed over their enemies. Moreover, the *Egyptian* divines had a peculiar kind of writing; mystical and secret, wherein the highest points of their religion and worship of God, which was to be concealed from the vulgar sort, were obscured.

* *Clemens* distributeth the whole sum of this latter *Egyptian* learning into three several sorts, viz. *Epistolar*, which is used in writing common epistles ; *Sacerdotal*, which is peculiar to their priests ; and *Sacred*, which sacred containeth scripture of two kinds ; the one proper, which is expressed by letters alphabetical in obscure and figurative words ; as for example, where it is written, The *Ibis* by the hornet participateth the beauty of the hawk ; which is red thus : The moon doth by the sun borrow part of the light of God ; because light is an image of divine beauty. The other symbolical, or by signatures, which is threefold, viz. imitative, tropical and enigmatical ; imitative, which designeth things by characters, like to the things signified ; as by a circle, the sun ; and by the horns of the moon, the moon itself : tropical or transferent, which applies the divers forms and figures of natural bodies or creatures, to signify the dignities, fortunes, conditions, virtues, vices, affections, and actions of their Gods and of men. So with the *Egyptian* divines, the image of an hawk signifieth God ; the figure of the hornet signifieth the sun ; the picture of the bird *Ibis* signifieth the moon ; by the form of a man, prudence and skilfulness ; by a lion, fortitude ; by a horse, liberty ; by a crocodile, impudency ; by a fish, hatred is to be understood. Enigmatical, is a composition or mixture of images or similitudes ; in which sense, the monstrous image of a lion's body having a man's head, was graven on their temples and altars, to signify, that to men all divine things are enigmatical and obscure. So the image of the sun set on the head of a crocodile (which liveth as well in the waters, as on land) expresseth, that the sun nourisheth meteors in the air, as well from the waters as from the earth. So a scepter, at the top whereof is made an eye, and an ear, signifieth God, hearing, seeing, and governing all things. The *Scythians* are thought to have been delighted with this kind of writing. For *Pherecides Syrius* reporteth, that when *Darius* sending letters, threatned *Idanthura*, king of the *Scythians*, with the ruin and destruction of his kingdom, unless he would acknowledge subjection : *Idanthura* returned to him a mouse, a frog, a bird, a dart, and a plough-share ; which *Orontopagas*, tribune of the soldiers, interpreted to signify, that by the mouse, their dwellings ; by the frog, their waters ; by the bird, their air ; by the dart, their weapons ; by the plough their lands ; were signified to be ready to be delivered to *Darius*, as their sovereign lord. But *Xyphodres* made another construction, viz. that the king meant, that except *Darius* with his men did hasten away, as a bird thro' the air, or creep into holes as a mouse, or run into the waters which they had passed as a frog, they should not escape his arms, but either be slain, or (being made captives) till his grounds. The same history is with little difference reported by *Herodotus*, l. 4.

The fourth and last part which is moral and politick, doth contain especially the laws, which (according to *Laertius*) *Mercurius Trismegistus*, or *Termaximus* devised ; who in his books or dialogues of *Pimander* and *Asclepius*, hath written so many things of God worthy of admiration ; as well (saith *Sixtus Senensis*) of the *Trinity*, and of the coming of Christ,

as of the last and fearful day of judgment : that (as saith the same author, the opinion being also ancient) he is not only to be accounted a philosopher, but a prophet of things to come.

Jamblicus in his book of mysteries of the *Egyptians*, taking two very ancient historians for his authors, to wit, *Seleucus* and *Menæus*, affirmeth, that this *Mercury* was not only the inventor of the *Egyptian* philosophy, but of all other learning, called the wisdom of the *Egyptians*, before remembred : and that he wrote of that subject 36525 books, or pages. Of which there were numbered of fiery spirits, 100 books ; of aerial spirits as many ; and of spirits celestial a thousand : which because they were out of the *Egyptian* language converted by certain learned philosophers into the natural *Greek*, they seemed to have been first written in that tongue.

Clemens Alexandrinus writeth, that among the books of *Hermes*, to wit, of the wisdom of the *Egyptians*, there were extant in his time 36 ; of physick six books ; of the orders of priests ten ; and of astrology four.

SECT. VIII.

A brief of the history of Joshua ; and of the space between him and Othniel ; and of the remainders of the Canaanites ; with a note of some contemporaries to Joshua ; and of the breach of faith.

AFTER the death of *Moses*, and in the one and fortieth year of the egression, in the first month called *Nisan*, or *March*, *Joshua* the son of *Nun*, of the tribe of *Ephraim*, being filled with the spirit of wisdom, took on him the government of *Israel* ; God giving him comfort, and encouraging him to pass the river of *Jordan*, and to possess and divide among the *Israelites* the land promised.

The beginning of *Joshua's* rule, *St. Augustine* dates with the reign of *Amyntas*, the eighteenth king in *Affyria* ; with *Corax* the sixteenth king in *Sicyonia* ; when *Danaus* governed the *Argives* ; and *Eriethonius*, *Athens*.

Joshua, imitating in all things his predecessor, sent over *Jordan* certain discoverers to view the feat and strength of *Jericho*, the next city unto him on the other side of the river, which he was to pass over. Which discoverers being saved, and sent back by *Rahab*, a woman of ill fame, because she kept a tavern or victualling house, made *Joshua* know, that the inhabitants of *Jericho*, and those of the country about it, hearing of the approach of *Israel*, had lost their courage. Whereupon the day after the return of the spies, which was the sixth day of the one and fortieth year after the egression, *Joshua* removed from *Sbittim* in the plains of *Moab*, and drew down his army to the banks of the river *Jordan*, and gave them commandment to put themselves in order to follow the ark of God, when the *Levites* took it up, and moved towards the river ; giving them withal this forcible encouragement, that they should thereby assure themselves of his favour and presence, who is Lord of all the world, when the river of *Jordan* should be cut off, and divided, and the waters coming from above should stand still on a heap ; whereby those below towards the *Dead sea* wanting supply, they might pass over into the land of *Canaan* with dry feet.

He also commanded *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manasseh*, to prepare themselves (according to their covenant made with *Moses*) to march in the head of the rest, and (as we call it in this age) to lead in the van-guard, which thro' all the desarts

* Clem. Strom. l. 5. b Clem. Strom. l. 6. c Lib. 18. de Civit. Dei, c. 11. d Josh. 2. 11. e Josh. 2. 11. f Josh. 3. 13. g Josh. 1. 12.

of *Arabia*, from the mount *Sinai* to this place, those of the tribe of *Judah* had performed. For these tribes being already provided of their habitations, and the country and cities of the *Amorites*, by the help of the rest, conquered for them: it agreed with justice and equity, that *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half of *Manasseh* should also assist their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies possession.

On the banks of *Jordan* they rested themselves from the sixth day to the ninth; and on the tenth day of the first month *Nisan*, or *March*, they pass'd over to the other side, taking with them twelve stones from the dry ground in the midst of the river: which, for a memory of that miracle by God wrought, they set up at *Gilgal*, on the east side of the city of *Jericho*, where they encamped the first night. At which place ^a *Joshua* gave commandment, that all born in the last fortieth year in the deserts, ^b should be circumcised; which ceremony to that day had been omitted. Of the neglect whereof ^c St. *Augustine* giveth for cause, the people's contempt of their superiors, ^d *Thomas* excuseth it in this sort; that the *Israelites* knew not the certain time of their removing from one place to another; *Damascen*, that it was not needful by circumcision to distinguish them from other nations, at such time as they lived by themselves and apart from all nations.

On the fourteenth day of the same month, the children of *Israel* celebrated the passover now the third time; first, At their leaving *Egypt*; secondly, At mount *Sinai*; and now at *Gilgal*. After which being desirous to taste of the fruits of the country, and having, as it were, surfeited on manna, they parched of the corn of the land, being not yet fully ripe, and eat thereof.

And as *Moses* began to distribute those regions beyond *Jordan*, to wit, the land of the *Amorites*, which *Og* of *Basan*, and *Sibon* held, so did *Joshua* perform the rest; and after a view and partition made of the territories, he gave to each tribe his portion by lot. But this partition and distribution was not done at once, but at three several times; first, By ^e *Moses* to *Gad*, *Reuben*, and the half tribe of *Manasseh*, of the lands over *Jordan*; secondly, By *Joshua*, to the tribe of *Judah*, *Ephraim*, and the other half tribe of *Manasseh*, about the fifth year of his government; proved in *Joshua* xiv. 10. and a third division was made to the other seven tribes at *Shilo*, where ^f *Joshua* seated the *Tabernacle* of the congregation.

The victories of *Joshua* against the kings of the *Canaanites*, are so particularly set down in his own books, as I shall not need to lengthen this part by their repetition. In whose story I chiefly note these particulars.

First, How in the beginning of the war, those little kings, or *reguli* of the *Canaanites*, had not so much understanding, as to unite themselves together against the *Israelites*; but according to the custom of those estates, from whose governors God hath taken away all wisdom and foresight, they left those of their own nation, which were next the invaders, to themselves, and to their own defences; hoping that the fire kindled somewhat far off, might again have been quenched ere it could spread it self so far as their own territories and cities. But after such time as *Jericho* and *Ai* were entered, and the kings, people, and cities consumed, five of those thirty-one kings (all which at length perished in that war) joined themselves together, first attempting the *Gibeonites*, who had rendred themselves to *Joshua*.

Only five (the rest looking on to see the success) namely the king of the *Jebusites*, in *Jebus*, or *Jerusalem*, the kings of *Hebron*, *Jarmuth*, *Lachis* and *Eglon* address'd themselves for resistance: whose army being by *Joshua* surprized and broken, themselves despairing to escape by flight, and hopeless of mercy by submission, creeping into a cave under ground, were thence by *Joshua* drawn forth and hanged. In the prosecution of which victory he also took ^g *Makkedah*, and *Libnah*, and *Lachis*. To the relief whereof *Horam* king of *Gezar* hastned, and perished. After which *Joshua* possessed himself of ^h *Eglon*, *Heber*, and *Debir* destroying these cities with their princes.

In the end, and when the south countries were possessed, the cities thereof conquered, and their kings and people made dust; the rest of the *Canaanites*, guided by the over-late counsels of necessity, united themselves to make one gross strength and body of an army; which *Jabin* king of *Hazor* practised and gathered together, being at that time of all the *Canaanite* kings the most powerful; which army being by *Joshua* discovered, as the same rested near the lake of *Merom*, he used such diligence, as he came on them unawares; and obtaining an absolute victory over them, he prosecuted the same to the utmost effect. And, besides the slaughter of the defendants, he entered their cities, of which he burnt *Hazor* only, reserving the rest for *Israel* to inhabit and enjoy.

Secondly, I note, that *Joshua* shewed himself a skilful man of war, for that in those ancient times he used the stratagem of an ambush in taking of *Ai*; and in that he broke the armies of the first five kings of the *Amorites*, which attempted *Gibeon* by surprize: for he marched all night from his camp at ⁱ *Gilgal*, and set on them early the next day, when they suspected no enemy at hand; as he did also at *Merom*, when he overthrew *Jabin*, and his confederates. After which, making the best profit of his victory, he assaulted the great city of *Hazor*.

Thirdly, The miracles which God wrought during this war, were exceeding admirable; as the stay of the river of *Jordan* at the springs, so as the army of ^j *Israel* pass'd it with a dry foot; the fall of *Jericho* by the sound of rams horns; the showers of ^k hail-stones which fell upon the *Amorites* in their flight from *Gibeon*, whereby more of them perished, than by the sword of *Israel*. Again, the arrest of the sun in the firmament, whereby the day was so much the more lengthened, as the *Israelites* had time to execute all those which fled after the overthrow: a wonder of wonders, and a work only proper to the All-powerful God.

Fourthly, Out of the passage between *Joshua* and the *Gibeonites*, the doctrine of keeping faith is so plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all evasion, it admitteth no distinction, nor leaveth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiousness, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called equivocation. For, notwithstanding that these *Gibeonites* were a people of the ^l *Hevites*, expressly and by name, by the commandment of God, to be rooted out, and notwithstanding that they were liars, and deceivers, and counterfeits, and that they did over-reach, and, as it were, deride *Joshua*, and the princes of *Israel*, by feigning to be sent as ambassadors from a far country, in which travel their cloaths were worn, their bread mouldy, which they avowed to have been warm for newness when they first set out; their barrels and bottles of wine broken, their shoos patch'd, and their sacks, rent and ragged: yet ^m *Joshua* having sworn

^a Josh. 4. 19. ^b Josh. 5. 2. ^c Aug. 9. 3. in Josh. ^d Thom. part 3. quest. 70. art. 4. ad 3. ^e Josh. 5. 10. ^f Josh. 14. 3. ^g Josh. 18. ^h Josh. 10. ⁱ Josh. 19. ^j Josh. 10. 9. ^k Josh. 3. 13. ^l Josh. 10. 11. ^m Josh. 9. 7. ⁿ Josh. 10. 13. ^o Josh. 10. 13. ^p Josh. 10. 13. ^q Josh. 10. 13. ^r Josh. 10. 13. ^s Josh. 10. 13. ^t Josh. 10. 13. ^u Josh. 10. 13. ^v Josh. 10. 13. ^w Josh. 10. 13. ^x Josh. 10. 13. ^y Josh. 10. 13. ^z Josh. 10. 13. ^{aa} Josh. 10. 13. ^{ab} Josh. 10. 13. ^{ac} Josh. 10. 13. ^{ad} Josh. 10. 13. ^{ae} Josh. 10. 13. ^{af} Josh. 10. 13. ^{ag} Josh. 10. 13. ^{ah} Josh. 10. 13. ^{ai} Josh. 10. 13. ^{aj} Josh. 10. 13. ^{ak} Josh. 10. 13. ^{al} Josh. 10. 13. ^{am} Josh. 10. 13. ^{an} Josh. 10. 13. ^{ao} Josh. 10. 13. ^{ap} Josh. 10. 13. ^{aq} Josh. 10. 13. ^{ar} Josh. 10. 13. ^{as} Josh. 10. 13. ^{at} Josh. 10. 13. ^{au} Josh. 10. 13. ^{av} Josh. 10. 13. ^{aw} Josh. 10. 13. ^{ax} Josh. 10. 13. ^{ay} Josh. 10. 13. ^{az} Josh. 10. 13. ^{ba} Josh. 10. 13. ^{bb} 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10. 13. ^{mv} Josh. 10. 13. ^{mw} Josh. 10. 13. ^{mx} Josh. 10. 13. ^{my} Josh. 10. 13. ^{mz} Josh. 10. 13. ^{na} Josh. 10. 13. ^{nb} Josh. 10. 13. ^{nc} Josh. 10. 13. nd Josh. 10. 13. ^{ne} Josh. 10. 13. ^{nf} Josh. 10. 13. ^{ng} Josh. 10. 13. ^{nh} Josh. 10. 13. ⁿⁱ Josh. 10. 13. ^{nj} Josh. 10. 13. ^{nk} Josh. 10. 13. ^{nl} Josh. 10. 13. ^{nm} Josh. 10. 13. ⁿⁿ Josh. 10. 13. ^{no} Josh. 10. 13. ^{np} Josh. 10. 13. ^{nq} Josh. 10. 13. ^{nr} Josh. 10. 13. ^{ns} Josh. 10. 13. ^{nt} Josh. 10. 13. ^{nu} Josh. 10. 13. ^{nv} Josh. 10. 13. ^{nw} Josh. 10. 13. ^{nx} Josh. 10. 13. ^{ny} Josh. 10. 13. ^{nz} Josh. 10. 13. ^{oa} Josh. 10. 13. ^{ob} Josh. 10. 13. ^{oc} Josh. 10. 13. ^{od} Josh. 10. 13. ^{oe} Josh. 10. 13. ^{of} Josh. 10. 13. ^{og} Josh. 10. 13. ^{oh} Josh. 10. 13. ^{oi} Josh. 10. 13. ^{oj} Josh. 10. 13. ^{ok} Josh. 10. 13. ^{ol} Josh. 10. 13. ^{om} Josh. 10. 13. ^{on} Josh. 10. 13. ^{oo} Josh. 10. 13. ^{op} Josh. 10. 13. ^{oq} Josh. 10. 13. ^{or} Josh. 10. 13. ^{os} Josh. 10. 13. 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unto them by the Lord God of *Israel*; he durst not, tho' urged by the multitude of the people, to lay violent hands on them; but he spared both their lives, and the cities of their inheritance.

Now if ever man had warrant to break faith, and to retract his promise made, *Joshua* had it. For first, The commandment which he received from God to root out this nation among the rest, preceded by far the peace which he had granted them. Secondly, He might justly have put these men to the sword, and have sack'd their cities; if there be any evasion from a promise made, whereof the living God is called to witness. For it was not to the *Gibeonites* that he gave peace, because he knew them to be a people hated of God. He told them, that if they were of the *Hevites*, it was not in his power to make a league with them. But it was to a strange people that he gave faith, and to a nation which came from far, who hearing of the wonders which the God of *Israel* had done in *Egypt* and over *Jordan*, sought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, The accord which *Israel* made with these crafty *Canaanites* was without warrant. For it is written in the same place, That the *Israelites* accepted their tale; that is, believed what they had said, and counselled not with the mouth of the Lord. Fourthly, These men, who were known idolaters, and served those puppets of the heathen, men of an apish religion, as all worshippers of images are, could not challenge the witness of the true God, in whom they believed not. I say therefore, that if ever man might have served himself by any evasion or distinction, *Joshua* might justly have done it. For he needed not in this case the help of equivocation, or mental reservation. For what he swore, he swore in good faith; but he swore nothing, nor made any promise at all to the *Gibeonites*. And yet, to the end that the faithless subtilty of man should borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promises he made in the name of God, were made to the living God, and not to the dying man, he held them firm and inviolable, notwithstanding that they to whom he had sworn it, were worshippers of the devil.

For it is not as faithless men take it, that he which sweareth to a man, to a society, to a state, or to a king, and sweareth by the name of the living Lord, and in his presence, that this promise (if it be broken) is broken to a man, to a society, to a state, or to a prince; but the promise in the name of God made, is broken to God. It is God that we therein neglect; we therein profess that we fear him not, and that we set him at naught and defy him. If he that without reservation of honour giveth a lie in the presence of the king, or of his superiour, doth in point of honour give the lie to the king himself, or to his superiour; how much more doth he break faith with God, that giveth faith in the presence of God, promiseth in his name, and makes him a witness of the covenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearful thing for a son to break the promise, will, or deed of the father; for a state, or kingdom, to break those contracts which have been made in former times, and confirmed by publick faith. For tho' it were 400 years after *Joshua*, that *Saul*, even out of devotion, slaughtered some of those people descended of the *Gibeonites*: yet God, who forgot not what the predecessors and fore-fathers of *Saul* and the *Israelites* had sworn in his name, afflicted the whole nation with a consuming famine; and could not be appeased,

till seven of *Saul's* sons were delivered to the *Gibeonites* grieved, and by them hanged up.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the help of a ridiculous distinction, or by a God-mocking equivocation, to swear one thing by the name of the living God, and to reserve in silence a contrary intent: the life of man, the estates of men, the faith of subjects to kings, of servants to their masters; of vassals to their lords, of wives to their husbands, and of children to their parents, and of all trials of right, will not only be made uncertain, but all the chains whereby free-men are tied in the world, be torn asunder. It is by oaths (when kings and armies cannot pass) that we enter into the cities of our enemies, and into their armies. It is by oath that wars take end, which weapons cannot end. And what is it, or ought it to be, that makes an oath thus powerful, but this: That he that sweareth by the name of God, doth assure others that his words are true, as the Lord of all the world is true, whom he calleth for a witness, and in whose presence, he that taketh the oath hath promised? I am not ignorant of their poor evasions, which play with the severity of God's commandments in this kind: but this indeed is the best answer: That he breaks no faith, that hath none to break. For whosoever hath faith and the fear of God, dares not do it.

The Christians in the *Holy Land*, when they were at the greatest, and had brought the caliph of *Egypt* to pay them tribute, did not only lose it again, but were soon after beaten out of the *Holy Land* itself: by reason (saith *William* of *Tyre*, a reverend bishop which wrote that story) that *Almerick* the fiftieth king after *Godfrey* brake faith with the caliph *Elbadeck*, and his vicegerent, the soldan *Sanar*; who being suddenly invaded by *Almerick*, drew in the Turk, *Syracon*, to their aid; whose nephew *Seladine*, after he had made *Egypt* his own, beat the Christians out of the *Holy Land*; neither would the wooden cross (the very cross, say they, that Christ died on) give them victory over *Seladine*, when they brought it into the field as their last refuge; seeing they had forsworn themselves in his name, that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from the Holy Ghost, *That he that speaketh lies, shall be destroyed, and that the mouth which uttereth them, slayeth the soul*: how much more perilous is it (if any peril be greater than to destroy the soul) to swear a lie? It was *Eugenius* the pope that persuaded, or rather commanded the king of *Hungary* after his great victory over *Amurath* the Turk, and when the said king had compelled him to peace, the most advantageous that ever was made for the Christians, to break his faith, and to provoke the Turk to renew the war. and tho' the said king was far stronger in the field than ever; yet he lost the battle with 30000 Christians, and his own life. But I will stay my hand: for this first volume will not hold the repetition of God's judgments upon faith-breakers; be it against Infidels, Turks, or Christians of divers religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of oaths now-a-days is rather made a matter of custom than of conscience.

It is also very remarkable; that it pleased God to leave so many cities of the *Canaanites* unconquered by *Israel*, to scourge and afflict them, by foreseeing their idolatry, and as it is said in the scriptures, *To be thorns in their eyes to prove them, and to teach them to make war*. For these cities hereafter named, did not only remain in the *Canaanites* possession all the time of *Joshua*, but soon

^a Josh. 9. 7. ^b Josh. 9. 14. ^c Psal. 5. 6. Wisdom 1. 11. ^d Josh. 23. Judg. 1. and Judg. 3. 2.

after his death, the ^achildren of *Dan* were beaten out of the plain countries, and enforc'd to inhabit the mountains, and places of hardest access. And those of *Judah* were not able to be masters of their own vallies; because, as it is written in *Judges* i. 19. *The Canaanites had chariots of iron.* And those principal cities which stood on the sea-side, adjoining unto ^b*Judah*, were still held by the remainder of the *Anakims*, or *Philistines*; as *Azzah*, *Gath*, *Asdod*, out of one of which cities came *Goliath*, remembered in *Samuel*.

Neither did the children of *Manasseh* over *Jordan* expel the *Geshurites*, nor the *Maachathites*; which inhabited the north parts of *Basan*, afterward *Traconitis*.

Nor the *Nephtalims* possess themselves of *Bethshemish*, nor of *Bethanab*; but they enforce'd those *Canaanites* to pay them tribute. Neither did ^d*Asher* expel the *Zidonians*, nor those of *Acho*, or *Acon*, *Atblab*, *Achzib*, *Heblab*, *Aphike*, and *Rebob*, nor enforce them to a tribute.

No more could *Zabulon* enjoy *Kitron*, and *Nahalol*, but received tribute from them. Also the *Canaanites* dwelt in ^e*Gezer* among the *Ephraims*; and among the children of *Manasseh*, on the west of *Jordan*, the *Canaanites* held *Bethshean*, *Taanach*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Megiddo*; yea, *Jerusalem* itself did the *Jebusites* defend above four hundred years, even till *David's* time.

Now *Joshua* lived one hundred and ten years, eighteen of which he governed *Israel*, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expressed in the scriptures, which causeth divers to conjecture diversly of the continuance. *Josephus* gives him five and twenty years; *Seder Ollam Rabbi*, the author of the *Hebrew* chronology, eight and twenty; and *Massius* six and twenty; *Maimonius*, cited by *Massius*, fourteen; *Joannes Lucidus*, seventeen; *Cajetan*, ten; *Eusebius* giveth him seven and twenty, and so doth *St. Augustine*; *Melancthon*, two and thirty; *Codoman* five and twenty. But whereas there passed 480 years from the deliverance of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, unto the building of the temple, it is necessary that we allow to *Joshua* only eighteen of them, as finding the rest supplied otherwise, which to me seems the most likely, and, as I think, a well approved opinion.

The same necessity of retaining precisely 480 years from the departure out of *Egypt* unto the building of the temple, convinceth of error such as have inserted years between *Joshua* and *Othniel*, of whom ⁸*Eusebius* finds eight years, to which *Arius Montanus* adhereth; and for which he giveth his reason in his four and twentieth and last chapters upon *Joshua*: *Bunting* reckons it nine years, *Bucholzer* and *Reusner* but one, *Codoman* twenty, and *Nicephorus* no less than three and thirty; whereas following the sure direction of these 480 years, there can be no void years found between *Joshua* and *Othniel*, unless they be taken out of those eighteen ascribed unto *Joshua* by the account already specified. The praises and acts of *Joshua* are briefly written in the six and fortieth chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*, where, among many others things, it is said of him, *Who was there before him like to him, for he fought the battles of the Lord?*

That he wrote the book called by this name, it was the opinion of *Arius Montanus*, because it is said in the last chapter, verse 26. *And Joshua*

wrote these words in the book of the law of God; which seemeth rather to have been meant by the covenant which *Joshua* made with *Israel* in *Sichem*, where they all promised to serve and obey the Lord, which promise *Joshua* caused to be written in the book of the law; and of this opinion were *Cajetan* and *Abulensis*: *Theodoret* doth likewise conceive that the book of *Joshua* was collected out of an ancient volume, intitled *Liber Justorum*; remembered by *Joshua* himself; and others, that it was the work of *Samuel*; for whereas *Montanus* groundeth his opinion upon these words of the 26th verse, *And Joshua wrote these words*, &c. this place hath nothing in it to prove it; for when the people had answered *Joshua*, ^h*The Lord our God will we serve, and his voice will we obey*; it followeth that *Joshua* made a covenant with the people, and wrote the same in the book of the law of God.

There lived at once with *Joshua*, *Eriethonius* in *Attica*, who taught that nation to yoke beasts together, thereby to till the ground with more ease and speed: and about the same time the fifty daughters of *Danaus* (as it is said) slew the fifty sons of *Egyptus*, all but *Lynceus*, who succeeded *Danaus*, if the tale be true. There lived also with *Joshua*, *Phœnix* and *Cadmus*, and near the end of *Joshua's* life, *Jupiter* is said to have ravished *Europa* the daughter of *Phœnix* (afterwards married to *Asterius* king of *Creta*) and begat on her *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. But ⁱ*St. Augustine* reports this ravishment to be committed by *Xanthus*, and yet they are more commonly taken for the sons of *Jupiter*. But it may be doubted whether ^k*Minos* was father to *Deucalion*, and *Deucalion* to *Idomeneus*, who was an old man at the war of *Troy*, and *Sarpedon* was in person a young or strong man at the same *Trojan* war. And so doth *Nestor* reckon up in the counsel of the ^l*Greeks*, *Theseus* and *Perithous* for men of antiquity, and of ages past: *Minos* being yet more ancient than any of these. But hereof elsewhere.

CHAP. VII.

Of the tribes of Israel, that were planted in the borders of Phenicia, with sundry stories depending upon those places.

SECT. I.

The proem to the description of the whole land of Canaan, with an exposition of the name of Syria.

THE story of the *Judges* ought to follow that of *Joshua*, after whom the commonwealth of the *Jews* was governed by kings, of which so many of them as ruled the ten tribes, shall be remembered when we come to the description of *Samaria*: but because the land of *Canaan*, and the borders thereof, were the stages and theatres, whereon the greatest part of the story pass'd, with that which followeth hath been acted, I think it very pertinent (for the better understanding of both) to make a geographical description of those regions; that all things therein performed by the places known, may the better be understood and conceived. To which purpose (besides the addition of the neighbour countries) I have be-

^a *Judg.* i. 34. ^b *Josh.* ii. 19. ^c *Sam.* xv. 4. ^d *Josh.* xiii. 13. ^e *Josh.* xvi. 10. ^f *Judg.* i. 27. ^g *Euseb. Prep. Evang.* ^h *Josh.* v. *last ver. and c.* 24. v. 26. ⁱ *Lib.* 18. c. 12. *De Civitate Dei.* ^k *Homer Odys. & Iliad.* ^l *Iliad.* i.

flowed on every tribe his proper portion; and do shew what cities and places of strength were by the *Jews* obtained; and what numbers it pleased God to leave unconquered; by whom he might correct and scourge them, when ungrateful for his many graces, they at sundry times forgot or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored those deaf and dead idols of the heathen. *Divina bonitas* (saith St. *Augustine*) *ideo maxime irascitur in hoc seculo, ne irascatur in futuro; & misericorditer temporalem adhibet severitatem, ne eternam juste inferat ultionem*; the divine goodness is especially therefore angry in this world, that it may not be angry in the world to come; and doth mercifully use temporal severity, that it may not justly bring upon us eternal vengeance.

To the cities herein described, I have added a short story of the beginnings and ends of divers kingdoms and common-wealths; and to help my self herein, I have perused divers of the best authors upon this subject; among whom, because I find so great disagreement in many particulars, I have rather in such cases adventured to follow mine own reason, than to borrow any one of their old patterns.

And because *Canaan*, with *Palestina* of the *Philistines*, and the lands of *Og* and *Sihon* kings of *Basan*, and the *Arabian Amorites*, were but small provinces of *Syria*; it shall be necessary, first to divide and bound the general, and so descend to this particular, now called the holy land.

^a *Syria*, now *Soria*, according to the largest description, as it was anciently taken, imbraced all those regions from the *Euxine* sea to the *Red* sea; and therefore were the *Cappadocians*, which look into *Pontus*, called ^b *Leucosyrians*, or white *Syrians*. But taking it shorter, and from the coast of *Cilicia*, which is the north border, unto *Idumea* towards the south, *Tigris* towards the sun-rising, and the *Mediterranean* sea westward: it then containeth, besides *Babylonia*, *Chaldea*, *Arabia* the *Desart*, and *Arabia Petraea*, that region also which the *Greeks* call *Mesopotamia*; the *Hebrews* *Syria*, of the two rivers, to wit, *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, for so *Aram-Nabairajm* is expounded; also *Padan Aram*; that is, *Jugum Syriae*, because the two rivers go along in it as it were in a yoke.

^c *Edeffa*, sometimes *Rages*, now *Rage*, was the metropolis of this region of *Syria*. In *Syria*, taken largely, there were many small provinces, as *Cœlæsyria*, which the *Latins* call *Syria Cava*, because it lay in that fruitful valley between the mountains of *Lybanus* and *Anti-lybanus*, in which the famous cities of *Antioch*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, with many others were seated. Then *Damascena*, or *Syria Lybanica*, taking name of the city ^d *Damascus*, and the mountains of *Lybanus*, the regal seat of the *Adades*, the first kings of *Syria*. Adjoining to it was the province of *Sophone*, or ^e *Syria Soba*, *Choba*, or *Zobal*; over which *Adadexer* commanded in *Solomon's* time. Then *Phenicia* and the people *Syrphœnices*; and lastly, *Syria Palestina* bordering *Egypt*; of which ^f *Ptolemy* maketh *Judea* also a part; and to that province which *Moses* calleth *Seir* and *Edom*, *Pomponius Mela* giveth the name of *Syria Judea*.

SECT. II.

Of the bounds of the land of Canaan, and of the promises touching this land.

BUT that land which was anciently *Canaan*, taketh a part of *Phenicia*, and stretcheth from behind *Lybanus* to the great desarts between *Idumea*

and *Egypt*; bounded by the midland sea on the west, and the mountains of *Hermon*, *Gilead*, and *Arnon* towards the east; the same hills which *Strabo* calleth *Traconi* or *Traconitæ*, and *Ptolemy* *Hippus*. The name of *Canaan* it had from ^g *Canaan* the son of *Cham*, *& lingua appellata fuit Canaan*; The language was also called *Canaan*, saith *Montanus*; and after *Hebræa* of the *Hebrews*, who took name from *Heber*, the son of *Sale*, according to ^h *St. Augustine*. But *Arius Montanus* not so well allowing of this derivation, makes it a common name to all those of *Noah's* sons, which pass'd over *Euphrates* towards the west sea. For the word *Heber*, saith he, is as much as *transiens*, or *transmittens*, of going or passing over. And because the children of *Abraham* had for a long time no certain abiding; therefore, as he thinks, they were by the *Egyptians* called *Hebræi*, as it were passengers, which is also the opinion of *C. Sigonius*, and of ⁱ *Eusebius* long before them both. It had also the name of *Judea* from *Juda*; and then afterwards intitled the holy land, because therein our Saviour Christ was born, and buried. Now this part of *Syria* was again divided into four, namely, into *Edom* (otherwise *Seir*, or *Edumea*) *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Judea*. *Galilee* is double, the superior, called *Gentium*, and the inferior; and that *Galilee* and *Judea* are distinguished, it is plain in the *Evangelists*, tho' both of them belong to *Phenicia*.

Now besides these provinces of *Phenicia*, and *Palestina* (both which the river of *Jordan* boundeth; saving that *Phenicia* stretcheth a little more easterly towards *Damascus*) that part also to the east of *Jordan*, and within the mountains of *Hermon*, *Gilead*, and *Arnon*, otherwise *Traconi*, fell to the possession of half *Manasseh*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, and therefore are accounted a part of *Canaan* also; as well because anciently possess'd by the *Amorites*, as for that they were conquered and enjoy'd by the *Israelites*; which eastmost parts are again divided into *Basan*, or *Batanea*, into *Gilead*, *Moab*, *Midian*, *Ammon*, and the territories of the *Machati*, *Gessuri*, *Argobe*, *Ilus*. They are known to the latter cosmographers by the name of *Arabia* in general; and by the names of *Traconitis*, *Pieria*, *Batanea*, &c. of which I will speak in their proper places.

But where *Moses* describeth the land of *Canaan* in the tenth of *Genesis*, he maketh no mention of the latter provinces, which fell to *Manasseh*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*; for these be his words: *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, as thou comest to Gerar until Azzah* (which is *Gaza*) and this was the length of the country north and south; then it followeth in the text; *And as thou goest unto Sodom and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Seboim, even unto Lasba*; by which words *Moses* setteth down the breadth, to wit, from the *Dead* sea to the *Mediterranean*. But in ¹ *Deuteronomy*, it seemeth to be far more large; for it is therein written: *All the places whercon the soles of your feet shall tread shall be yours: your coast shall be from the wilderness, and from Lebanon, and from the river Perab, unto the uttermost sea*. Now for the length of the country north and south, this description agreeth with the former; only *Lebanon* is put for *Zidon*; and the wilderness for *Gerar* and *Azzah*, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent east and west, if *Perab* be taken for *Euphrates*, then the land promised stretcheth it self both over *Arabia Petraea* and the desart, as far as the border of *Babylon*, which the *Israelites* never possess'd, nor at any time did so much as invade or attempt.

^a Ptol. Asia Tab. 4. ^b Ptol. 5. ^c Aurogallus. ^d 1 King. 11. ^e Herod. in Polym. Dion. l. 27. ^f Ptol. Asia Tab. 1. ^g Strab. l. 10. ^h Caleb. f. 62. ⁱ Euseb. Prep. Evang. l. 7. c. 3. ^k Matt. 2. Luke 2. John 4. ^l Deut. 11. 24.

And therefore *Vadianus* doth conceive, that by the river *Perah*, was meant *Jordan*, and not *Euphrates*; taking light from this place of *Joshua*; ^a *Behold I have divided unto you by lot these nations, that remain to be an inheritance according to your tribes; from Jordan, with all the nations that I have destroyed, even unto the great sea westward.*

And tho' it be true, that *David* greatly enlarged the territory of the holy land: yet, as ^b *Vadianus* well noteth, if *Perah* in the former place be taken for *Euphrates*, then was it but *per gentes in amicitiam receptas*. For *David* did not at any time enter so far to the east as *Affyria*, or *Babylonia*. Neither doth the not possessing of all these countries give advantage to those that would make any irreligious cavil, as touching the promise of God to the *Israelites* unperformed: for when both their kings, magistrates, and people fell from his worship and service, it pleased him, not only to inclose them within that territory, which was for so many people exceeding narrow; but therein, and elsewhere, to subject them unto those idolatrous nations, whose false and foolish gods themselves also served and obey'd. And sure, the promise by which the *Hebrews* claimed the inheritance of ^c *Canaan*, and the lasting injoying thereof, to wit, *as long as the heavens were above the earth*, was tied to those conditions, both in the verses preceding, and subsequent; which the *Israelites* never performed. And therefore they could not hope for other, than all mankind could or can expect; who knew, that all sorts of comforts, from the merciful goodness of God looked for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to be attended, than while we persevere in his love, service, and obedience. So in *Deuteronomy* xi. 8. the keeping of God's commandments, was a condition joined to the prosperity of *Israel*. For therein it is written; *Therefore shall ye keep all commandments which I command you this day: that ye may be strong, and go in, and possess the land, whither ye go to possess it. Also that you may prolong your days in the land which the Lord sware unto your fathers, &c.*

The like condition was also annexed to the enjoying of the land conquered, and the possession thereof, so long as the heavens are above the earth. ^d *For if ye keep diligently, saith he, all these commandments, which I command you to do, that is, to love the Lord your God, &c. then will the Lord cast out all these nations before you, and ye shall possess great nations, and mightier than you.* And here, tho' it be manifest, that by reason of the breach of God's commandments, and their falling away from the worship of his All-powerful majesty, to the idolatry of the heathen, the conditional promises of God were absolutely void, as depending upon obedience unperformed. Yet I cannot mislike that exposition of *Melanethon*; for, saith he, *ostendit promissionem precipuam non esse de hoc politico regno*; He sheweth that his chief promise is not of a civil kingdom. To which agrees that answer, which *St. Jerome* made to a certain heretick, in his epistle *ad Dardanum*, who accused *St. Jerome*, that he overthrew the reputation of the *Jews* story, and brought the truth thereof in question, by drawing it altogether into an allegory, and *ad illam duntaxat viventium terram que in cælis est* (that is) Only to that land of the living which is in heaven. *Quoniam tota Judæorum regio adeo angusta sit ambitu, ut vix longitudinem habeat 160 milliarium, latitudinem vero 40, & in his etiam regiones, loca, urbes, & oppida sunt plurima, nunquam a Judæis occupata,*

sed tantum divina pollicitatione promissa; Because the whole country of the *Jews* is so narrow in compass, that it scarce hath 160 miles in length, and 40 miles in breadth; and in these are countries, places, cities, and many towns, which the *Jews* never possess'd, but were only granted by divine promise. In like manner the same father speaketh upon *Isaiah*, touching the blessings promised unto *Jerusalem*; where he hath these words, ^e *De quo discimus Hierusalem nequaquam in Palæstina regione petendam: quæ totius provinciæ deterrima est, & saxosis montibus asperatur; & penuriam patitur sitis: ita ut cælestibus utatur pluviis, & raritatem fontium cisternarum extruptione soletur: sed in Dei manibus, ad quam dicitur festinaverunt structores tui*; From whence, saith he, we learn, that *Jerusalem* is not to be sought in that region of *Palestina*, which is the worst of the whole province, and ragged, with craggy mountains, and suffereth the penury of thirst: so as it preserveth rain water, and supplieth the scarcity of wells, by building of cisterns: but this *Jerusalem* is in God's hands, to which it is said thy builders have hastned; so far *St. Jerome*. Where also, to prevent mistaking, he thus expoundeth himself; *Neque hoc dico in suggillationem terræ Judææ, ut hæreticus sycophanta mentitur: aut quo auferam historiæ veritatem: quæ fundamentum est intelligentiæ spiritualis, sed ut decutiam supercilium Judæorum: qui synagogæ angustias latitudini ecclesiæ præferunt. Si enim occidentem tantum sequuntur literam, & non spiritum vivificantem, ostendant terram promissionis lacte & melle manantem*; Neither (saith he) say I this to disgrace the land of *Judea* (as the heretical sycophant doth belie me) or to take away the truth of the history, which is the foundation of spiritual understanding, but to beat down the pride of the *Jews*; which enlarge the straits of the synagogue, farther than the breadth of the church: for if they follow only the killing letter, and not the quickning spirit, let them shew the land of promise flowing with milk and honey.

By this it may also be gathered, howsoever it be unlikely (seeing the west bound in the place, *Deut.* xi. 24. had his truth in the literal sense; that *Euphrates* or *Perath*, which is made the east bound, should be taken only for a spiritual sense) yet nevertheless that *Jerome's* opinion inclineth to this, as if this *Perath* were not to be understood for *Euphrates*: and that the promise it self was never so large, much less the plantation and conquest of *Israel*.

And now for a more particular description of this holy land, because *Asher*, *Nephthalim*, and *Zabulon*, held the northermost part, and were seated in *Phœnicia*, I will begin with these three, taking *Asher* for the first: of which tribe, yet before I speak, I must admonish the reader touching the names of places in this, and the other tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names, by reason of the divers fancies of translators, are diversly expressed; so that to the unskilful they may seem diverse, when they are one and the same: the reason of this diversity (as by those learned in the *Hebrew* I am taught) is, partly, because the ancient editions of the *Hebrew* want vowels, the old translators imagined other vowels than now the *Hebrew* editions have; and partly, because the ancients expressed or omitted divers consonants, otherwise than the latter do think fit.

^a Josh. 23. 4.^b Vadian. Epitom. trium terræ partium. cap. Palæstina.^c Deut. 11. 21.^d Deut. 11.^e Isa. 49. 14.

SECT. III.

The Tribe of ASHER.

† I.

The bounds of the tribe of Asher.

THE *Asherites* descended of *Asher*, the son of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of *Lea*, were increased while they abode in *Egypt*, to the number of 41500 and odd persons, all men above 20 years of age, and able to bear arms at the time, when they were mustered by *Moses* at mount *Sinai*: all which number perishing in the desarts, there remained of their issues, besides women and children, 53400 bodies fit for the wars: which pass'd the river of *Arnon*, into the plains of *Moab*; and, after the conquest of *Canaan*, had for their portion that part of *Phenicia*, from *Zidon*, and the fields of *Libanus*, unto *Ptolomais Acon* along the sea coast, containing 30 *English* miles, or thereabouts; and from the midland sea to the east border, some 12 miles; tho' ^a *Antoninus* makes it somewhat larger. This part of *Canaan* was very fruitful, abounding in wine, oil, and wheat, besides the *Balsamum*, with other pleasant and profitable commodities; according to that prophesy, *Asher pinguis panis*; concerning *Asher*, his bread shall be fat; ^b *And he shall give pleasures for a king*.

† II.

Of Zidon.

THE first city seated on the north border of the territory of *Asher*, was *Zidon*, which *Joshua* calleth the great *Zidon*, both for strength and magnitude. The *Greeks*, and ^Q *Curtius*, make *Agenor* the founder thereof: and ^c *Justin* derives the name from the abundance of fish found on those shores; whereof it hath been called *Zidona*. But that it was far more ancient, ^d *Moses*, *Joshua*, and *Josephus* witness, the same being founded by *Zidon*, the eldest of *Canaan's* sons: and so strong it was in *Joshua's* time, as neither did himself attempt it, neither could the *Asherites*, or any of their successors, master it: but it continued all the time of the judges and kings, even unto the coming of Christ, a city interchangeably governed, by their own princes, or other magistrates: tho', according to the warnings and threats of the prophets ^e *Isaiab*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel* and *Zachary*; it was often afflicted, both by the enemies sword, and by the pestilence.

Zidon is seated on the very wash of the *Phenician* sea, which is a part of the *Mediterranean*, or midland sea. It hath to the north, the city of *Berythus*, and the river *Leontis*; and to the south, *Sarepta*, or *Sarphat*, which standeth between it and *Tyre*; the distance between which two great and famous cities, to wit, *Zidon* and *Tyre*, is 14000 paces, saith ^f *Seiglerus*: but *Vadianus* makes it 200 furlongs, and so doth *Weissinbury*, in his description of the holy land, and both from *Strabo*: which 200 furlongs make 25 miles. This difference of distance, as well between these two known cities, as all the rest, make it over-difficult to devise any new scale to the map and description of the holy land.

What kings it had till *Agenor's* time, there is

no memory: The story which *Zeno* the philosopher, who was a *Zidonian*, wrote thereof, being by time consumed and lost. It seemeth to be more ancient than *Tyre*; which was also built by the *Zidonians*. For as ^g *Strabo* noteth, *Homer* speaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memory of *Tyre*; because it was but a member of *Zidon*, and a city subject to the kings thereof: tho' it be true, that in alter-times it contended with *Zidon* for primacy, and became far more renowned, opulent, and strong. From *Zidon* had *Solomon* and *Zorobabel* their principal workmen, both in timber and stone, for the building of the temple. For as it flourished in all sorts of learning, so did it in all other mechanical arts and trades: the prophet ^h *Zachary* calling them the wise *Zidonians*. The city was, both by nature and art, exceeding strong, having a castle or citadel on the north side, standing upon an unaccessible rock, and compassed by the sea; which after the citizens became Christians, was held and defended by the knights of the *Dutch* order: and another castle it hath on the south side, by the port of *Egypt*, which the templers guarded. It also sent many other colonies besides that of *Tyre*, into places remote; as unto *Thebes*, and *Sepbyra*, cities of *Beotia* in *Greece*.

Strabo and ⁱ *Pliny* give the *Zidonians* the invention of ^k glass, which they used to make of those sands which are taken out of the river *Belus*, falling into the *Mediterranean* sea, near *Ptolomais* or *Acon*; and from whence the *Venetians* fetch the matter of those clear glasses which they make at *Murana*; of which *St. Jerome* and *Pliny*. *Zidon insignis artifex vitri*, *Zidon vitrariis officinis nobilis*; *Zidon* a famous glass-maker, or a skilful worker in glass-houses.

They were in religion idolaters (as the rest of the *Canaanites*) worshippers of *Baal* and ^l *Astaroth*: which idols, tho' common to the other of the issue of *Canaan* (as *Pineda* gathers out of ¹ *Sam.* xxxi. 10. and *Judges* x. 6.) yet especially and peculiarly were accounted the gods of the *Zidonians*; as appears ¹ *Kings* xi. 5. in the story of *Solomon's* idolatry, where *Astaroth* is called the God of the *Zidonians*: and ¹ *Kings* xvi. 33. in the story of *Achab*, the chief worshipper of *Baal*, where it is said, that he marrying *Jezebel*, the daughter of the king of the *Zidonians*, worshipped their *Baal*. Divers *Baals*, and divers *Astaroths*, in their idolatries, they acknowledged; as it appears by the plural names of *Baalim* and *Astaroth*, ¹ *Sam.* xii. 10. and elsewhere: for even the name *Astaroth*, as I am informed by a skilful *Hebrician*, is plural; the singular being *Astoreth*: whence *Judg.* ii. 13. the *Septuagint* read ελατρουσαν ταῖς ἀστροθαῖς; *They worshipped the Astarties*. The occasion of this their multiplying of their *Baals*, and *Astoreths*, may be diversly understood; either in respect of the diversity of the forms of the images, or of the worship in divers places, or of the stories depending upon them; which (as fables use to be) were doubtless in divers cities diverse. *Augustine Quest.* 19. in *Judg.* thinks *Baal* and *Astarte* to be *Jupiter* and *Juno*. For the *Carthaginians* (which were *Tyrians*) call *Juno* by some such name as *Astarte*, *Tull.* l. 3. de *Nat. Deorum*, making divers goddesses of the name of *Venus*, expounds the fourth to be *Astarte*; whom he makes to be born of *Tyrus* and *Syria*, and to have been the wife

^a Ant. Itin. ^b Gen. 49. ^c Justin. l. 18. ^d Gen. 10. Joseph. ^e Isa. 23. Jer. 47. Ezek. 28. & 32. Zach. 9. ^f Palæst. Seig. c. 19. Vadian. Phoen. c. 278. Strab. l. 16. ^g Strab. l. 16. ^h Zach. 9. 2. ⁱ Plin. l. 5. c. 9. ^k It seems that even in *Joshua's* time they practised Glass-making; whence *Junius* for *Mithrephoth mairum*, which ad verbum, is as much as combustiones aquarum, reads fornaces vitrarum, *Josh.* 11. 8. as it seems, because these furnaces were where there was store of water, either for the moving of the bellows by the force of the water, or for other necessary uses. But there are others that take them for salt pits, and others again for hot-baths. ^l The form of *Astoreth* (or *Astarte*) seemeth to have been a sheep; for, *Deut.* 7. 13. the word in the plural number signifieth sheep; and this may confirm *Augustine's* opinion, that *Astarte* was *Juno*: for the form of her husband *Jupiter* *Hammon* was a ram.

of *Adonis*. As also *Macrobius* 2. *Saturn. cap.* 21. says, that *Adonis* was with great veneration commonly worshipped of the *Affyrians*. And *Jerome*, upon *Ezekiel* viii. 44. notes, that *Thammuz* (whom there the idolatrous women are noted to bewail) is the name of *Adonis* among the *Syrians*. So that it may seem, that in the worship of *Astarte*, or *Venus*, they did bewail her husband *Adonis*. As also the *Grecians* did in their songs of *Adonis*, ^a *Mourn for Adonis the fair, dead is Adonis the fair*. Howbeit, others in that place of *Ezekiel*, not without good probability, expound the mourning for *Thammuz*, to be the mourning for *Osiris*, in the sacrifices of *Isis*: whose loss of her husband *Osiris*, was as famous in the *Egyptian* idolatry, as with the *Grecians*, *Venus's* loss of *Adonis*. And to this agreeth that which *Plutarch* hath, *de Iside & Osiride*; that *Osiris* with the *Egyptians*, is called *Ammuz*: which word may seem to be the same with *Ezekiel's* *Thammuz*. But howsoever these *Zidonians* were thus anciently fostered with the milk of idolatry: yet they were more apt to receive the doctrine and gospel of Christ after this ascension, than the *Jews*: who had been taught by *Moses*, and the prophets, so many years, whereof our Saviour, in *Matthew* and *Luke*; ^b *Wo be to thee Chorazin, &c. For if the great works which were done in thee, had been done in Tyrus and Zidon, they had repented long ago, &c. But I say unto you, it shall be easier for Tyrus and Zidon, at the day of judgment, than for you.*

It received a Christian bishop with the first; who was afterwards of the diocese of *Tyre*. But in the year of our redemption 636, it fell into the hands of the *Saracens*; and continued in their possession till *Baldwinus* the first, then king of *Jerusalem* in the year 1111, by the help of the *Danes* and *Norways*, who came with a fleet to visit the holy land, and took port at ^c *Joppa*; it was again recovered, the commandment thereof being given to *Eustace Gremer*, a nobleman of that country. And again, in the year 1250, it was re-edified and strengthened by *Lodowick* the *French* king; while he spent four years in the war of the holy land. ^d Lastly, in the year 1289, it was reconquered by the *Saracens*; and is now in possession of the *Turks*, and hath the name of *Zai*.

† III.

Of Sarepta, with a brief history of Tyre in the same coast.

S*arepta*, or, after the *Hebrew*, *Sarpath*, is the next city southward from *Zidon*, between it and the river called *Naar*, or *l'ons hortorum Libani* (of which more hereafter) standing in the way towards *Tyre*, a city very famous for the excellent wine growing near it: of which *Sidonius*;

*Vina mihi non sunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna,
Quæque Sareptano palmitis missa bibas.*

I have no wine of *Gaza*, nor *Falerna* wine,
Nor any for thy drinking of *Sarepta's* vine.

This city had also a bishop of the diocese of *Tyre*: after it came to the *Saracens* and *Turks*, as the rest, and now called *Saphet*, saith *Possellus*.

Not far from *Sarepta*, was situate that some time famous city of *Tyre*, whose fleets of ships commanded, and gave the law over all the *Mediterranean* sea, and the borders thereof; during which time of greatness and power, the *Tyrans*

erected *Utica*, *Leptis*, and *Carthage* in *Africa*; of which *Virgil*; ^e *Urbs antiqua fuit Tyrus tenuere coloni, Carthago*. And *Carthage* was therefore called ^f *Punica quasi Phœnicum*, a colony of the *Phœnicians*. In *Spain* they founded *Gades*, now *Caliz*. In *Italy*, *Nola*. In *Asia* the less, *Dromos Achillis*, which city the ^g *Scholiast* of *Apollonius* placeth near the river *Phyllis* in *Bithynia*.

It had anciently the name of *Zor*, or *Tzor*; and so it is written in *Joshua* xix. taking name from the situation, because built on a high rock, sharp at one end. The *Latins*, as it seems, knew it by the name of *Sarra*; for ^h *Virgil* calleth the purple of *Tyre*, *Ostrum Sarranum*, by which name *Juvenal* and *Silius* remember it. The *Zidonians* built it upon a high hill, whereof many ruins remain to this day, the place being still known by the name of the ancient *Tyre*: and because it was a colony of the *Zidonians*, the prophet *Isaiah* xxiii. calleth it the daughter of *Zidon*: which *Trogus* also confirmeth, tho' *Berosus*, by affinity of name, makes *Thiras* the son of *Japhet* to be the parent thereof: and tho', no doubt, it was very ancient (for so much the prophet *Isaiah* xxiii. also witnesseth, *Is not this your glorious city, whose antiquity is of ancient days?*) yet, that *Thiras* the son of *Japhet* set himself in the bosom of the *Canaanites*, who built *Zidon*, and peopled all that region, I see nothing to persuade me.

But that new *Tyre*, in after-times so renowned, seemeth to be the work of *Agenor*: and of this opinion was ⁱ *Curtius* and *Josephus*. And *Eusebius* makes this city elder than *Solomon's* temple 240 years: *Cedrenus* 361, who also addeth that *Tyrus*, the wife of *Agenor*, gave it her name: but of *Agenor*, I will speak more at large in the story of their kings.

For strength, and for the commodiousness of the harbour, and the better to receive trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an island 700 paces from the continent; and therefore ^k *Ezekiel* placeth it in the midst of the sea, as some read; or as others, in the innermost part of the sea; whence he calleth it, *situate at the entrance of the sea*; as also the same prophet calleth it, *the mart of the people for many isles*: and *Isaiah* xxiii. 3. *A mart of the nations*. And so proud, wealthy, and magnificent was this city, as the prophet *Isaiah* xxvii. 8. calleth the merchants thereof *princes*, and their chapmen *the nobles of the world*.

It excelled, both in learning, and in manufacture; especially in the making and dying of purple and scarlet cloth: which, saith *Julius Pollux*, was first found out by *Hercules's* dog, who passing along the sea coast, and eating of the fish *Couchilis* or *Purpura*, the hair of his lips became of that colour. It worshipped the same idols that *Zidon* did; saving that *Hercules* became their patron in after-times. For *Alexander Macedon*, when the *Tyrans* presented him with a crown of gold, and other gifts, desiring to remain his friends and allies, answered them, that he had vowed a sacrifice to *Hercules*, the defender of their city, and the ancestor of the *Macedonian* kings, and must therefore enter it. Whereupon they sent him word, that *Hercules's* temple was in the mountain of old *Tyre*, where he might perform that ceremony. But this availed not, for *Alexander* was not so superstitious, as ambitious; he desired to enter the town, which being denied, he, as one whom no peril could fear, nor labour weary, gathered together as many ships as he could, and brought from *Li-*

^a Κλαίετε καλὸν Ἀδώνη ^b Matth. 11. 20. ^c Tyr. 11 Bell. Sac. 14. Vitruv. c. 27. ^d Niger Possellus. ^e Virgil. l. 1. c. 1. ^f Pline. l. 5. c. 10. ^g Marcellin. l. 22. ^h Gellus, l. 4. c. 6. ⁱ Justin. l. 18. Curt. l. 4. Euseb. in Chron. Joseph. Ant. l. 6. c. 2. Cedren. p. 17. ^k Ezek. 28. 2. & 27. 3.

banus so great a number of cedars, and so many weighty stones from the old city of *Tyre* adjoining, as notwithstanding that his materials were often washed away with the strength of the sea and the tides, yet he never rested, till he had made a foot passage from the continent to the island: and having once approached their walls, he over-topp'd them with turrets of wood, and other frames; from whence (having filled the body of force with the violent moving spirit of resolution) he became lord thereof, putting all to the sword that resisted; after which, he caused 2000 more to be hung up in a rank all along the sea-shore; which execution in cold blood he performed (as some authors affirm) upon the issues of those slaves which had formerly slain all their masters, taking their wives, children, riches, and power of government to themselves. This victory of *Alexander* over the *Tyrians*, ^a *Josephus* remembreth; and how *Sanaballat* revolted from *Darius*, and came to *Alexander* with 8000 soldiers; who was the last *satrapa*, or provincial governour, which *Darius* seated in *Samaria*; the same who having married his daughter to *Manasseh*, brother to *Jaddus* the high priest of *Jerusalem*, obtained of *Alexander* that a temple might be built on the mountain *Garizim*, over *Samaria*; that the forces of the *Jews* being divided, *Alexander* might the better hold them in obedience. The honour of which priesthood he bestowed on his son-in-law *Manasseh*, whom the *Jews* oppugned, for that he had married out of their tribes, and with a *Gentile*: but while *Alexander* besieged *Gaza*, *Sanaballat*, whom ^b *Gulielmus Tyrius* calleth *Sanabula*, died.

Long before this desolation of *Tyre*, by the cruelty of *Alexander*, it was attempte^d by *Salmanassar* the *Assyrian* king; when the growing pride of the *Assyrians*, after that they had conquered the ten tribes, with the rest of *Syria*, became envious of the beauty, riches, and power of that city. He besieged it both on the land side, and with three-score ships of war held the port; to the end that neither any victuals nor any supply of men might enter it: but the *Tyrians* with twelve sail scattered that fleet, and took five hundred prisoners of the *Assyrians*; notwithstanding, the *Assyrian* continued his resolution, and lay before it by his lieutenants five years, but with ill success. And this siege *Menander Ephesius*, cited by *Josephus*, made report of in his chronicles, as he found the story among the annals of the *Tyrians* (which the said *Menander* converted into *Greek*) adding that *Elulæus*, whom *Tyrius* calleth *Heliseus*, was then king of *Tyre*, having governed the same six and twenty years. Soon after this repulse of *Salmanassar*, and about 200 years before the victory of *Alexander*, *Nabuchodonosor*, at such time as he destroyed *Jerusalem* with the temple, came before this city; who indeed gave to *Alexander* the example of that despairful work of joining it to the continent. For *Nabuchodonosor* had formerly done it; tho' by the diligence of the citizens, and the strength of the sea, the same way and passage was again broken down and demolished.

Against *Nabuchodonosor* for many years the *Tyrians* defended themselves; for so long did these *Babylonians* continue before it: *As every head was made bald, and every shoulder made bare*, saith, *Ezekiel* xxix. 18. who with the prophet *Isaiab* ch. 23, &c. had manifestly foretold the destruction of this proud place. In the end, and after thirteen years siege or more, the *Tyrians*, despoiled of all their

hopes, and remembring over-late the predictions and threatnings of God's prophets, having prepared a convenient number of ships, abandoned their city, transporting with themselves the ablest of all that remained; and with their wives, children, and portable riches, sailed thence into *Cyprus*, *Carthage*, and other maritime cities of their tributaries, or confederates; so as the *Babylonians* finding nothing therein, either to satisfy so many labours and perils, or any person upon whom to avenge themselves for the loss of so many bodies in that war. It pleased God in recompence thereof (who strengthened this resolution, as in a work of his own) to make *Nabuchodonosor* victorious over the *Egyptians*; and gave him that kingdom and the spoil thereof, as it were in wages for his army. Whereupon St. *Jerome* noteth, that God leaveth not the good deeds of the heathen unrewarded; who tho' they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action, to attain unto that eternal happiness reserved for his servants and saints; yet such is the boundless goodness of God, as he often repayeth them with many worldly gifts and temporal blessings.

Now of this enterprize of *Nabuchodonosor* against *Tyre*, profane historians have not been silent. For both *Diocles* and *Philostratus* (as ^c *Josephus* citeth them) the one in his second book, the other in his *Phœnician* histories remember it.

After these two great vastations by the kings of *Babylon* and *Macedon*, this city of *Tyre* repaired and recovered itself again; and continued in great glory about 300 years, even to the coming of our Saviour Christ; and after him flourished in the Christian faith near 600 years; the archbishop whereof gave place to none but to the patriarch of *Jerusalem* only; who within his own diocese had fourteen great cities, with their bishops and suffragans; namely, ^d *Caipha*, otherwise *Porphyria*, *Acon* or *Ptolemais*, *Sarepta*, *Zidon*, *Cæsarea Philippi*, *Berytus*, *Biblus*, *Botrys*, *Tripolis*, *Orthosia*, *Archis*, *Aradus*, *Antaradus* (or *Tortosa*) and *Maraclea*. But in the year 636, it was with the rest of that beautiful region of *Phœnicia* and *Palestina*, subjected to the cruel and faithless *Saracen*. Under the burden and yoke of whose tyranny it suffered with the other *Palestine* cities 488 years.

^e In the year 1112, it was attempted by *Baldwin* king of *Jerusalem*, but in vain; yet in the year 1124, by *Guaremonde*, patriarch of *Jerusalem*, vicegerent to *Baldwin* II. with the assistance of the *Venitians*, and their fleet of gallies, it was again recovered, and subjected to the kings of *Jerusalem*, and so it remained 165 years.

Finally, in the year 1189, *Saladine* having first taken *Jerusalem*, removed his whole army, and sat down before *Tyre*, drawing his fleet of ships and gallies from *Alexandria* into the port, this city as then only remaining in the Christian power.

The citizens finding themselves reduced into great famine, and many other miseries, they at once with certain ralters of timber, fired, burnt and brake the *Saracens* fleet, and falling out resolvedly upon his army, slew so great numbers of them, and followed their victory with such fury, as that the *Saracens* forsaking their trenches and tents, removed in great disorder and dishonour. Two years after which victory, the body of that famous *Frederick Barbarossa* (who by the lamentable accident of following the Christians enemies over a river unfordable, perished by the weight of his armour therein) was brought and

^a Joseph. Ant. Juda. l. 11. c. 8. ^b De bell. sac. l. 13. c. 4. ^c Joseph. Ant. l. 9. c. 14. Et cont. Ap. 1. Gul. Tyrius, de bell. sac. 13. 4. Joseph. Ant. l. 9. c. 15. ^d Ezek. 29. 19. ^e Joseph. Ant. l. 10. c. 13. ^f Gul. Tyr. bell. sac. 13. 4.

interred in the cathedral church of *Tyre*, near unto that glorious sepulchre of *Origen*, garnished and graven with guilt pillars of marble, 940 years before therein buried; but in the year 1289, the *Saracens* again attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth subject to the *Turks*.

† IV.

Of Ptolomais, or Acon.

THE third city along the coast of the sea, which the *Asberites* could not obtain, on the south bound of *Asber* was *Acho*, which was the ancient name thereof, after *Jerome*; tho' other good authors affirm, that it took name from *Acon* the brother of *Ptolemy*. ^a *Pliny* calleth it *Ace*; and otherwise the colony of *Claudius*. It had also the name of *Coth*, or *Cod*; and by *Zeiglerus* it is called *Haetipos*.

But, lastly, it was intitled *Ptolomais*, after the name of one of the *Egyptian Ptolemies*; which city also, as it is 1 *Mac.* 11. another of the ^b *Ptolemies* perfidiously wrested from his son-in-law *Alexander*, which called himself the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the same *Alexander* having married *Cleopatra*, daughter of the said *Ptolemy*, not long before. Therein also was *Jonathan Maccabeus* treacherously surprized and slain, as it is 1 *Maccab.* xii. 48. by the perfidiousness of ^c *Tryphon*; whom soon after *Antiochus* pursued, as it is in the story ensuing; and by like reason, about the same time, was the aforesaid *Alexander* in the war against *Demetrius*, one of the sons of *Antiochus* the great, with whom *Ptolemy* joined, overthrown and treacherously murdered by *Zabdiel* the *Arabian*, to whom he fled for succour; and his head presented unto his father-in-law *Ptolemy*, who enjoyed not the glory of his victory and treason above three days, for ^d God struck him by death.

For the beauty and strength of this city, this *Alexander* made it his regal seat; two parts of the same being environed by the sea; and the port of safety and capacity, not inferior to any other in all that tract. This city is distant from *Jerusalem* some 34 miles: four miles to the north, from the mountain *Carmel*, and as much to the south from *Castrum Lamberti*: from *Tyre*, ^e *Antoninus* maketh it 32 *Italian* miles. In the midst of the city there was a tower of great strength, some time the temple of *Belzebub*, and therefore called the castle of *flies*; on the top whereof there was maintained a perpetual light, like unto that called ^f *Pharus* in *Egypt*; to give comfort in the night to those ships, which came near and sought that port. It had in it a bishop's seat, of the diocese of *Tyre*, after it became Christian; but in the year 636 (a fatal year to the Christians in those parts) it was forced and taken by *Haomarus* the *Saracen*. In the year 1104, it was regained by ^g *Baldwin* I. by the help of the galleys of *Genoa*; to whom a third of the revenue was given in recompence. Again, in the year of our Lord God 1187, *Saladine*, king of *Egypt* and *Syria*, became lord thereof. In the year of Christ 1191, by *Richard* king of *England*, and *Philip* king of *France*, it was repossessed and redelivered to the Christians. Lastly, In the year 1291, it was, by the fury of the *Saracens*, besieged with an army of 150000, entered, sack'd, and utterly demolished; tho' in some sort afterward re-edified, and it is now *Turkish*.

† V.

Of the castle of St. George.

FIVE miles from *Ptolomais*, toward the east, is the castle of ^h *St. George* seated, in which he was born; the valley adjoining bearing the same name. And tho' for the credit of ⁱ *St. George's* killing the dragon, I leave every man to his own belief: yet I cannot but think, that if the kings of *England* had not some probable record of that his memorable act, among many others, it was strange that the order, full of honour, which *Edward* III. founded, and which his successors royally have continued, should have borne his name, seeing the world had not that scarcity of saints in those days, as that the *English* were driven to make such an erection upon a fable, or person feigned. The place is described by *Adrichomius*, in his description of *Asber*, to have been in the fields of *Libanus*, between the river *Adonis* and *Zidon*. His own words are these: *Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, non longe à Beryto, memorant inclitum Christi militem D. Georgium, regis filiam ab immanissimo Dracone asservasse: eamque mactatam bestia parenti restituisse. In cujus rei memoriam ecclesia postmodum fuit edificata*; In this place, which by the inhabitants is called *Cappadocia*, not far from *Berytus*, men say that the famous knight of Christ, *St. George*, did rescue the king's daughter from a huge dragon; and having killed the beast, delivered the virgin to her parent. In memory of which deed, a Church was afterwards built there: Thus far *Adrichomius*. His authors he citeth *Ludovicus Roman. Patric. Navigationum*, l. 1. c. 3. and *Bridenbach, Itin.* 5. The valley under this castle some time called *Asber*, was afterward called the valley of *St. George*. If this authority suffice not, we may rather make the story allegorical, figuring the victory of Christ, than accept of *George* the *Arian* bishop, mentioned by *Am. Marcellinus*.

† VI.

Of Acziba, Sandalium, and others.

BETWEEN *Ptolomais* and *Tyre* along the sea-coast, was the strong city of *Acziba*, or *Achazib*, which ^k *St. Jerome* calleth *Achziph*, and ^l *Josephus*, *Ecdippus*; *Pliny*, *Ecdippa*, one of those which defended itself against the *Asberites*. *Bel-forrest* finds *Acziba* and *Sandalium*, or the castle of *Alexander* to be one, but I know not whence he had it.

The twelve searchers of the land which *Moses* sent from *Cades-barne*, travelled as far to the north as *Roob*, or *Rechob*, in the tribe of *Asber*, which *Rechob*, as also *Berothæ*, which by *Ezekiel* xlvii. 16. is placed in these north borders, belong'd, in *David's* time, to the king *Hadarezer*, as it may be gathered out of 2 *Sam.* viii. 8. and x. 6. and it defended itself against the *Asberites*, as *Zidon*, *Tyre*, *Achziph*, *Ptolomai*, *Alab*, *Helbak*, and *Aphek* did.

This *Aphek* it was, whose wall falling down, slew 27000 of *Benhadad's* soldiers after that 100000 had been slaughtered by the *Israelites*, under the conduct of *Abab*. Here *Junius* finds that the *Philistines* incamped, a little before the battle at *Gilboa*, tho' in his note upon 1 *Sam.* ix. 1. he takes *Aphek* there mentioned (at which battle the ark was taken) to have been in ^m *Juda*. Of which *Joshua* xv. 53. and in 2 *Kings* xiii. 17. he reads *Fortiter*,

^a *Plin. lib. 5. c. 19. in descrip. ter. sanct.* ^b *Ptolomæus Philometer.* ^c 1 *Mac.* 1. 10. ^d 1 *Mac.* 11. 18. ^e *Ant. Itin.* ^f *Hierod.* ^g *Ge. Tyr. bell. fac. l. 10. c. 28.* ^h *Hierod. l. 1. bell. fac. Tit. 7. & l. 2. c. 2. & alibi.* ⁱ *Broch.* ^j *Itin. 4. Of the place and memory of his death. See chap. 9. §. 1.* ^k *Jerom. de locis heb. Jos. bell. Jud. l. 1. c. 11. Plin. l. 5. c. 19.* ^l 1 *Kings* 20. 29. 1 *Sam.* 29. 1

for, in *Aphek*. Where others convert it, *Percutiens Syros in Apheck*.

The next place along the coast is *Sandalium*, first called *Schandanium* of *Schander*, which we call *Alexander*, for *Alexander Macedon* built it, when he besieged *Tyre*: and set it on a point of land which extendeth itself into the sea, between *Azciba* and *Tyre*: which castle *Baldwine* the first rebuilt and fortified, in the year of Christ 1157, when he undertook the recovery of *Tyre*.

Not much above a mile from this castle, there ariseth that most plentiful spring of water, which *Solomon* remembreth, called the *Well of living waters*: from whence, not only all the fields and plains about *Tyre*, are made fruitful by large pipes hence drawn; but the same spring, which hath not above a bow-shot of ground to travel till it recover the sea, driveth six great mills in that short passage, saith *Brochard*.

Within the land, and to the east of *Acziba*, and *Sandalium*, standeth *Hofa*: and beyond it, under the mountains of *Tyre*, the city of *Achsaph*, or *Axab*, or alter *St. Jerome*, *Acisap*, a city of great strength, whose king, amongst the rest, was slain by *Joshua*, at the waters of *Merom*.

† VII.

Of *Thoron*, *Giscala*, and some other places.

FARTHER into the land, towards *Jordan*, was seated the castle of *Thoron*, which *Hugo de Sancto Abdemare* built on the easternmost hills of *Tyre*, in the year 1107, thereby to restrain the excursions of the *Saracens*, while they held *Tyre* against the Christians; the place adjoining being very fruitful, and exceeding pleasant. From this castle, the lords of *Thoron*, famous in the story of the wars for the recovery of the *Holy Land*, derive their names, and take their nobility. It had in it a curious chappel, dedicated to the blessed virgin, in which *Humphrey* of *Thoron*, constable to *Baldwine III.* king of *Jerusalem*, lieth buried: There were five castles besides this within the territory of *Asher*; whereof four are seated almost of equal distance from each other; to wit, *Castrum Lamperti*, *Montfort*, *Indin* (or *Saron*) *Castrum regium*, and *Belfort*. The first near the sea, under the hills of *Saron*; the next three, to wit, *Indin*, *Montfort* and *Regium*, stand more within the land, and belonged to the brotherhood and fellowship of the *Teutonicis*, or *Dutch* knights (by which they defended themselves, and gave succour to other Christians, at such time as the *Saracens* possessed the best part of the upper *Galilee*) the chief of which order was in *Ptolomais Acon*. The first fortress was, for beauty and strength, called *Belfort*, seated in the high ground upon the river *Naar*, near the city *Rama*: of which in this tribe, *Joshua* xix. 29. for which the Vulgar reads *Horma*, making the article a part of the word, and mistaking the vowels; from the siege of this castle of *Belfort*, the great *Saladine*, king of *Syria* and *Egypt*, was by the Christians army raised, and, with great loss and dishonour, repulsed.

To the east of *Belfort*, is the strong city of *Alab* (or *Achlab*) which *St. Jerome* calleth *Gbalab*; one of those that defended themselves against *Asher*, as *Roob* (or *Rechob*) not far thence did.

Towards the south from *Roob*, they place *Gabal* (which *Herod*, surnamed the *Ascalonite*, rebuilt) making it of the territory of *Ghabol*, *Quod Syro-*

rum lingua displicere significat (saith *Weissenburg*) so called, because *Hiram* of *Tyre*, was ill pleased with those twenty cities, seated hereabout, which *Solomon* presented unto him in recompence of those provisions sent him for the building of the temple. Others think this *Ghabol*, or *Chabul*, containing a circuit of those twenty cities given to *Hiram*, to have been without the compass of the *Holy Land*; tho' bordering *Asher* on the north side: as it is said, 1 *Reg.* ix. 11. that they were *in regione limitis*; that is, *in limite regionis*, in the border of the country: for it was not lawful, say they, to give to strangers any part of the possession allotted to the *Israelites*: howsoever, that after *Hiram* had refused them, they were peopled by the *Israelites*, it appears 2 *Chron.* viii. 14. And it seems they were conquered by *David*, from the *Syri Rechobea*, whose city *Roob*, or *Rechob*, was in these parts.

Almost of equal distance from the castle of *Thoron*, they place the cities of *Giscala*, and *Gadara*: of which *Gadara* is rather to be placed over *Jordan*: *Giscala* was made famous by *John* the son of *Levi*, who from a mean estate, gathering together 400 thieves, greatly troubled all the upper *Galilee*; at such time as the *Romans* attempted the conquest of *Judea*; by whose practice *Josephus*, who then commanded in the upper *Galilee*, was greatly endangered: whereof himself hath written at large, in his second book of those wars, chap. 36. This *John* betraying, in all he could, the city of *Giscala* (whereof he was a native) to the *Roman* state: and finding a resistance in the city, gave opportunity, during the contention, to the *Tyrians* and the *Gadarims*, to surprize it; who at the same time forced it, and burnt it to the ground: But being by *Josephus's* authority rebuilt, it was afterwards rendred to *Titus* by composition. They find also the cities of *Cana major*, and *Cades* (or *Cedessa*;) of the first was that *Syro-Phœnician*, whose daughter Christ delivered of the evil spirit. Near the other, they say, it was that *Jonathas Maccabeus* overthrew the army of *Demetrius*.

There are, besides these forenamed cities within the tribe of *Asher*, divers others; as on the south border, and near the sea, *Messal*, or *Misbeal*: within the land *Besara*, *Bethdagon*, and *Bethemec*, standing on the south border, between *Asher* and *Zabulon*: on the north-side, joining to *Syro-Phœnicia*, is the city of *Hethalon*, or *Gbethlon*, the utmost of the *Holy Land* that way; under which, towards the sea, is *Gbali*, and then *Enoch*, supposed to be built by *Cain*, and named of his son *Enoch*, but without probability, as I have formerly proved. There are others also besides these, as *Ammon*, or *Chammon*, of which *Joshua* xix. 28. where also we read of *Nebiel*, *Rama*, *Alamelec*, and *Beton*: the cities of *Alcath*, or *Gbelcath*, *Habdon*, and *Rechob*, and *Misbeal*, which we have already mentioned, were by the *Asherites* given to the *Levites*. Of others held by the *Canaanites*, mention is made *Judges* i. 30. to which, out of *Joshua*, we may add *Ebron*, *Ambad*, and others, on which no story dependeth, and therefore I will not pester the description with them.

† VIII.

Of the rivers and mountains of *Asher*.

THE rivers to the north of *Asher*, are *Adonis*, afterwards *Canis*, to which *Zeigler* joineth *Lycus*, *Ptolemy*, *Leontis*: both which fall into the

^a Cant. 4. ^b Itin. 1. ^c Josh. 12. 20. ^d Herod. 1. 2. c. 4. Continuationis bell. fac. ^e Joseph. Ant. 13. 21. and 15. 10. ^f Jun. Annot. in 1 *Reg.* 9. 11. ^g 2 *Sam.* 10. 6. ^h See *Kadesh in Neptualim*, Mat. 15. Mark 7. Mac. 1. 73. Jos. Ant. 13. c. 8. ⁱ *Of achib* Joshua in vita sua. ^k *Of beth achib*, Josh. 19. 27. Ezek. 47. 15. ^l Or *Enola*, Joseph. Ant. 1. 1. c. 4. ^m Josh. 21. 30.

sea near *Berytus* : which river of *Leontis*, *Montanus* draws near unto *Zidon* : finding his head notwithstanding, where ^a*Ptolemy* doth, between *Zidon* and *Tyre*. It hath also a river called *Fons hortorum Libani*, which *Adrichome*, out of *Brochard*, entitleth *Eleutherus* : for which he also citeth ^b*Pliny* ; and ¹*Maccabees* xi. but neither of those authorities prove *Eleutherus* to be in *Asher* : for this river falleth into the sea at the isle of *Aradus*, not far from *Balanea*, witness ^c*Ptolemy* : and therefore ^d*Pinetus* calleth it *Valania*, and *Postellus*, *Valana* : which river boundeth *Phœnicia* on the north-side : to which *Strabo* also agreeth : but this principal river of *Asher* *Arius Montanus* calleth *Gabatus*. *Christianus Schrot*, out of the mouth and papers of *Peter Laicstan* (which *Laicstan* in this our age both viewed and described the *Holy Land*) calleth the main river, *Fons hortorum Libani* : and one of the streams which runneth into it from the north-side, *Naar* ; and another from the south-west, *Chabul*, of the city adjoining of the same name ; for *Eleutherus* it cannot be. There is also another river described by *Adrichome*, named *Septael*, which I find in no other author, and for which he citeth *Joshua* xix. but the word ^e*Ghe*, which is added there to *Septael*, is not taken for a river, but for a valley : and for a valley, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and *Arius Montanus* turn it. There is also found in *Asher* the river of *Belus*, remembered by *Josephus* and *Tacitus*, which is also called *Pagidas*, saith ^f*Pliny* : out of the sands of this river are made the best glafs, which some time the *Zidonians* practised ; and now the *Venetians* at *Murana*. *Arius Montanus* makes *Belus* to be a branch of *Chedumim* ; which it cannot be ; for *Belus* is known to flow from out of the lake *Cendevia* ; as all cosmographers, both ancient and modern, and the later travellers into those parts witness. It is true, that the river of *Chifon*, taketh water from *Chedumim* ; but not in that fashion which *Montanus* hath described it : neither doth it find the sea at *Ptolomais Acon*, according to *Montanus*, but farther to the south, between *Caiphas* and *Sicaminum*, witness *Zeigler*, *Adrichomius*, and *Schrot*.

Besides these rivers, there are divers famous springs and fountains, as that of living waters adjoining to *Tyre* : and ^g*Maserephot*, or after *St. Jerome*, *Maserephotmaim*, whose well filled by the flood of the sea adjoining (they say) the inhabitants, by seething the water, make salt thereof, as at *Nantwich*.

The mountains which bound *Asher* on the north, are those of *Anti-libanus*, which with *Libanus* bound *Cœlesyria* ; two great ledges of hills, which from the sea of *Phœnicia*, extend themselves far into the land eastward, four hundred stadia, or furlongs, according to ^h*Strabo* : for that length he giveth to the valley of *Cœlesyria* ; which those mountains inclose ; but ⁱ*Pliny* gives them 1500 furlongs in length from the west (where they begin at *Theiophon*, or *Dei facies*, near *Tripolis*) to the mountains of *Arabia* beyond *Damascus* ; where *Anti-libanus* turneth towards the south. These ledges, where they begin to part *Traconitis* and *Basan* from the desert *Arabia*, are called *Hermion* : which *Moses* also nameth *Sion* ; the *Phœnicians*, *Syrion* ; and the *Amorites*, *Sanir* ; neither is this any one

mountain apart, but a continuation of hills ; which running farther southerly, is in the scriptures called *Galaad*, or *Gilead* : the same being still a part of *Libanus*, as the prophet *Jeremy* proveth ; *Galaad tu mihi caput Libani* : noting that this *Galaad* is the highest of those hills of *Libanus*. ^k*Strabo* knows them by the name of *Traconite* ; and *Ptolemy* by *Hippus*. *Arius Montanus* calleth these mountains bordering, *Asher*, *Libanus*, for *Anti-libanus*, contrary to all other cosmographers, but he giveth no reason for his opinion.

They take the name of *Libanus* from their white tops ; because, according to *Tacitus*, the highest of them are covered with snow all the summer ; the Hebrew word *Libanos* (saith *Weissenburgh*) signifieth whiteness. Others call them by that name of the frankincense which those trees yield ; because *λίβανος* is also the Greek word for that gum.

^l*Niger* out of *Aphrodiseus* affirmeth, that on *Libanus* there falleth a kind of honey-dew, which is by the sun congealed into hard sugar, which the inhabitants call *Sacchar*, from whence came the Latin word *Saccharum*.

The rivers which *Libanus* bestoweth on the neighbour regions, are, *Chrysorrhoas*, *Jordan*, *Eleutherus*, *Leontes*, *Lycus*, *Adonis*, *Fons hortorum Libani*, and others.

The rest of the mountains of *Asher*, are those hills above *Tyre*, and the hills of *Saron*, both exceeding fruitful ; but those are but of a low stature, compared with *Libanus* : for from *Nebo*, or the mountain of *Abarim*, in *Ruben*, *Moses* beheld *Libanus* 60 miles distant.

SECT. IV.

The Tribe of NEPH TALIM.

† I.

Of the bounds of *Nephtalim*, and of *Heliopolis*, and *Abila*.

THE next portion of the land of *Canaan*, bordering *Asher*, was the upper *Galilee* ; the greatest part whereof fell to the lot of *Nephtalim*, the son of *Jacob* by *Billa*, the handmaid of *Rachel* : who, while they abode in *Egypt*, were increased to the number of 53400 persons, able men to bear arms, numbred at mount *Sinai* : all which leaving their bodies in the deserts, there entered the holy land of their sons 45400, besides infants, women, and children, under 20 years of age. The land of *Nephtalim* took beginning on the north part from the fountains of *Jordan*, and the hills of *Libanus* adjoining, as far south as the sea of *Galilee*, bounded on the west by *Asher*, and on the east and south-east by *Jordan*.

On the north side of *Libanus*, and adjoining to this territory of *Nephtalim*, did the *Amorites* (or *Emorites*) also inhabit ; in which tract, and under *Libanus*, was the city of *Heliopolis* ; which the height of the mountains adjoining shadowed from the sun, the better part of the day. *Postellus* calls it *Balbec* ; *Niger*, *Marbeck* ; and *Leonclavius*, *Beallebeca*.

Of this name of ^m*Heliopolis*, there are two great cities in *Egypt* : the first called *On*, by the *Hebrews*, and the *Chaldean* paraphrast, otherwile *Bethshemes*,

^a *Alie Tab.* 4. ^b *Plin.* l. 9. ^c *Alie Tab.* 4. ^d *Post Orthosiam & Eleutherum est Tripolis.* ^e *The word Nachal is ambiguous, either for a valley, or for a river : but this word Ghe, is always a valley, as in Gehinnon and Gellemanim.* *Joseph.* l. 2. *Bell. Jud.* c. 3. ^f *Lib.* 5. c. 19. ^g *In Josh.* 19. 26. it is called Shichor ; of which name many understand another stream, *Josh.* 13. 3. which running by Petra of Arabia, falleth into the lake Sirbonis, and divideth Egypt from the promised land ; whereabout they place Rhinocorura, for which city Junius taketh Shichor in that place of *Joshua* ; but howsoever, whether this Shichor, *Josh.* 13. 3. be a river or a city, it appears that this name is found, both in the north bound of the Holy Land, *Josh.* 19. 26. and in the south bound. *Josh.* 13. 3. ^h *See the note in the second section of this paragraph.* ⁱ *Strabo.* l. 10. ^j *Plin.* l. 5. c. 20. *Deut.* 4. 48. ^k *Strab.* l. 10. *Ptol. Alie Tab.* 4. *Sueton.* ^l *Nig.* p. 503. ^m *Guil. Tyr. Bell. sac.* l. 9. c. 15. ⁿ *Theodor.* 4. *Hist. Ecclesiast.* *Mela.* l. 3. c. 9. *Just. Gell.* in itinerar. *Joseph.* in pluribus locis. *Euseb.* 8. *Demonst. Volat.* l. 11. f. 243.

or after the *Latins*, *Solis oppidum*, or *Domus solis*, The city of the sun: into which, saith *Ulpian*, *Severus* the *Roman* emperor sent a colony: the other *Gesselius* nameth *Dealmarach*: and of this name *Stephanus* also findeth a city in *Thrace*, and *Glycas* in *Phrygia*.

There is also, in the same valley adjoining to *Nephtalim*, *Chalcis*, and *Abila*. *Chalcis*, of whom the region towards *Palmyrena* hath the name of *Chalcidica*, over which *Herod*, *Agrippa*, and *Berenice* the queen commanded.

Abilon also gave name to the region adjoining; of which *Lyfanius*, the son of *Herod* the elder, became tetrarch or governour; whereof *Ptolemy* gave it the addition of *Lyfanii*, and called it *Abila Lyfanii*. *Volaterran* names it *Aphila*, of which he notes that one *Diogenes*, a famous sophister, was native, who by *Volaterran* is intituled *Aphileus*, not *Abileus*. After that this city of *Abila*, or *Aphila*, had received the Christian faith, *Priscillianus* became bishop thereof; slain afterwards by our *British Maximus* at *Trever*. For distinction of this city (if it be not the same, as it may be thought to be the same) it is to be remembered, that in the tribe of *Manasseh*, joining upon the bounds of the tribe of *Nephtalim*, there is another city of the same name, saving that it is written with an [E] for an [I], and called *Abela*, remembered in the xxth chapter of the 2d of *Samuel*. The same *Josephus* calls *Abelmachea*, and *Jerome*, *Bethmachab*. In the place of *Samuel*, for distinction sake, it is written, *Abel Beth-Mabaca* (for belike it was the town of *Mabaca*, the wife of *Macir*, the son of *Manasseh*, the father of *Gilead*) in the *Chronicles* it is called *Abel-Majim*. This city *Joab* besieged; because *Seba* the son of *Bichri*, who rebelled against *David*, fled thereinto for succour; but a certain wife woman of the city persuading the people to cast *Seba's* head over the wall, *Joab* retired his army. The same city was afterwards taken by the king of *Damascus*, *Benhadad*; and after a while by *Teglatphalasar*.

The word *Abel* may be expounded, either to signify bewailing, or a plain ground, and therefore no marvel, that many towns (with some addition for distinction sake) were thus called; for even of bewailing many places took name, as *Bochim*, *Judg.* ii. 4. and so doubtless *Abel-Misraim*, *Gen.* i. 11. and yet *Junius*, in his note upon *Numb.* xxxiii. 49. thinks that *Abel-Sittim* was so called, rather by reason of the plain ground there (to wit, in the land of *Moab*) and so perhaps *Abel-Mehola* in the tribe of *Ephraim*; the town of *Elisba* the prophet; also *Abel-Vinearum* of the *Ammonites*, whither *Jeftba* pursued them.

† II.

Of Hazar.

IN this tribe of *Nephtalim*, was that famous city of *Jabin*, in *Joshua's* time, called *Asar* (or, after the *Chaldean* paraphrast, *Hafzor*) by *Josephus*, *Asora*; by *Junius*, *Chatzor*; which *Laislan* names *Ilesron*, the regal city and metropolis of *Canaan*, seated in the west part of *Nephtalim*, towards *Asber*. In this city was that great rendezvous, and

assembly of those 24 kings against *Joshua*; who being all overthrown, slain, and scattered, this their powerful city was by *Joshua* taken and burnt to dust. But in process of time, the same being rebuilt by the *Canaanites*, a second king *Jabin*, 137 years after the death of this first *Jabin*, invaded the *Israelites*: and being ordained of God to punish their idolatry, he prevailed against them, and held them in a miserable servitude 20 years; till *Deborah* the prophetess overthrew *Sifera*, *Jabin's* lieutenant, and his army, near the mountain *Tabor*. This city *Solomon* restored at such time as he also re-edified *Gezar*, burnt by *Pharaoh* of *Egypt*, with *Megiddo*, *Bethoron*, and other cities; but about 260 years after, it fell into the hands of *Teglatphalasar*, king of the *Assyrians*. It is now, saith *Adrichomius*, called *Antiopia*; it was one of the principal cities of *Decapolis*. There is another city of this name in the territory of *Benjamin*, seated on the confines of *Ascalon*, called the new *Hazar*; * saith *Jerome*.

† III.

Of Cæsaria Philippi.

THERE was also on the border, and within the territory of *Nephtalim*, that renowned city of *Laisb*, or *Lajisch*, as *Junius* writes it, or *Lajchem*; which city the children of *Dan* (being straightened in their territory under *Juda*) invaded and mastered, and gave it the name of their own parent *Dan*; and by that name it is written in *Gen.* xiv. at which place *Abraham* surprized *Chedorlaomer* and his confederates; and followed his victory as far as *Sobab*, formerly remembered in the division of *Syria*, otherwise called *Sophena*. And after the possession of the *Danites*, it had the joint name of *Lajchem Dan*. *Weissenburgh* writes it *Lacis*; the *Geneva*, *Laisb*; *Josephus*, *Dana*; *Benjamin*, *Balina*; *Breitenbach*, *Belena*; but the now inhabitants know it by the name of *Balina* to this day: witness *Nubrigenfis*, *Tyrius*, *Volaterranus*, *Brochard* the monk, and *Poslellus*; who also taketh this city to be the same which in *Matthew* xv. 39. in the *Vulgar* is called *Magedan*: for which the *Greek* text hath *Magdala* in that place; and in *St. Mark* viii. 10. speaking of the same story, *Dalmanutha*. At such time as the children of *Dan* obtained this place, it seemeth that it was either a free city, of the alliance and confederacy of the *Zidonians*, or else subject unto the kings thereof; for it is written, *Judges* xviii. 28. *And there was none to help, because Lais was far from Zidon: and they had no business with other men*; for it was above 30 English miles from the *Mediterranean* sea, and from *Zidon*.

In after-times, when these regions became subject to the state of *Rome*, it had the name of *Pancas*, from a fountain adjoining so called; and therefore *Ptolemy* calls it *Cæsaria Panie*. *Ilegesippus* calls it *Parnium*, saith *Weissenburgh*: but he had read it in a corrupt copy, for in *Ilegesippus*, set out by *Badius*, it is written *Pancum*, without an [R]; and at such time as *Philip* the son of the elder *Herod*, brother to *Herod*, tetrarch of *Galilee*, became governour of *Traconitis*, some time *Basan*, this city was by him amplified and fortified; and both to give memory to his own name, and to flatter *Tibe-*

* Also a third in *Ephraim* called *Abel Mechola*; and a 4th in *Reuben*, called *Abel Sittim*, also *Abel Misraim*, at the foot of *Jordan*, and (as it seems) in the same tribe of *Reuben*, of all which, in that which follows, to which also we may add, *Abel Magnum*, the name, as some think, of a city, otherwise called *Bethshemer*, near the border of the *Philistines*; or according to others, of the great flow in the border. 1 Sam. 6. 18. *Joseph.* Ant. 1. 7. c. 10. 2 Sam. 20. 1 Kings 15. 2 Kings 15. 6 And *Abel Magnum*. 1 Sam. 6. 18. *Judg.* 7. 24. 1 Reg. 19. 15. *Judg.* 11. 35. * Of two other cities of this name in *Juda*, see chap. 9. sect. 1. Of a fourth in *Benjamin*, see that which follows in this place. Of a fifth in this tribe of *Nephtalim*, called *Hem Chatzor*, we read *Josh.* 19. 37. to which we may add *Chatzor Heman*, in the uttermost north-east of *Manasseh*, over *Jordan*, *Ezek.* 47. *Numb.* 34. 8. Also in *Simeon*, *Chatzar Subma*, of which 1 Chron. 4. 31. which also is called *Chatzar Sufa*, and *Chatzar Caddie*; and lastly, *Chatzar Shuleb*, another city of *Simeon*. *Jos.* 19. 3. d 1 Kings 9. e *Hicron*, loc. *Hebr.* 1. E. out of *Nehem.* 11. 33. as it seems. f *Judg.* 18. 27. *Jos.* 19. 4.

rius Cesar, he called it ^a *Cæsaria Philippi*; and so it became the metropolis, and head city of *Traconitis*; and one of the first cities of *Decapolis*. And being by *Agrippa*, in the succeeding age, greatly adorned; by him, in honour of *Nero*, it was called *Neronia*, or *Neroniada*. But as nothing remained with that emperor, but the memory of his impiety; so in *St. Jerome's* time the citizens remembered their former *Paneas*, and so recalled it, with the territory adjoining, by the ancient name. Of this city was that woman whom Christ healed of a bloody issue, by touching the hem of his garment with a constant faith: who afterwards, as she was a woman of great wealth and ability, being mindful of God's goodness, and no less grateful for the same, as ^b *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* report, caused two statues to be cast in pure copper; the one representing Christ, *as near as it could be moulded*; the other made like herself, kneeling at his feet, and holding up her hands towards him. These she mounted upon two great bases or pedestals, of the same metal, which she placed by a fountain near her own house; both which (saith *Eusebius*) remained in their first perfection, even to his own time; which himself had seen, who lived in the reign of *Constantine* the great. But in the year after Christ 363, that monster *Julian Apostata*, caused that worthy monument to be cast down and defaced, setting up the like of his own in the same place; which image of his was with fire from heaven broken into fitters; the head, body, and other parts, sundered and scattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time living. The truth of this accident is also confirmed by *Sozomenus Saliminus*, in his 5th book and 20th chapter.

This city built by the *Danites*, was near the joining together of those two rivers which arise from the springs of *Jor* and *Dan*, the two ^c apparent fountains of *Jordan*; in a soil exceeding fruitful and pleasant; for as it is written, *Judges xviii.* it is a place *which doth want nothing that is in the world*. In the fields belonging to this city, it was that *St. Peter* acknowledged Christ to be the son of God: whereupon it was answered, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram, &c.* After this city received the Christian faith, it was honoured with a bishop's seat: and it ran the same fortune with the rest, for it was afterwards taken and retaken by the *Saracens*, and Christians; under *Fulch* the 4th king of *Jerusalem*, and after the death of *Godfrey of Bulloin*, the king of *Damascus* wrested it from the Christians: and shortly after by them again it was recovered. Lastly, now it remaineth, with all that part of the world, subjected to the *Turks*.

† IV.

Of Capernaum, and the cities of Decapolis.

AMong the remarkable cities within this tribe, *Capernaum* is not the least; so often remembered by the evangelists. This city had the honour of Christ's presence three years; who for that time was as a citizen thereof, in which he first preached and taught the doctrine of our salvation; according to that notable prophecy of *Isaiah ix.* *The people that walked in darkness, have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.*

Capernaum was seated on *Jordan*, even where it

entreth into the sea of *Galilee*, in an excellent and rich soil: of whose destruction Christ himself prophesied in these words: *And thou Capernaum, which art lifted up unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell, &c.* which shewed the pride and greatness of that city; for it was one of the principal cities of *Decapolis*, and the metropolis of *Galilee*. And tho' there were some marks of this city's magnificence in *St. Jerome's* time, as himself confesseth, it being then a reasonable burgh, or town; yet those that have since, and long since seen it, as *Brochard*, *Bridenbech*, and *Saliniac*, affirm, that it then consisted but of six poor fishermen's houses.

The region of ten principal cities, called *Decapolitana*, or *Decapolis*, is in this description often mentioned; and in *St. Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, also remembered; but I find no agreement among the cosmographers, what proper limits it had; and so *Pliny* himself confesseth: for ^e *Marius Niger* speaking from others, bounds it on the north by the mountain *Casius* in *Casiotis*, and endeth it to the south at *Egypt* and *Arabia*; by which description it embraceth *Phenicia*, a part of *Cœlesyria*, all *Palestina*, and *Judea*.

^f *Pliny* also makes it large, and for the ten cities of which it taketh name, he numbeth four of them to be situated towards *Arabia*; to wit, first these three, *Damascus*, ^g *Opotos*, *Raphana*; then *Philadelphia* (which was first called *Amana*, saith *Stephanus*, or, as I guess, *Amona* rather, because it was the chief city of the *Ammonites*, known by the name of *Rabbah*, before *Ptol. Philadelphus* gave it this latter and new name.) Then *Scythopolis*, sometime *Nysa*, built (as is said) by *Bacchus*, in memory of his nurse, who died therein, anciently known by the name of *Bethsan*: for the sixth he setteth *Gadara* (not that *Gadara* in *Cœlesyria*, which was also called *Antioch* and *Seleucia*;) but it is *Gadara* in *Basan*, which *Pliny* in this place meaneth, seated on a high hill, near the river *Hieromaix*. This river *Ortelius* takes to be the river *Jaboc*, which boundeth *Gad* and *Manasseh* over *Jordan*: but he mistaketh it, for *Hieromaix* falleth into the sea of *Galilee*, between *Hippos* and *Gerasa*, whereas *Jaboc* entreth the same sea between *Ephron* and *Phanuel*. For the seventh, he nameth ^h *Hippos* or *Hippion*, a city so called of a colony of horsemen there garisoned by *Herod*, on the east side of the *Galilean* sea, described hereafter in the tribe of *Manasseh* over *Jordan*. For the eighth, *Pella*, which is also called *Butis*, and *Berenice*, seated in the south border of the region over *Jordan*, called *Perea*. For the ninth, *Gelasa*, which *Josephus* takes to be *Gerasa*: and *Gerasa* is found in *Cœlesyria* by *Josephus*, *Hegesippus* and *Stephanus*; but by *Ptolemy* (whom I rather follow) in *Phenicia*. The tenth, and last, *Pliny* nameth *Canatha*; and so doth *Suetonius*, and *Stephanus*, which *Volaterran* calls *Gamala*; but *Hegesippus* rightly *Camala*, a city in the region of *Basan* over *Jordan*, so called, because those two hills on which it is seated, have the shape of a camel. But the collection of these ten cities, whereof this region took name, is better gathered out of *Brochard*, *Broidenbach*, and *Saliniac*, which make them to be these; *Cæsaria Philippi*, and *Afor*, before remembered, *Cedes Nephthalim*, *Sephet*, *Corazin*, *Capernaum*, *Bethsaida*, *Jotapata*, *Tiberias*, and *Scythopolis*, or *Bethsan*. For all other authors disagree herein, and give no reason for their opinion. One place of the evan-

^a Of another *Cæsaria* (or *Cæsarea*) called *Cæsarea Palestinae*, see hereafter in the former part of *Manasseh*. Of *Diocæsarea*, see *Seplionis in Zabulon*. ^b *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 14.* *Niceph. l. 6. c. 15.* ^c *Josephus in the book of the Jewish war, 18. saith, That Philip the tetrarch cast chaff into a fountain called Philala, distant 120 stadia north-east from Cæsarea; which chaff being carried under ground, was cast up again at Panium, or Dan, whereby it is conjectured, that the first spring of Jordan, is from this fountain called Philala, from whence Jor and Dan receive their waters.* ^d *Matt. 4. Mark 7. Luke 8.* ^e *Niger. comment. Abas 4. f. 503.* ^f *Plin. l. 5. c. 18.* ^g *Opotos, a city standing in the valley of Cœlesyria, watered by Chrysorrhoas as Damascus is.* ^h *Pliny hath Hippion Dion, for which Volaterran reads Hippidion. Ortelius takes them for two cities.*

gelist St. *Matthew* makes it manifest, that this region, called *Decapolitana*, was all that tract between *Zidon*, and the sea of *Galilee*. For thus it is written in *Matthew* iv. *And he departed again from the coasts of Tyrus and Zidon, and came unto the sea of Galilee, through the midst of the coasts of Decapolis*: so that it was bounded by *Damascus* and *Libanus* on the north, by the *Phenician* sea, between *Zidon* and *Ptolemais* on the west; by the hills of *Gelbo* and *Bethsan* on the south; and by the mountains *Tracones*, otherwise *Hermon*, *Sanir*, and *Galad*, on the east; which is, from east to west, the whole breadth of the holy land; and from the north to the south, near the same distance, which may be each way 40 *English* miles.

† V.

Of Hamath.

BUT to look back again towards *Libanus*, there is seated, near the foot thereof, the city of ^a *Hammath*, or *Chammath*, of which (as they say) the country adjoining taketh name: the same which *Josephus* calleth *Amathitis*, and *Amathensis*: ^b *Jacobus Zeigler*, *Ituræa*. *Ituræa regio tenet borealia tribus Nephtali, per montem Libanum usque Trachones*. The country of *Ituræa*, saith he, containeth the north parts of the tribe of *Nephtali*, along the mount *Libanus* to *Trachones*. But herein following *Strabo*, who calls *Trachonitis*, *Ituræa*, he mistakes the seat of this region; and so doth *Mercator*. For indeed, were *Ituræa* (which *Hegeſippus* calls *Peræa*, and *G. Tyrius*, *Baccan*) the same with *Traconitis*, yet *Traconitis* it self is far more to the east than *Hammath* in *Nephtalim*; for *Traconitis* lieth between *Cæsaria Philippi*, and the mountains *Trachones*, which the *Hebrews* call *Gilead*: and this *Hammath*, or *Chammath*, is seated under *Cæsaria*, towards the sea westward. And it seemeth that this mistaking grew, by confounding *Emath*, or *Hamath* the great in *Cæſyria*, beyond the mountains *Trachones*, which ^c *Jerome* upon *Amos* calls *Antiochia*, with *Hammath*, or *Hanath* the lesser in *Phenician*; and *Nephtalim*, which he calleth *Epiphania*: for this *Hammath*, or in our translation *Hamath* (and not that which is commonly called *Emath*, which ² *Chron.* viii. 3. is set far from the north border of *Canaan* in *Syria Soba*) is remembred in *Numb.* xxxiv. 8. and *Numb.* xiii. 22. and in *Ezek.* xlvii. 16. In the first of which places, it bordereth the land of promise: these being the words; *From mount Hor you shall point* (that is, direct or draw a line) *until it come to Hamath*. In the second place, thus: *So they went up and searched out the land from the wilderness in Sin, unto Rehob to go to Hamath*. Then in *Ezekiel*; *The west part also shall be the*

great sea from the border, till a man come over-against Hamath; that is, the coast of the sea shall be the west border from the southermost part of the holy land, till you come directly over-against *Hamath* northward: from whence, if a line be drawn to the sea, it will touch the walls of *Zidon*; which is ^d the north-west corner of the holy land.

Now that this *Hamath* or *Hammath*, which *Moses* also made the confine of the holy land, is that of *Nephtalim*, both the reference which it hath to the west sea, and the city of ^e *Rehob* adjoining prove it: the other *Hamath* or *Emath* (being far removed, and beyond the forenamed mountains, which inclose all those lands which *Israel* ever had possession of) is that *Emath*, which is also called *Ituræa*, witness ^f *Stella* and *Laicſtan*; and not that in *Nephtalim*, where ^g *Jonathas Macchabæus* attended the army of *Demetrius*, who fled from him, and removed by night.

For tho' *Traconitis* be comprehended within *Ituræa* (and therefore it is said to be *ſinitima Galilææ Gentium*) yet it hath beginning over the mountains *Traconis*, and so it stretcheth into the plains of the territory of *Ituræa*; whence *Philip* the brother of *Hierod* was tetrarch or president, both of *Ituræa* and *Traconitis*; both which are over *Jordan* towards the east. But *Chamath* in *Nephtalim*, is on the west side of *Jordan* towards the *Mediterranean* sea.

The country *Ituræa* was so called of *Jethur*, one of the sons of *Iſhmael*; it is placed in the bounds of *Cæſyria* and *Arabia* ^h the deſart.

The people of *Ituræa* were valiant and warlike men, and excellent archers. Of whom *Virgil*;

Ituræos taxi torquentur in arcus,
Of yew the *Itureans* bows were made.

The city *Chamath*, or *Hamath*, in *Nephtalim*, seems to have been as ancient as the other in *Ituræa*, both built by *Amatheus*, the 11th son of *Canaan*. Whether in the time of *David*, this, or the other had *Tobu* for king, it is not certain; for *Hamath*, or *Emath*, beyond the mountains, and *Hammath* in *Nephtalim* were both neighbours to *Damascus*; at whose subjugation *Tobu* rejoiced, because *Hudadeſer*, whom the *Damaſceni* came to help, was his enemy. This *Tobu* fearing the strength and prosperity of *David*, hearing of his approach towards his territory, bought his peace with many rich presents, and with many ancient vessels of gold, silver, and brass.

But it seemeth that *David* in such great success, would not have had peace with *Tobu*, if he had been king of any place in *Nephtalim*, and therefore it is probable that he ruled in *Tſoba*; which city *Solomon*, after his father's death, made himself master of, as a part of the lands (ⁱ in the larger and

^a The Septuagint write it Ammath. Jerome, Emath. Josephus, Amath. Josh. 19. 35. Chammath. ch. 21. v. 32. Chammoth Dor. 1 Chron. 6. 76. Chammon. 2 Kings 14. 8. Chammath-Jehuda, as Junius reads it. Whereas also, for further distinction, there is added (in Israel) to note that it was of old belonging to Judah, tho' seated in Israel, that is, in the kingdom of the ten tribes; the other Chamath being in Syria Soba. ^b Zeigler. in Nephtal. ^c So Jerome in his comment on Amos 6. 2. where there is mention of Hamath the great, as it seems, for distinction from the other in Nephtalim; tho' Mat. Beroaldus rejecting Jerome, rather follows the opinion of Zeigler abovementioned, as indeed it cannot easily be justified, that either one or other of these is either Antiochia, or Epiphania: however, that the same city which, Josh. 19. 35. is called Chammath, and placed in Nephtalim, was also called Chamath (where the word Hamath and Emath were framed) it may be gathered, partly because the other Hamath, 2 Chron. 8. 3. for distinction is called Chamath-Tſoba, as this (as it may seem by Josh. 21. 32.) was Chamath Dor, and Chamath-Judah, as we have noted 2 Kings 24. Secondly, because Numb. 34. 8. and also Ezek. 47. 10. Chameth in the north side of the holy land, is placed too near the west corner to be that Chamath-Tſoba: for in the line which should make the north border, which begins at the great sea, they make Moses to name never a place eastward along all the breadth of the holy land, until we come to Hermon (for so they expound mount Hor, Numb. 34. 7.) and beyond Hermon eastward in this north side, they make him to name divers towns, first Chamath, then Tſedad, then Ziphon; and lastly, Chatſar-henan: a thing most unlikely, seeing Israel had little or nothing eastward beyond Hermon. Therefore we must needs expound Hor to be one of the hills near Sidon; and so those towns, as they are named to lie in order on the north side of Aſher, Nephtalim, and Manasseh: and in like manner those in Ezekiel's first, Chetlon, then Chamath; and so in order, Berotha, Sibraim, Tſedad, Chauran, Chatſar-Henan. ^d Of which, Josh. 19. 35. ^e Which Rehob, or Rechob, in Josh. 19. 28. is placed in Aſher towards Zidon, in the confines of Nephtalim. ^f Filemannus Stella, and Peter Laicſtan, in their tables of the holy land. ^g Joseph. Ant. 13. 8. ^h That it doth properly belong to Arabia, the name of Jethur Iſhmael's son, whose issue settled in the Arabians, may in part give witness. Also the place of 1 Chron. 5. 19. confirms it, where Jethur is named among the Hagarens, against whom the Reubenites and Gadites made war, and whose country they possess'd in the time of Jeroboam, as their forefathers had done in the time of Saul, after his conquest of the Amalekites, 1 Chron. 5. 10. where the country is placed at the east of Gilead. ⁱ Of the larger promise express'd Deut. 1. 7. where Euphrates is named for one of the bounds, see chap. 7. ſect. 2. Hieron. de Locis Hebr.

conditional promise) allotted by God to the children of *Israel*.

But this *Hamath* of *Nephtalim*, in the end, and after divers mutations and changes, both of name and fortune, being, as it hath been said, possessed by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, it was called *Epiphania*.

While *St. Jerome* lived, it remained a city well peopled, known to the *Syrians* by the name *Amathe*, and to the *Greeks* by *Epiphania*.

† VI.

Of *Reblatha* and *Rama*, and divers other towns.

IN the border of *Hamath*, or *Emath*, towards *Jordan*, standeth the city *Reblatha*, or *Ribla*, watered from the fountain *Daphnis*, which falleth into the lake of *Merom*. Hereunto was *Zedekiah* brought prisoner, after his surprize in the fields of *Jericho*, and delivered to *Nabuchodonosor*: who, to be avenged of *Zedekiah's* infidelity, beyond the proportion of piety, first caused the princes his children to be slain in his presence: and to the end that this miserable spectacle might be the last that ever he should behold in this world, and so the most remembred, he commanded both his eyes presently to be thrust out: and binding him in iron chains, he was led a slave to *Babylon*, in which estate he ended his life. Of which seldom-exampled calamity, tho' not in express words, ^a *Jeremiah* the prophet foretold him in *Jerusalem* not long before: But *Ezekiel* thus directly, speaking in the person of God, ^b *I will bring him to Babylon, to the land of the Chaldeans, yet shall he not see it, tho' he shall die therein.*

There are besides these before-remembred, many other strong cities in *Nephtalim*; as that which is called ^c *Cedes*: there are two others of the same name, one in ^d *Issachar*, another in *Juda*, of which *Josh. xv. 23.* and therefore to distinguish it, it is known by the addition of ^e *Nephtalim*, as *Judg. iv.* It is seated on a high hill, whence *Josh. xx. 7.* *Kedesh in Galilee in monte Nephtali*: *Josephus* calls it *Cedesis*: and in *St. Jerome's* time it was called *Cidissus*. *Belforest* greatly mistakes this *Cedes*, and confounds it with *Cades* in the desert of *Pharan*.

After the king thereof, among other of the *Canaanites*, perished by the hand of *Joshua*, it was made a city of refuge, and given to the *Levites*. Herein was *Barak* born, who overthrew the army of the second *Jabin* of *Hazor*, at the mount *Tabor*. It was some time possess'd by *Teglatphalassar*, when he wasted all *Nephtalim*: afterwards by the *Romans*, and numbred for one of the ten cities of the *Decapolitan* region: when it had embraced the Christian Faith, it was honoured with a bishop's seat; but in time it fell with the rest into the power of the *Saracens* and *Turks*, and by them it was demolished.

From *Cedes*, some four *Italian* miles towards the south-west, standeth *Sephet*, otherwise *Zephet*, which was also one of the ten *Decapolitan* cities; a place exceeding strong, and for many years the inexpugnable fortress of the Christians, and afterwards of the *Saracens*; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour cities of those regions, both inland

and maritime near it. Touching *Rama* of *Nephtalim*, seated northward near *Sephet*: this is to be noted, that there are divers places of this name in *Palestine*, all seated on hills; and therefore called *Rama* (*Rama Hebraeis excelsam, Rama* with the *Hebrews* is high.) Also that from this *Rama*, *Josh. xix. 36.* they read *Arama*, making the article (which it hath in the *Hebrew*, as being a name of divers towns) to be a part of the word: whence casting away the aspiration, they read *Arama*. From *Sephet* towards the west, they place ^g *Bethsemes*, of which *Josh. xix. 38.* which defended it self against *Nephtalim*, *Judges i. 33.* but paid them tribute. On the other side of *Sephet*, towards the east, was *Bethanath*, who also kept their city from the *Nephtalims*.

Adjoining to which standeth *Cartban* ^h or *Kiria-thajim*, a city of the *Levites*, not far from the mountain, out of which the springs of *Capernaum* arise, called *Mons Christi*; a place by our Saviour often frequented: as also then when calling his disciples together, he made choice of twelve, which he called and ordained to be his apostles or messengers; of which place, or the acts therein done, there is oftent mention in the ⁱ evangelists.

Adjoining to these are *Magdalen*, a place of strength; and ^k *Masaloth*, of which we read, that it was forced by *Bacchides*, in the time of the ^l *Maccabees*: also (according to *Adrichomius*) one of the two *Berothas* of *Nephtalim*. For *Adrichomius* maketh two of this name in this tribe; ^m one near *Chamath* in the north border, of which *Ezek. xlvii. 6.* Another (upon a weak conjecture out of *Joseph. Ant. l. 5. c. 2.*) he therefore placeth, in this tract, near the waters of *Merom*; because the kings that joined with *Jabin* against *Joshua*, which incamped at the waters of *Merom*, *Josh. xi. 5.* are by *Josephus* said to have incamped at the city *Berotha* in *Galilee*, not far from *Cedes* ⁿ *Superior*, which is also in *Galilee*: all which may be true of that *Berotha* of which *Ezek.* seeing it is in that *Galilee* which is called the *Upper Galilee*, or *Galilee of the Gentiles*. The same *Adrichomius* placeth the region of *Berim* near *Abela* (of which *Abela*, or *Abel-beth-mahacab*, we have spoken already;) this he doth upon a conjecture touching the place, ^o *2 Sam. xx. 14.* where some read *Abel & Bethmahacab*, & *omnia loca Berim*; but the better reading is, & *omnes Berim*, that is, with all the *Berai*; for *Sheba* being of *Benjamin* (in which tribe also there is a city called *Berotha*, or *Becroth*) drew the men of that city after him.

To the north of *Berotha* of *Nephtalim*, standeth *Sebarim* under *Libanus*, remembred by *Ezekiel* *xlvii.* and *Aroseth gentium*, near the waters of *Merom*, or *Samochomitis*, the city of *Sisara*, lieutenant of the army of the second *Jabin*: from whence, not far off, towards the sea of *Galilee*, is *Ethrai*, or *Edebi*, a strong city; besides many others, whereof I find no particular story of importance; as *Ser* in *Josh. xix. 35.* called *Triddim-Tzer*, and named for the first of their fenced cities: whence they make two cities, *Affedim* and *Ser*: then *Adama*, which they call *Edama*; also *Ilion*, which they call *Abion*; of which in the books of *Kings*. Then the strong city of *Cinnereth*, afterwards called *Genezareth*, whence we read of the land and lake of *Genezareth*; the same lake which is also called the sea of ^p *Tiberias*.

^a Jer. 52. 11, &c. ^b Ezek. 12. 13. ^c Or Kedesh, Josh. 19. 37. & 10. 7. & 21. 32. item Judg. 4. 6. ^d 1 Chron. 6. 73. which Josh. 19. 20. is called Kishion. ^e Sometimes Kedesh in Galilee, 1 Chron. 6. 76. Josh. 12. 22. 2 Kings 15. 29. ^f See in Benjamin, and in Ephraim. ^g Other cities there were of this name (which is as much as domus Solis) as that in Juda, 2 Kings 14. 15. where Joash king of the ten tribes, overcame Amaziah of Juda, of which also I understand the place, Josh. 21. 16. & 1 Sam. 6. 14. & 2 Chron. 29. 18. ^h Third, as it seems, was in Dan, 1 Kings 4. 9. which Josh. 19. 41. is written Hethsema, which is as much as civitas Solis, Judg. 1. 31. ⁱ So it appears by comparing the places, Josh. 21. 32. & 1 Chron. 6. 76. *Adrichomius*, both here and elsewhere deceived by the double name, makes two of one: altho' I deny not but that there was another *Kiria-thajim* in Reuben of which Josh. 13. 19. ^j Mark 3. ^k Mt. 10. ^l Acts 1. ^m Mat. 5. 6, 7. ⁿ Josh. 19. 38. ^o 1 Mac. 9. 2. ^p Barathra, Ptolomeo in fine Arabiae deserta Junio cadom cum Berothai una civitatum Hadadezeris. 2 Sam. 8. 8. Josh. 18. 25. Afroth Hieron. Judg. 4. Lyr. in Judg. 4. Josh. 19. 37. 1 King. 15. 20. 2 Kings 15. 29. ^q Mar. 6. 53. Luke 5. 1.

In the body of the land they place *Galgala* to the south border ; of which ^a *Maccab.* xix. 2. also divers named, *Josh.* xix. as *Ucuca*, or *Chukkok* : *Horrem* and *Azanolh-tabor* (which they place towards the east parts) and out of the same place of *Joshua* : *Jirzon*, *Lakkum*, *Jepnael*, *Heleb*, and ^b *Reccath* ; which two last they place near *Cesaria Philippi* : To these they add out of *Joshua*, *Nekeb*, and *Adami* ; for which two *Junius* readeth *Fossa Adamæi*, making it no town, but a ditch cast by some of *Adamath*, as it seems ; or at least the custody of which march or limit belonging to the town. To these out of *Numb.* xxxiv. 10. they add *Sephano*, which ¹ *Sam.* xxx. 21. seems to be called *Sipmoth*. As for *Tychon* and *Helon*, whereof the former they fetch out of *Ezek.* xlvii. 16. and the latter out of *Joshua* xix. 33. it may appear by *Junius*'s translation, that neither are to be taken for cities : for the former he readeth *Mediani*, and for the latter *Quercetum*. The city of ^c *Nephtalim*, which they make the native place of *Toby*, and *Naasson* near unto it, they fetch out of the *Vulgar* translation, *Tob.* vii. 7. but in the *Greek* text there is no sign, neither of the one nor of the other.

SECT. V.

The Tribe of ZABULON.

OF *Zabulon*, or *Zebulon*, another of the sons of *Jacob* by *Leah*, there were mustered at mount *Sinai* 57400 able men, besides women, children, and aged unable persons ; all which dying in the deserts, there entred the *Holy Land* of their issues 65000 fit to bear arms ; who inhabited that part of *Canaan*, from *Asher* to the river of *Chison* ; southward, and from the sea of *Galilee* to the *Mediterranean*, east and west.

The cities within this tribe, which border *Asher*, are *Sicaminum* on the sea-shore, of which *Joseph. Ant.* 13. c. 19. *Debbaset* of which *Joshua* 19. 11. *Jeconam*, or ^a *Joknebam* (whose king was ^c slain by *Joshua*, and the city was given to the *Levites*) and *Gaba*, alterward called the *City of horsemen*, of a regiment there garisoned by *Herod*. Then the city which beareth the name of *Zabulon*, or the *City of men*, exceeding ancient or magnificent, ¹ burnt to the ground by *Cestius*, lieutenant of the *Roman* army. *Adrichomius* makes it the birth city of ² *Elon* judge of *Israel*, because he is called *Zabulonita* ; not marking that in the same place he is said to be buried at *Ajalon*.

To the east of this city of *Zabulon* is *Cateth*, of which *Joshua* xix. 15. on the border of *Asher* ; and beyond it the lesser ^b *Cana* of *Galilee*, where *Christ* converted water into wine ; the native city of *Nathaniel*, and, as it is thought, of *Simon Zelotes*. Beyond it begin the mountains of *Zabulon* : and then the city of *Cetbron* (in *Zeigler*, *Gbiltron*) which defended itself against *Zabulon*. Then *Bersabe*, which standeth in the partition of the upper and nether *Galilee*, fortified by *Josephus* against the *Romans*. Not far from hence standeth *Shimron* of *Meron*, whose king was slain by *Joshua*.

Then *Damna* or *Dimna*, a city of the *Levites* ; then *Noa*, or rather *Neba*, of which *Joshua* xix. 13.

Then *Dotban*, or *Dotbain*, where *Joseph* found his brethren feeding their flocks ; the same wherein *Eliseus*, besieged by the *Syrians*, struck them all blind.

Beyond it, towards the east, they imagine ⁱ *Amthar*, or *Amatbar* ; then *Remmon* of the *Levites*. The last of the cities on the north border of *Zabulon*, is *Bethsaida*, one of the ten cities of *Decapolis*, seated on the *Galilean* sea, and watered by the springs of *Capernaum*, the native city of the apostles, *Peter*, *Andrew* and *Philip*. Herein *Christ* did many miracles ; but these people being no less incredulous than the *Capernaims*, and others, received the same curse of threatened miseries ; as, *Wo be unto thee Bethsaida*, &c.

Along the west border of *Galilee*, towards the south from *Bethsaida*, was the strong castle of *Magdalum*, the habitation of *Mary Magdalen*, not long since standing.

And beyond it the strong and high seated city of *Jotapata*, fortified by *Josephus* in the *Roman* war : but in the end, after a long siege, surprized by *Vespasian* ; who slaughtered many thousands of the citizens ; and held 1200 prisoners, whereof *Josephus* the historian was one.

The last and greatest of the cities on that ^k sea, and the lake of *Genesareth* within *Zabulon*, was that of *Tiberias* ; from whence afterward the *Galilean* sea also changed name, and was called, *The sea of the city Tiberias*, so named in honour of *Tiberius Cesar* ; it was one of the ten cities, and the metropolis of the region *Decapolitan*, and the greatest and last of the lower *Galilee*. From hence our Saviour called *Matthew*, from the toll or custom-house, to be an apostle, and near unto it raised the daughter of *Jairus* from death ; it was built (as *Josephus* reports) by *Herod* the tetrarch, the brother of *Philip*, in the beginning of the reign of *Tiberius Cesar*, in the most fruitful part of *Galilee*, but in a ground full of sepulchres ; *Quum juxta nostras leges* (saith he) *ad septem dies impurus habeatur, qui in talibus locis habitet* ; Whereas by our law he should be seven days held as unclean who inhabited in such a place : by which words, and by the whole place of *Josephus* it appears, that this *Tiberias* is not (as some have thought) the same as the old *Cinnereth*, which was seated, not in *Zabulon*, but in *Nephtalim*.

Near unto this *Tiberias* at *Amaus*, there were hot baths, where *Vespasian* the emperor encamped against *Tiberias* : more into the land, toward the south-west, is *Bethulia*, seated on a very high hill, and of great strength, famous by the story of *Holofernes* and *Judith*, such as it is. Near which standeth *Bethlehem* of *Zabulon* ; and adjoining unto it, *Capbarath* fortified by ¹ *Josephus* against the *Romans* ; and *Japha* an exceeding strong place, afterward forced by *Titus* : who in the entrance, and afterward in fury, slew ^m 15000 of the citizens, and carried away above 2000 prisoners.

On the south-side are the cities of ⁿ *Cartha* of the *Levites*, and *Gabara*, of which *Josephus* in his own life ; then *Jasic* according to *Adrichomius* (of which *Josh.* 19. 12.) for he thinks that it is not that *Japha* of which we spake but now out of *Josephus*. *Jile-*

^a This place of the *Maccab.* avails no *Galgala* or *Gilgal* in *Nephtali* ; but may well be understood of *Gilgal* in *Benjamin*, or in *Manasseh*. ^b This *Reccath*, or *Racath*, *Junius* thinks that it is the same with *Karthan* (one of these being made of the other by transposition of letters) of which *Karthan* we have noted already, that it is also called *Kinja thaim*. ^c In the place ¹ *Reg.* 1. 1, which also they bring to prove that there was a city called *Nephtalim*, as it is evident by the following verses, the tribe of *Nephtalim* is meant, and not any city of that name. ^d *Josh.* 12. 22. ^e *Jos.* 2. bel. 19. ^f *Jos.* 2. bel. 22. ^g *Judg.* 12. 12. ^h The greater *Junius* reads *Matth.* 10. 4. *Simon Kannites*, which word *Luc.* 6. is, he thinketh, to be expounded by *Zelotes*. ⁱ The Hebrew *Hammur* thean (for which the *Vulgar* hath *Amthar*, *Jos.* 19. 13.) *Vatablus* expounds quæ gyrit ; *Junius* joins it with the word going before it, and reads *Rimmonemo Methonrum*, *Matth.* 8. 11. *Mark.* 1. 6. *Luke.* 4. 10. ^k The names of the chief cities seated about the sea, or lake, thro' which *Jordan* runneth, where *Capernaum*, *Tiberias*, *Gadara*, *Tarchea*, and they add *Cinnereth*, which in *vin. sua.* ^m *Joseph.* 2. bell. 25. ⁿ *Josh.* 21. 34. otherwise *Kisloth Thabor*, as *Junius* thinks upon *Josh.* 19. 12. where ¹ *Chon.* 6. 77. it is called *Thabor*.

la, of which *Josh. xix. 15.* *Jerome* calls it *Jadela*; under it westward *Legio* (afterwards a bishop's seat) and the city *Belma*, in ancient times exceeding strong, remembred *Judith vii. 3.* otherwise *Chelma*. Between *Legio* and *Nazaret*, is the city ^a*Saffa*, or *Saffra*, the birth city of *Zebedæus*, *Alphæus*, *James*, and *John*: then *Sephoris* or *Sephora*, according to *Josephus*: *Sephorum*, according to *Brochard*; which afterwards, saith *Hegefippus* and *Jerome*, was called *Diocæsaria*; the city of *Joachim* and *Anna*, the parents of the Virgin *Mary*, it was called by *Herod* the tetrarch; and by him, as ^b*Josephus* speaks, made the head and defence of *Galilee*; in another place he saith, *Urbium Galilearum maximæ Sephoris & Tiberias*. This *Sephoris* greatly vexed *Vespasian* ere he won it. *Herod Antipas*, when he made it the regal seat of the nether *Galilee*, and surrounded it with a strong wall, called it *Autocratorida*, which is as much as to say, imperial, saith *Josephus*; and it is now but a castle called *Zaphet*.

To the south-west of this *Sephoris*, or *Diocæsaria*, was that blessed place of *Nazareth*, the city of *Mary* the mother of *Christ*, in which he himself was conceived; it standeth between mount *Tabor*, and the *Mediterranean* sea. In this city he abode chiefly 24 years, and was therefore called a *Nazarene*, as the Christians afterwards were for many years. It was erected into an archbishoprick in the following age. Near unto it are the cities *Buria*, afterwards well defended against the *Turks*, and *Nabalat*, of which *Josh. xix. 15.* and *Judg. i. 30.* where it is called *Nabalat*: and *Josh. xxi. 35.* where it is a city of the *Levites*, near the sea; adjoining to the river of *Chifon*, is *Sarid*, noted in *Joshua* for the uttermost of *Zabulon*.

In this territory of *Zabulon*, there are divers small mountains; but *Tabor* is the most renowned, by the apparition of *Moses* and *Elias*: and by the transfiguration of *Christ*, in the presence of *Peter*, *James* and *John*; unto whom *Moses* and *Elias* appeared; in memory whereof, on the top of the mountain, the empress *Helen* built a sumptuous chappel.

The chief river of *Zabulon*, is *Chifon*; which rising out of *Tabor*, runneth with one stream eastward to the sea of *Galilee*, and with another stream westward into the great sea. This river of *Chifon*, where it riseth, and so far as it runneth southward, is called *Chedumim*, or *Cadumim*: and for mine own opinion, I take it to be the same which *Ptolemy* calleth *Chorseus*; tho' others distinguish them, and set *Chorseus* by *Cæsaria Palestine*. There is a second torrent, or brook, that riseth in the hills of *Bethulia*, and falleth into the sea of *Galilee* by *Magdalum*; and the third is branch of a river rising out of the fountains of *Capernaum*, which falleth also into the same sea, and near ^c*Magdalum*; which torrent they call *Dotbam*, from the name of the city from which it passeth eastward to *Bethsaida*, and so joining with *Jordanis Parvus*, which runneth from the valley of ^d*Jephthael*, which *Joshua* reckoneth in the bounds of *Zabulon*, it endeth in the sea of *Galilee*.

S E C T. VI.

The Tribe of ISSACHAR.

THE next adjoining territory to *Zabulon*, to the south and south-west, was *Iffachar*, who inhabited a part of the nether *Galilee*, within *Jordan*: of whom there were increased in *Egypt*, as

appeared by their musters at mount *Sinai*, 54400 able and warlike men, who leaving their bodies with the rest in the deserts, there entered the *Holy Land*, 64300.

The first city of this tribe, near the sea of *Galilee*, was ^e*Tarichea* distant from *Tiberias* eight English miles, or somewhat more, a city wherein the *Jews* (by the practice of a certain mutinous upstart, *John* the son of *Levi*) took arms against *Josephus* the historian, then governor of both *Galilees*. This city was first taken by *Cassius*, and 3000 *Jews* carried thence captive; and afterwards, with great difficulty by *Vespasian*, who entered it by the sea-side, having first beaten the *Jews* in a sea-fight upon the lake or sea of *Galilee*, he put to the sword all sorts of people, and of all ages; saving that his fury being quenched with the rivers of blood running thro' every street, he reserved the remainder for slaves and bondmen. Next to *Tarichea* is placed ^f*Cession*, or *Cishion*, of the *Levites*, and then *Iffachar*, remembred in *1 Kings iv. 17.* then *Abes*, or *Ebets*, *Josh. xix. 20.* and *Remeth*, of which *Josh. xix. 21.* otherwise *Ramoth*, *1 Chron. vi. 73.* or *Jarmuth*, *Josh. xxi. 29.* this also was a city of the *Levites*, from whose territory the mountains of *Gilboa* take beginning; and range themselves to the *Mediterranean* sea, and towards the west as far as the city of *Jezerael*; between which and *Ramoth* are the cities of *Bethpbeses*, or *Bethpaffes*, according to *Zeigler*, and *Enadda*, or *Hen-chadda*: near which *Saul* slew himself: under those ^g*Aphec*, or *Apheca*, which *Adrichomius* placeth in *Iffachar*; between which and *Suna*, he saith, that the *Philistines* encamped against *Israel*, and afterwards against *Saul*, a land thirsty of blood; for herein also, says he, the *Syrians*, with 32 *Reguli* assisting *Benbadad*, incountred *Achab*, and were overthrown and slaughtered: to whom the king of *Israel* made a most memorable answer, when *Benbadad* vaunted before the victory; which was, *Tell Benbadad, Let not him that girdeth his harness boast himself, as he that putteth it off*; meaning, that glory followed after victory, but ought not to precede it. In the year following, in the fields, as they say, adjoining to this city, was the same vain-glorious *Syrian* utterly broken and discomfited by *Achab*, and 100000 footmen of the *Aramites*, or *Syrians*, slain: before which overthrow, the servants and counsellors of *Benbadad* (in derision of the God of *Israel*) told him, ^h*That the Gods of Israel were Gods of the mountains; and therefore if they fought with them in the plains, they should overcome them*.

Under *Aphec*, towards the sea, they set the city of *Esdrelon*, in the plains of *Galilee*, called also the great field of *Esdrelon*, and *Maggedo*; in the border whereof are the ruins of *Aphec*, to be seen, saith *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*. After these are the cities of ⁱ*Casaloth*, of which *1 Maccab. ix. 2.* *Anem*, or *Hen-Gannim* of the *Levites*; and *Seefima*, or *Shabatfima*, the west border of *Iffachar*, of which *Josh. xix. 22.* From hence ranging the sea-coast, there is found the castle of pilgrims; a strong castle, environed with the sea, some-time the store-house and magazine of the Christians, and built by the earl of *St. Giles*, or *Tolouse*.

From the castle of pilgrims the sea maketh a great bay towards the north, and at the farthest shore beginneth mount *Carmel*, not far from the river *Chifon*; where *Elijah* assembled all the prophets and priests of *Baal*, and prayed king *Achab*, and the people assembled, to make trial, whether

^a *Johann. de Montevilla*, cap. 4. 20. ^b *Joseph. Ant. 18. 3.* & in vita sua. ^c See *Laickstan's map in Ortelius*. ^d *Josh. 19. 14.* ^e *Tarichea* in *Sueton*. ^f *Josh. 21. 28.* *Kishion*, which *1 Chron. 6. 72.* is called *Kedeth*. ^g *Josh. 19. 1 Sam. 3. 19.* ^h *1 Kings 22. 26.* In the latter two places *Junius* makes *Aphel* in *Ather*, according to *Josh. 19. 30.* In the first he placeth it in *Judh*, out of *Joshua 15. 53.* ⁱ *1 Kings 20.* ^j *1 Kings 20. 23.* ^k *Judith 1. 8. and 7. 3.* ^l *1 Chron. 6. 73.* *Josh. 21. 29.*

the God of *Israel*, or the idol of *Baal*, were to be worshipped, by laying a sacrifice without fire on the altar: which done, the priests of *Baal* prayed, and cut their own flesh after their manner, but the fire kindled not; while *Elijah* in derision told them, that their God *was either in pursuit of his enemies, not at leisure, or perchance asleep, &c.* But at the prayer of *Elijah*, his fire kindled, notwithstanding that he had caused the people to cast many vessels of water thereon; by which miracle the people incensed, slew all those idolaters on the banks of *Chifon* adjoining.

At the foot of this mountain, to the north, standeth *Caiphas*, built, as they say, by *Caiphas* the high priest. It is also known by the name of *Porfina* and *Porphyria*, sometime a suffragan bishop's seat. Returning again from the sea-coast, towards *Tiberias*, by the banks of *Chifon*, there are found the city of *Ilapharaim*, or *Aphraim*, and the castles of *Mesra* and *Saba*; of which *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*; and then *Naim* on the river *Chifon*, a beautiful city while it stood, in the gates whereof Christ raised from death the widow's only son.

Then *Seon*, or *Shion*, named *Josh. xix.* between the two hills of *Hermon*, in *Iffachar*: beyond it standeth *Endor*, famous by reason of the enchantress that undertook to raise up the body of *Saul*, at the instigation of *Saul*.

Beyond it stands *Anadarath* and *Rabbith*, named *Josh. xix. 19, 20.* Then *Dabarath*, as it is named *Josh. xxi. 28.* or *Dobratba*, as it is named *1 Chron. vi. 72.* This city (which stretcheth itself over *Chifon*) was a city of refuge belonging to the *Levites*.

Next to *Dabarath* is *Arbela* situate, near the caves of those two thieves which so greatly molested *Galilee* in *Herod's* time. It joineth on one side to the mountain of *Iffachar* or *Hermon*, and on the other the valley of *Jezreel*; which valley continueth itself from *Bethsan*, or *Scythopolis*, the east border of *Iffachar*, even to the *Mediterranean* sea; two parts whereof are enclosed by the mountains of *Gilboa* on the south, and by *Hermon* and the river *Chifon* on the north. In these plains *Gideon* overthrew the *Madianites*, and herein, they think, *Saul* fought against the *Philistines*, *Achab* against the *Syrians*, and the *Tartars* against the *Saracens*.

SECT. VII.

The Half of the Tribe of MANASSE II.

§ I.

Of the bounds of this half tribe, and of Scythopolis, Salem, Therfa, and others.

THE next tribe which joineth itself to *Iffachar* towards the south, is the half of *Manasse*, on the west-side of *Jordan*. *Manasses* was the first begotten of *Joseph*, the 11th son of *Jacob*. His mother was an *Egyptian*, the daughter of *Putiphar*, priest and prince of *Mesopotamia*: which *Manasses*, with his brother *Ephraim*, the grand-children of *Jacob*, were by adoption numbred amongst the sons of *Jacob*, and made up the number of the twelve patriarchs.

Of *Manasse*, there were increased in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at mount *Sinai*, 32200 able men: all which being consumed in the deserts, there entered of their issue 52700 bearing arms. The territory which fell on this one half of *Manasse*, was bounded by *Jordan* on the east, and *Dora* upon

the *Mediterranean* sea on the west, *Jezrael* on the north, and *Machmata* is the south border.

The first and principal city which stood in this territory, was *Bethsan*, sometime *Nyssa*, saith *Pliny*, built by *Liber Pater*, in honour of his nurse there buried, of the same name, which *Solinus* confirms. Afterwards, when the *Scythians* invaded *Asia* the less, and pierced into the south, to the uttermost of *Calesyria*, they built this city anew, and very magnificent: and it had thereupon the name of *Scythopolis*, or the city of *Scythians* given it by the *Greeks*.

These barbarous northern people, constrained the *Jews* to fight against their own nation and kindred, by whose hands when they had obtained victory, they themselves set on the *Jews* which served them, and slew them all. *Stephanus* makes it the utmost towards the south of *Calesyria*: and *Strabo* joins it to *Galilee*. It is seated between *Jordan* and the hills of *Gilboa*, *In autone ad montes Acrabitanæ*, saith *Zeigler*. But I find it in the east part of the valley of *Jezrael* near *Jordan*: after that *Jordan* straiteneth itself again into a river, leaving the sea or lake *Genezereth*. Notwithstanding *Montanus* describes it far to the west, and towards the *Mediterranean* sea, near *Endor*, contrary to *Stella*, *Laiclan*, *Adrichome*, and all other the best authors. This city was the greatest of all those of *Decapolis*: but the children of *Manasse* could not expel the inhabitants thereof, and therefore called it *Sane*, an enemy; or *Beth-san*, the house of an enemy.

Over the walls of *Beth-san*, the *Philistines* hung the body of *Saul* and his sons, slain at *Gilboa*. It had, while the Christian religion flourished in those parts, an archbishop, who had nine other bishops of his diocese numbred by *Tyrius*, in *lib. 14. cap. 12.* but the same was afterwards translated to *Nazareth*. The later travellers in those parts affirm, that there is daily taken out among the rubbish and the ruins of that city, goodly pillars, and other pieces of excellent marble, which witness the stately buildings and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poor and desolate village.

From *Beth-san*, keeping the way by *Jerusalem*, they find an ancient city called *Salim*; which city, the ancient *Rabbins*, saith *Jerome*, do not find to be the same with *Jerusalem*; there being, in the time of *Jerome*, and since, a town of that name, near *Scythopolis* before remembred; which if the place of scripture, *Gen. xiii. 18.* do not confirm, where the *Ungar* readeth *Transivitque in Salim quem Sechemum* (for which others read, *Veni incolens ad civitatem Sechemum*, making the word *Sechem* not to be a proper name, but an adjective) yet the place *John iii. 13.* where it is said, that *John* was baptizing in *Enon* near *Salim*, may somewhat strengthen this opinion, and yet it is not unlikely that this *Salim* of which *St. John* speaketh, is but contracted of *Sebalim*, of which in the tribe of *Benjamin*, *1 Sam. ix. 4.* This word *Junius* maketh to be the plural of *Shubal*; of which we read, *1 Sam. xiii. 17.* for as for that which is added out of *Cant. vi. 12.* of *Shulammitis*, as if it had been as much as a woman of this *Salim*, near *Enon*, it hath no probability.

Not far from thence, where they place *Salem*, they find *Pezek* the city of *Adonibezek*; *Josephus* calls it *Bala*: here it was that *Saul* assembled the strength of *Israel* and *Juda*, to the number of 330000, when he meant to relieve *Jabesh-Gilead*, against *Nabab* the *Ammonite*; who would give them no other conditions of peace, than to suffer

^a Luke 7. ^b Called Campus Magnus, *1 Maccab. 12. 49.* and Harbathe for Harabath. ^c *Mace. 5. 23. ant. 9. 2.* *Judg. 6. 1 Sam. 31. 1 Kings 5.* ^d *Plin. lib. 5. c. 18.* ^e *Judg. 1. Josh. 17. de ball. fac.* ^f *Hieron. in epist. ad Evagr. in loc. 1. br.* ^g The city Bezek, ^h is the place *Judg. 1. 3. seemeth to have been in Judah, Joseph. Ant. 1. 6. c. 5. 1 Sam. 11.*

their right eyes to be thrust out. Near *Bezek*, is the city of *Bethbera*, or rather *Beth-bara*, of which *Judg.* vii. 24. in the story of *Gideon*; and then *Ephra*, or *Hophra*, wherein *Gideon* inhabited; in the border whereof stood an altar consecrated to *Baal*: which he pulled down and defaced; and near it that stone on which *Abimelech* the bastard slew his seventy brothers (an heathenish cruelty, practised by the *Turks* to this day;) and not far hence, between the village of *Asophon* and *Jordan*, *Ptolomæus Latburus* overthrew *Alexander* king of the *Jews*; and slaughtered, as *Josephus* numbred them, 3000; but according to *Timagenes* 5000: after which victory, as *Ptolemy* pass'd by the villages of the *Jews*, he slew all their women, and caused the young children to be sod in great caldrons, that the rest of the *Jews* might thereby think that the *Egyptians* were grown to be men-eaters, and strike them with the greater terror.

Towards the west, and on the border of *Iffachar*, they place the cities of ^b *Aner* of the *Levites*, and *Abel-Mehola*, which *Junius*, *Judg.* vii. 22. placeth in *Ephraim*; it was the habitation of *Heliseus* the prophet, numbred among those places, *1 Reg.* iv. 12. which were given in charge to *Baana* by *Solomon*; to whose charge also *Tabanach* belonged, a place of great strength, which at the first resisted *Joshua*, tho' their king was afterward hanged, and their city given to the *Levites*.

In the body of this territory of *Manasseh*, but somewhat nearer to *Jordan* than to the *Mediterranean* sea, were three great cities, to wit, *Thersa*, whose king was one of those that *Joshua* slew; which the kings of *Israel* used for their regal seat, till such time as *Samaria* was built. From hence the wife of *Jeroboam* went to *Achia* to enquire of her son's health; who knowing her, tho' she were disguised, told her of her son's death.

The second was *Thebes*, near *Samaria*, of which name there are both in *Egypt* and *Greece*, of great fame; in the assault of the tower of this town, whereunto the citizens retired, the bastard *Abimelech* was wounded by a weighty stone, thrown by a woman over the wall; who despairing of his recovery, ^c commanded his page to slay him outright, because it should not be said that he perished by the stroke of a woman. But others set this city in *Ephraim*, near *Siehem* or *Neapolis*.

The third is *Acrabata*, of which the territory adjoining is called *Acrabatena* (one of the ten toparchies or governments in *Judea*) for which *Jerome*, *1 Maccab.* v. reads *Arabathena*; but in the *Greek* it is *Acrabatine*: *Isidore* calls it *Agrabat*. This city had one of the largest territories of all *Palestine*, belonging to the governour thereof. *Josephus* remembreth it often, as in his second book of the *Jeros* wars, c. 11, 25, 28. and elsewhere.

The difference between a tetrarchy and a toparchy, was, that the first was taken for a province, and the other for a city, with some lesser territory adjoining; and a tetrarch is the same with *Præses* in *Latin*, and president in *English*, being commonly the fourth part of a kingdom, and thereof so called. ^d *Pliny* nameth seventeen tetrarchies in *Syria*: the *Holy Land* had four, and so hath the kingdom of *Ireland* to this day, ^e *Lempster*, *Ulster*, *Conanath*, and *Munster*.

To the south-west of *Acrabata*, they place the cities of *Balaam*, or *Bilham*, and *Gethremmon* of the *Levites*: but *Junius* out of *Josh.* xxi. 25. and *1 Chron.* vi. 70. gathers, that these two

are but one; and that *Jibleham*, *Josh.* xvi. 11. is another name of the same city.

Then is *Jezrael* a regal city, set at the foot of the mountains of *Gilboa*, towards the south-west; herein *Jezabel*, by a false accusation, caused *Naboth* to be stoned, to the end she might possess his vineyard joining to the city; which *Naboth* refused to sell, because it was his inheritance from his father.

Joram also was cast unburied into the same field; for which his mother ^f *Jezabel* murdered *Naboth*.

Towards the sea, from *Jezrael*, is the city which they call *Gaber*; in whose ascent, as *Abaziah* king of *Juda* fled from *Jehu*, when he had slain *Joram*, he was wounded with the shot of an arrow, of which wound he died at *Maggeddo* adjoining. The scripture calls this city of *Gaber*, ^g *Gur*.

Then *Adadremmon*, near unto which the good king *Josias* was slain by *Necho* king of *Egypt*, in a war unadvisedly undertaken. For *Necho* marched towards *Affyria* against the king thereof, by the commandment of God; whom *Josias* thought to resist in his passage: it was afterwards called *Maximianopolis*.

A neighbour city to *Adadremmon* was ^h *Maggeddo*, often remembred in the scriptures; whose king was slain among the rest by ⁱ *Joshua*; yet they defended their city for a long time against *Manasseh*. The river which passeth by the town, may perhaps be the same which *Ptolemy* calleth *Chorseus*: and not that of which we have spoken in *Zabulon*. For because this name is not found in the scriptures, many of those that have described the holy land, delineate no such river. *Moore* only sets it down in his geography of the twelve tribes: but the river which passeth by *Maggeddo*, he understandeth to be but a branch falling thereinto. *Laicstan* and *Schrot* make a great confluence of waters in this place; agreeable to this scripture in the vth of *Judges*; *Then fought the kings of Canaan in Tanaac, by the waters of Maggeddo*. But these authors, and with them *Stella*, give it no other name than the torrent so called.

But seeing that ancient cosmographers stretch out the bounds of *Phenicia* even to *Sebaste*, or *Samaria*; and ^k *Strabo* far beyond it on the sea-coast: and *Josephus* calls *Cæsaria Palestinæ* a city of *Phenicia*: yea, *Laurentius Corvinus* extendeth *Phenicia* as far as *Gaza*: seeing also *Ptolemy* sets down *Chorseus* for the partition of *Phenicia* and *Judea*, this river running east and west parallel with *Samaria*; it is very probable that this torrent called *Maggeddo*, after the name of the city which it watereth, is the same which *Ptolemy* in his 4th table of *Asia*, calleth *Chorseus*. The later travellers of the holy land call *Maggeddo*, *Subimbre* at this day.

† II.

Of *Cæsaria Palestinæ*, and some other towns.

FROM *Maggeddo* towards the west, and near the *Mediterranean* sea, was that glorious city of *Cæsaria Palestinæ*: first, the tower of *Straton*: the same which *Pliny* calls *Apollonia*: tho' *Ptolemy* sets *Apollonia* elsewhere, and towards *Egypt*, between this city and *Joppe*, to which *Vespasian* gave the name of *Flavia Colonia*. It was by *Herod* rebuilt, who therein laboured to exceed all the works in that part of the world: for besides the edifices, which he reared within the walls, of cut and polish'd marbles, the theatre and amphitheatre, from whence he might look over the seas far away, with

^a Joseph. Ant. l. 13. c. 21. ^b This *Aner*, *Junius* upon *1 Chron.* 6. 70. makes to be the same with *Tahanac*, of which *Josh.* 21. 25. *Jerome* names it from *Aner* the confederate of *Abraham*, *Gen.* 14. 13. *Josh.* 12. 17. ^c *1 Kings* 14. ^d *Judg.* 9. 54. ^e *Plin.* l. 5. ^f *Euseb.* in *Cron.* ^g *1 Kings* 21. ^h *2 Kings* 9. 27. ⁱ *Judg.* 1. 5. ^j *Josh.* 12. 17. ^k *Strab.* l. 16. *Joseph.* l. 15. c. 13. *Niger.*

the high and stately towers and gates; he forced a harbour of great capacity, being in former times but an open bay: and the wind blowing from the sea, the merchants haunting that port, had no other hope, but in the strength of their cables and anchors. This work he performed with such charge and labour, as the like of that kind hath not been found in any kingdom, nor in any age: which, because the materials are fetched from far, and the weight of the stones was such, as it exceedeth belief, I have added *Josephus's* own words of this work, which are these: *"Hanc locorum incommoditatem correcturus, circum portus circumduxit, quantum putaret magnæ classi recipiendæ sufficere: Et in viginti ulnarum profundum, prægrandia saxa demisit: quorum pleraque pedum quinquaginta longitudinis, latitudinis vero octodecim, altitudine novem-pedali: fuerunt quædam etiam majora, minora alia.* To mend this inconvenience of place (saith *Josephus*) he compass'd in a bay wherein a great fleet might well ride: and let down great stones twenty fathom deep: whercof some were 50 foot long, 18 foot broad, and 9 foot thick: and some bigger and some lesser. To this he added an arm or caufway of 200 foot long to break the waves: the rest he strengthened with a stone wall, with divers stately towers thereon builded: of which the most magnificent he called *Drusus*, after the name of *Drusus* the son-in-law of *Cæsar*: in whose honour he intitled the city it self, *Cæsaria of Palestine*: all which he performed in 12 years time. It was the first of the eastern cities that received a bishop: afterwards erected into an archbishoprick, commanding 20 others under it, saith *Tyrius*.

St. *Jerome* nameth *Theophilus*, *Eusebius*, *Acacius*, *Euzorus*, and *Gelasius*, to have been bishops thereof. In this city was *Cornelius* the centurion baptized by St. *Peter*: and herein dwelt *Philip* the apostle. St. *Paul* was herein two years prisoner, under the president *Felix*, unto the time and government of *Porcius Festus*: by whom, making his appeal, he was sent to *Cæsar*. Here, when *Herod Agrippa* was passing on to celebrate the *Quinquennialia*, taking delight to be called a God by his flatterers, he was stricken by an angel unto death, saith *Josephus*.

To the north of *Cæsaria* standeth *Dora*, or *Naphoth Dor*, as some read, *Josh. i. 2.* so called (saith *Adricomius*) because it joineth to the sea, whose king was slain by *Joshua*. But *Junius*, for in *Naphoth Dor*, reads in *trælibus Dor*: and so the *Vulgar*, in *regionibus Dor*, altho' 1 *Kings iv. 11.* for the like speech in the *Hebrew* it readeth *omnis Nephtalim Dor*: the *Septuagint* in the place of *Joshua* call it *Nephth-Dor*, and in the other of the kings, *Nephth-Dor*: but the true name by other places (as *Josh. xii. 23.* *Judg. i. 27.*) may seem to be *Dor*. It was a strong and powerful city, and the fourth in account of those 12 principalities, or sitarchies, which *Solomon* erected. *Junius* upon *Macc. xv. 11.* placeth it between the hill *Carmel*, and the mouth of the river *Chorseus*: for so some name the river *Corseus*, of which we have spoken already.

Into this city, for the strength thereof, *Typhon* fled from *Antiochus* the son of *Demetrius*, where he was by the same *Antiochus* besieged with 120000 footmen, and 8000 horse: the same perfidious villain that received 200 talents for the ransom of *Jonathan* *Macchabeus* (whom he had taken by treachery) and then slew him: and after him slew his own master, usurping for a while the kingdom of *Syria*. It had also a bishop's seat of the diocese of *Cæsaria*.

From *Cæsaria* towards the south, they place the cities of *Caparnaum*, *Gabe*, and *Galgal*: for be-

sides that *Caparnaum* famous in the evangelists, they find in these parts near the west sea, another of the same name. Of *Gabe*, *Jerome*, in *locis Hebraicis*. *"The famous Galgal, or Gilgal, was in Benjamin: but this Gilgal, they say it was, whose king was slain by Joshua.*

Then *Antipatris*, so called of *Herod*, in honour of his father: but in the time of the *Macchabees*, it was called *Capharsalama*: in the fields whereof *Judas Macchabeus* overthrew a part of the army of *Nicanor*, lieutenant to *Demetrius*: an army drawn into *Judea* by a traiterous Jew, called *Alcimus*: who contended for the priesthood, first under *Bacchides*, and then under *Nicanor*. To this was St. *Paul* carried prisoner from *Jerusalem*, conducted by 470 soldiers, to defend him from the fury of the Jews. In after-times the army of *Godfry of Bulloign* attempted it in vain; yet was it taken by *Baldwin*. It was honoured in those days with a bishop's seat; but it is now a poor village, called *Affur*, saith *Brochard*. Near unto this city the prophet *Jonas* was three days preserved in the body of a whale.

Into the land, from *Antipatris* and *Cæsaria*, standeth *Narbata*, whereof the territory taketh name: which *Cestius* the Roman, wasted with fire and sword, because the Jews which dwelt at *Cæsaria* fled thence, and carried with them the book of *Moses*. Near unto it is the mountain of *Abdia*, the steward of king *Achab*; wherein he hid an hundred prophets, and fed them: after which he himself is said to have obtained from God the spirit of prophecy also.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the kingdom of Phenicia.

SECT. I.

The bounds, and chief cities, and founders, and name of this kingdom: and of the invention of letters ascribed to them.

BECAUSE these five tribes, of *Asser*, *Nephthalim*, *Zabulon*, *Issachar*, and the half of *Manasseh*, possess'd the better part of that ancient kingdom of *Phenicia*, to wit, of so much as lay to the south part of *Anti-Libanus*; I have therefore gathered a brief of those kings which have governed therein: at least so many of them as time (which devour-eth all things) have left to posterity: and that the rest perished, it is not strange: seeing so many volumes of excellent learning in so long a race and revolution, and in so many changes of estates, and conquests of heathen princes, have been torn, cast away, or otherwise consumed.

The limits of this kingdom, as touching the south parts, are very uncertain: but all cosmographers do in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the north, where that part of *Syria*, which is called *Casiotis*, ends: most of them bounding it by *Orthosia* to the north of *Tripolis*. *Ptolemy* makes it a little larger, as reaching from the river *Eleutherus* that falls into the sea at the island of *Aradus*, somewhat to the north of *Orthosia*, and stretching from thence along the coast of the *Mediterranean* sea, as far as the river of *Chorseus*; which seems to be that which the Jews call the torrent, or river of *Maggeddo*. *Pliny* extends it further, and comprehends *Joppe* within it: *Corvinus* and *Budæus*, *Joppe* and *Gaza*. *Phœnicia apud præcos appellata* (saith *Budæus*) *quæ nunc Palestina Syriæ dicitur*; It was

^a *Joseph. l. 15. c. 13.* ^b *Lib. 4. c. 12. Bell. sacr.* ^c *Macc. 1. 13, 15.* ^d *Gul. Tyr. de Bell. sac. l. 10. c. 6.* ^e *Macc. 17. 31.* ^f *Ptol. 4. Tab. Alæ.* ^g *Plin. l. 5. c. 19.*

called *Phenicia* of old (saith he) which now is called *Palestina* of *Syria*.

^a *Strabo* comprehends in this country of *Phenicia* all the sea side of *Judea*, and *Palestina*, even unto *Pelusium*, the first port of *Egypt*. On the contrary, *Diodorus Siculus* foldeth it up in *Cœlesyria*, which he boundeth not. But for my self, I take a middle course, and like best of *Ptolemy's* description, who was seldom deceived of his own art. It had in it these famous maritime cities (besides all those of the islands) to wit, *Aradus*, *Orthofia*, *Tripolis*, *Botrys*, *Byblus*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Ptolomais* (or *Acon*) *Dora*, and *Cæsaria Palestine*: and by reason of the many ports and goodly sea-towns, it anciently commanded the trade of the eastern world: and they were absolute kings of the *Mediterranean* sea.

The ancient regal seat of those princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the first son of *Canaan*: and the people then subject to that family were called *Zidonians*; the same state continuing even unto *Joshua's* time. For till then, it is probable that there was but one king of all that region, afterwards called *Phenicia*: which *Procopius* also confirmeth in his second book of *Vandal Wars*. But in process of time the city of *Tyre* adjoining, became the more magnificent: yet, according to the ^b prophet, it was but a daughter of *Zidon*, and by them first built, and peopled.

But after the death of *Moses*, and while *Joshua* yet governed *Israel*, *Agenor* an *Egyptian* of *Thebes*, or a *Phenician* bred in *Egypt*, came thence with his sons *Cadmus*, *Phenix*, *Cyrus*, and *Cilix* (say *Cedrenus* and *Curtius*) and built and possess'd the cities of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, to wit, the new *Tyrus*; and brought into *Phenicia* (so called after the name of his second son) the use of letters: which also *Cadmus*, in his pursuit after his sister *Europa*, taught the *Greeks*. For *Taurus* king of *Crete*, when he surpris'd *Tyre*, had stolen her thence: of which the poets devised the fable of *Jupiter's* transformation into a bull, by whom that stealth was also supposed to be made. *Pomponius Sabinus* makes *Belus* the first king of *Phenicia*; and finds *Cadmus* his successor, whom he calleth his grand-child: and it seemeth that *Belus* was the father of *Agenor*, and not *Neptune*: because the successors of *Dido* held that name always in reverence, making it a part of their own, as *Asdrubal*, *Hannibal*: whose memory *Virgil* also toucheth in these verses.

*Hic regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit,
Implevitque moro pateram: quam Belus & omnes
A Belo soliti.*

The queen anon commands the weighty bowl
(Weighty with precious stones and massy gold)
To flow with wine. This *Belus* us'd of old,
And all of *Belus'* line.

Whether this *Belus* were father or grand-father to *Agenor*, the matter is not great. But it seems to me by comparing of times, that *Belus* was ancestor to these *Phenicians*, and preceded *Agenor*. For were *Belus*, or *Jupiter Belus*, the son of *Neptune* by *Libya* the daughter of *Epaphus*, or were he the son of *Telegonus*, according to *Eusebius*; yet it is agreed that *Cecrops* then ruled in *Attica*: and in the end of *Cecrops's* time, saith *St. Augustin*, *Moses* left *Egypt*: *Agenor's* successor living at once with *Joshua*. Now that *Agenor* returned about the same time into the territory of *Zidon*, I cannot doubt: neither do I deny, but that he gave that region the name of *Phenicia*, in honour of his son. But in-

stead of the building of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, it is probable that he repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a founder, as *Semiramis* and *Nabuchodonosor* were of *Babylon*.

For be it true, that *Agenor* was of the same nation, and brought up in *Egypt*, where he learned the use of letters (*Egypt* flourished in all kind of learning in *Moses's* time) or were he by nation an *Egyptian*; yet it is very likely, that either he came to save his own territory; or otherwise to defend the coast of *Canaan* from the *Israelites*, who were by *Moses* led out of *Egypt*, to the great loss and dishonour of that nation, and by *Joshua* conducted over *Jordan*, to conquer and possess the *Canaanites* land. For tho' the *Egyptians*, by reason of the loss which they received by the hand of God in the *Red* sea, and by the ten plagues cast on them before that, and by the slaughter of so many of the male children at the same time, could not hinder the *Hebrews* from invading *Canaan* by land, which also they knew had so many powerful nations to defend it; the desarts interjacent, and the strong *Edomites*, *Mobabites*, *Emorites*, and *Ammonites* their borderers: yet *Egypt* having such vessels or ships, or gallies, as were then in use, did not in all probability neglect to garrison the sea-coast, or assist *Agenor* with such forces as they had to spare; and which they might perform with the greater facility, in that the *Philistines*, which held the shores of *Canaan* next adjoining unto them, were their friends and confederates.

Now, as it appeareth by the course of the story, those cities of *Phenicia*, which *Agenor* was said to have built (that is, to have fortified and defended against *Joshua*, and against the tribes after him, as *Zidon*, *Sor*, or *Tyre*, by *Joshua* xix. 29. called the strong city, *Accho* afterwards *Ptolomais*, *Achzib* and *Don*) were all that *Phenicia* had in those days.

That the kings of *Phenicia* were mighty, especially by sea, it appears, first by their defence against *David* and *Solomon*, and secondly, by this, that *David* and *Solomon* could not master them, but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their cities, tho' they were then but *Agau*, defended it self 13 years against a king of kings, *Nabuchodonosor*: and that *Alexander* the great (who being made victorious by the providence of God, seemed irresistible) spent more time in the recovery of *Tyre*, than in the conquest of all the cities in *Asia*.

Other opinions there are, as that of *Berosus* out of *Josephus*, who conceives that *Tyre* was founded by *Tyrus* the son of *Japhet*. And for the region it self, tho' *Calisthenes* derives it, *ab arbore dactylo- rum*; and the *Greeks* from the word *Phonos* of slaughter, because the *Phenicians* slew all that came on their coasts; yet for my self, I take it that *Phenix* the son of *Agenor* gave it that name. But that either *Agenor* in *Phenicia*, or *Cadmus* his son in *Greece*, were the inventors of letters it is ridiculous: and therefore the dispute unnecessary.

The *Ethiopians* affirm, that *Atlas*, *Orion*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Prometheus*, *Cadmus*, and others, had from them the first light of all those arts, sciences, and civil policies, which they afterwards profess'd and taught others: and that *Pythagoras* himself was instructed by the *Libyans*; to wit, from the south and superiour *Egyptians*: from whom those which inhabited nearer the out-let of *Nilus*, as they say, borrowed their divinity and philosophy: and from them the *Greeks*, then barbarous, received civility. Again, the *Phenicians* challenge this invention of letters and learning, acknowledging nothing from the *Egyptians* at all; neither do

^a Genab. l. 16. Budæ. de. Af. l. 4. ^b Isaiah 23.

they allow that *Agenor* and his sons were *Africans*; whence *Lucan*,

* *Phoenices primi (fame si creditur) ausi,
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.*
Phenicians first (if fame may credit have)
In rude characters dar'd our words to grave.

And that *Cadmus* was the son of *Agenor*, and was a *Phenician*, and not an *Egyptian*, it appeareth by that answer made by *Zeno*; when he in a kind of reproach was called a stranger, and a *Phenician*;

^b *Si patria est Phoenix, quid tum? nam Cadmus & ipse
Phoenix; cui debet Græcia docta libros.*

If a *Phenician* born I am, what then?
Cadmus was so: to whom *Greece* owes
The books of learned men.

Out of doubt the *Phenicians* were very ancient: and from the records and chronicles of *Tyre*, ^c *Josephus* the historian confirms a great part of his antiquities. The *Thracians* again subscribe to none of these reports; but affirm constantly, that the great *Zamolxis* flourished among them, when *Atlas* lived in *Mauritania*, *Nilus* and *Vulcan* in *Egypt*, and *Ochus* in *Phenicia*. Yea, some of the *French* do not blush to maintain, that the ancient *Gauls* taught the *Greeks* the use of letters, and other sciences. And do not we know that our *Bards* and *Druids* are as ancient as those *Gauls*, and that they sent their sons hither to be by them instructed in all kind of learning?

Lastly; whereas others bestow this invention on *Moses*: the same hath no probability at all; for he lived at such time as learning and arts flourished most, both in *Egypt* and *Affyria*, and he himself was brought up in all the learning of the *Egyptians*, from his infancy.

But true it is, that letters were invented by those excellent spirits of the first age, and before the general flood, either by *Seth* or *Enoch*, or by whom else God knows; from whom all wisdom and understanding hath proceeded. And as the same infinite God is present with all his creatures, so hath he given the same invention to divers nations; whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other, as well in this as in many other knowledges; for even in *Mexico*, when it was first discovered, there were found written books after the manner of those hieroglyphicks, anciently used by the *Egyptians*, and other nations: and so had those *Americans*, a kind of heraldry, and their princes differing in arms and escutcheons, like unto those used by the kings and nobility of other nations: ^d *Jura naturalia communia, & generalia, &c.* Natural laws are common, and general.

SECT. II.

Of the kings of Tyre.

BUT whatsoever remaineth of the story and kings of *Phenicia* (the book of *Zeno*, *Sachoniathe*, *Mnaseas*, and others of that nation, being no where found) the same is to be gathered out of the scriptures, *Josephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*.

Agenor lived at once with *Joshua*, to whom succeeded *Phœnix*, of whom that part of *Canaan*, and so far towards the north as *Aradus*, took the name of *Phenicia*: what king succeeded *Phœnix* it doth not appear; but at such time as the *Grecians* besieged *Troy*, *Phasis* governed *Phenicia*.

In *Jeremy's* time, and while *Jehoiakim* ruled in

Juda, the *Tyrians* had a king apart: for *Jeremy* xxvii. 3. speaketh of the kings of *Zidon*, of *Tyre*, of *Edom*, &c. as of several kings.

In *Xerxes's* time, and when he prepared that incredible army wherewith he invaded *Greece*, *Tetramnestus* ruled that part of *Phenicia* about *Tyre* and *Zidon*: who commanded, as some writers affirm, *Xerxes's* fleet, or rather, as I suppose, those 300 gallies, which himself brought to his aid: for at this time it seemeth, that the *Phenicians* were tributaries to the *Persians*: for being broken into *Reguli*, and petty kings in *Jeremy's* time, they were subjected by *Nabuchodonosor*; of whose conquests in the chapter before remembred, *Jeremiah* prophesied.

Tennes, tho' not immediately, succeeded *Tetramnestus*, remembred by *D. Siculus* in his fourteenth book.

Strato, his successor, and king of *Zidon*, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, because of his dependency upon *Darius*, and that his predecessors had served the east empire against the *Grecians*. But divers kings, of whom there is no memory, came between *Tennes* and *Strato*. For there were consumed 130 years, and somewhat more, between *Xerxes* and *Alexander Macedon*. And this man was by *Alexander* esteemed the more unworthy of restitution, because (saith *Curtius*, l. 4.) he rather submitted himself by the instigation of his subjects (who foresaw their utter ruin by resistance) than that he had any disposition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the *Macedonians*.

Of this *Strato*, ^e *Atheneus*, out of *Theopompus* reporteth, that he was a man of ill living, and most voluptuous; also that he appointed certain games and prizes for women-dancers and singers, whom he to this end chiefly invited, and assembled: that having beheld the most beautiful and lively among them, he might recover them for his own use and delights. Of the strange accident about the death of one *Strato* king of these coasts, *St. Jerome* and others make mention: who having heard that the *Persians* were near him with an army too weighty for his strength, and finding that he was to hope for little grace, because of his falling away from that empire, and his adhering to the *Egyptians*, he determining to kill himself, but fainting in the execution, his wife being present, wrested the sword out of his hand, and slew him: which done, she also therewith pierced her own body, and died.

After *Alexander* was possessed of *Zidon*, and the other *Strato* driven thence, he gave the kingdom to *Hephæstion* to dispose of: who having received great entertainment of one of the citizens, in whose house he lodged, offered to recompense him therewith, and willingly offered to establish him therein: but this citizen, no less virtuous than rich, desired *Hephæstion* that this honour might be conferred on some one of the blood and race of their ancient kings: and presented unto him *Balonimus*, whom *Curtius* calls *Abdolominus*; *Justin*, *Abdolomius*; and *Plutarch*, *Alynomus*: who at the very hour that he was called to this regal estate, was with his own hands working in his garden, setting herbs and roots, for his relief and sustenance: tho' otherwise a wise man, and exceeding just.

These were the ancient kings of *Zidon*: whose estate being afterwards changed into popular or *Aristocratical*, and by times and turns subjected to the emperors of the east, there remaineth no further memory of them, than that which is formerly delivered in the tribe of *Asber*.

The kings of *Tyre*, who they were before *Samuel's* time, it doth not appear: *Josephus* the historian, as is said, had many things wherewith he gar-

* *Lucan*. l. 5. 3. ^b *Athen*. l. Dipnos. ^c *Joseph*. contra Appionem. ^d *Justin*. c. 13. ^e *Athen*. l. 12. c. 13. ^f *Heron*. l. 1. cont. *Jovin*.
No. 13. finished

nished his antiquities from the *Tyrian* chronicles: and out of *Josephus* and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, there may be gathered a descent of some 20 kings of the *Tyrians*; but these authors, tho' they both pretend to write out *Menander Ephesius*, do in no sort agree in the times of their reigns, nor in other particulars.

Abibalus is the first king of the *Tyrians*, that *Josephus* and *Theophilus* remember, whom *Theophilus* calls *Abemalus*: the same perchance that the son of *Sirach* mentioneth in his 46th chapter, speaking of the princes of the *Tyrians*.

To this *Abibalus*, *Suron* succeeded, if he be not one and the same with *Abibalus*. *David* (saith ^a *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus*) constrained this *Suron* to pay him tribute, of whom also *David* complaineth, *Psalms* lxxxiii.

Iiram succeeded *Suron*, whom *Josephus* calls *Irom*, and *Theophilus* sometimes *Iheronimus*, sometimes *Iheromus*, but *Tatian* and *Zonaras* *Chiram*. He entred into a league with *David*, and sent him cedars, with masons and carpenters, to perform his buildings in *Jerusalem*, after he had beaten thence the *Jebusites*. The same was he that so greatly assisted *Solomon*: whom he not only furnished with cedars, and other materials towards the raising of the temple, and with great sums of money, but also he joined with him in his enterprize of the east *India*, and of *Ophir*: and furnished *Solomon* with mariners and pilots: the *Tyrians* being of all nations the most excellent navigators: and lent him 120 talents of gold. Of this *Iiram*, there is not only mention in divers places of scripture, but in *Josephus's* antiquities, the 7th and 8th chap. ver. 2, 3. in *Theophilus's* 3d book, in *Tatianus's* oration against the *Greeks*, and in *Zonaras*, tome the first. This prince seemeth to be very mighty and magnificent; he despiseth the 20 towns which *Solomon* offered him: he defendeth himself against that victorious king *David*: and gave his daughter in marriage to ^c *Solomon*, called the *Zidonian*: for whose sake he was contented to worship *Asteroth*, the idol of the *Phenicians*. *Iiram* lived 53 years.

Balastartus, whom ^d *Theoph. Antiochenus* calleth *Bazorus*, succeeded *Iiram* king of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, and reigned 7 years, according to *Josephus*.

Abdastartus the eldest son of *Balastartus*, governed 9 years, and lived but 20 years according to *Josephus*: but after *Theophilus*, he reigned 12 years, and lived 54, who being slain by the 4 sons of his own nurse, the eldest of them held the kingdom 12 years.

Astartus, brother to *Abdastartus*, recovered the kingdom from this usurper, and reigned 12 years.

^e *Astarimus*, or *Atbarimus*, after ^f *Theophilus*, a 3d brother, followed *Astartus*, and ruled 9 years, and lived in all 54.

^g *Phelles* the 4th son of *Balastartus*, and brother to the 3 former kings, slew *Astarimus*, and reigned 8 months, and lived 50 years.

Ithobalus (or *Juthobalus*, in *Theophilus*) son to the 3d brother *Astarimus*, who was the chief priest of the goddess *Astarta*, which was a dignity next unto the king, revenged the death of his father, and slaughtered his uncle ^h *Phelles*: and reigned 32 years, the same which in *1 Kings* xvi. is called *Ethbaal*, whose daughter *Jezebel Achab* married.

Badezor, or *Bazor*, the son of *Ithobalus*, or ⁱ *Ethbaal*, brother to *Jezebel*, succeeded his father, and reigned 6 years, and lived in all 45.

Mettimus succeeded *Badezor*, and reigned but 9 years (saith ^k *Josephus*) he had two sons, *Pygmalion*

and *Barca*, and two daughters, *Elisa* and *Anna*.

Pygmalion reigned after *Mettimus* his father 40 years, and lived 56. In the 7th year of whose reign, *Elisa* sailed into *Africa*, and built *Carthage*, 143 years and 8 months after the temple of *Solomon*: which by our account was 289 years after *Troy* was taken, and 143 before *Rome*; and therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Aeneas* and *Dido* must be far out of square. For *Pygmalion*, covetous of *Sicheus's* riches, who had married his sister *Elisa*, slew him traiterously as he accompanied him in hunting: or, if we believe ^l *Justin* and *Virgil*, at the altar: whereupon *Elisa*, fearing to be despoiled of her husband's treasure, fled by sea into *Africa*, as aforesaid: whom when *Pygmalion* prepared to pursue, he was by his mother's tears, and by threats from the oracle arrested. *Barca* accompanied his sister, and assisted her in the erection of *Carthage*: and from him sprang that noble family of *Barce* in *Africa*, of which race descended many famous captains, and the great *Hannibal*. *Servius* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Virago*, because of her manlike acts: others from *Jedidia*, a surname of *Solomon*.

Eluleus succeeded *Pygmalion*, and reigned 36 years: the same that overthrew the fleet of *Salmanassar*, in the port of *Tyre*: notwithstanding which he continued his siege before it on the land side 5 years, but in vain.

After *Eluleus*, *Ethobales* governed the *Tyrians*, who vaunted himself to be as wise as *Daniel*: and that he knew all secrets (saith *Ezekiel*) of whom the prophet writeth at large in his xxviiith chapter: out of whom it is gathered, that this prince died, or was slain in that long siege of *Nabuchodonosor*: who surrounded and attempted *Tyre* 13 years together, ere he prevailed.

Baal followed *Ethobales*, and reigned 10 years a tributary, perchance, to *Nabuchodonosor*: for after his death, it was governed by divers judges, succeeding each other: first by *Ecnibalus*, then by *Chelbis*, *Abarus* the priest, *Mittonus*, and *Geraflus*, who held it among them some 7 years and odd months: after whom *Balatorus* commanded therein as a king for one year: after him *Merbalus* sent from *Babylon* 4 years; after him *Irom*, sent thence also 20 years. In the 17th of whose reign *Cyrus* began to govern *Persia*.

SECT. III.

Of *Bozias's* conceit, that the *Edumeans* inhabiting along the Red sea, were the progenitors of the *Tyrians*, and that the *Tyrians* from them received and brought into *Phenicia* the knowledge of the true God.

Of the great mutations of this kingdom and state of the *Tyrians*, mixed with a discourse of divers other nations, there is one *Bozias* that hath written a tract at large, intitled, *De ruinis Gentium*. And altho' the great and many alterations found in this and other cities, yea in all things under heaven, have proceeded from his ordinance, who only is unchangeable and the same for ever; yet whereas the said *Bozias*, insinuating here-hence, that the prosperity and ruin of the *Tyrians* were fruits of their embracing or forsaking the true religion; to prove this his assertion, supposeth the *Tyrians* to have been *Edumeans*, descended from *Esau*, *Jacob's* brother: first, it can hardly be believed that *Tyre*, when it flourished most in her ancient glory, was in any sort truly devout and religious. But to this end (¹ besides the proof which the scriptures give

^a Prop. Evang. l. 9. c. 4. ^b 2 Sam. 5. 6. ^c 2 Sam. 5. ^d 1 Kings 1. 9. 20. ^e 1 Chron. 14. ^f 2 Chron. 2. 8, 9. ^g 1 Kings 11. ^h Theo. 17. ⁱ 1 Kings 16. ^j Joseph 54. ^k Theo. 58. ^l Theo. 12. ^m Joseph 32. ⁿ Theo. 12. ^o 1 Kings 16. 31. ^p Joseph 6. ^q year. ^r Theo. 26. ^s Joseph 9. ^t Theo. 29. ^u Justin. l. 11. ^v Virg. l. 1. ^w 1 oz. de ruin. Gen. l. 5. c. 7.

of *Hiram's* good affection, when *Solomon* built the temple) he brings many conjectural arguments, whereof the strongest is their pedigree and descent: it being likely in his opinion, that the posterity of *Eſau* received from him by tradition the religion of *Abraham* and *Iſaac*. That the *Tyrians* were *Edumeans*, he endeavours to ſhew, partly by weak reaſons painfully ſtrained from ſome affinity of names, which are arguments of more delight than weight: partly by authority. For *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and others witneſs, that the *Tyrians* came from the *Red ſea*, in which there were three iſlands, called *Tyrus*, *Aradus*, and *Zidon*: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards given to the cities of *Phenicia*. Conſidering therefore that all the coaſt of the *Red ſea*, was (in his opinion) under the *Edumeans*: as *Elab* and *Eſiongaber*, or under the *Amalekites* who deſcended of *Amalek* the nephew of *Eſau*, whoſe chief city was *Madian*, ſo called of *Madian* the ſon of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, whoſe poſterity did people it: the conſequence appears good (as he takes it) that the *Tyrians* originally were *Edomites*: differing little or nothing in religion from the children of *Iſrael*. Hereunto he adds, that *Cadmus* and his companions brought not into *Greece* the worſhip of *Aſtartis* the idol of the *Sidonians*. That the parents of *Thales* and *Pherecides* being *Phenicians*, themſelves differed much in their philoſophy from the idolatrous cuſtoms of the *Greeks*. That in *Teman*, a town of the *Edumeans*, was an univerſity, wherein, as may appear by *Eliphaz* the *Temanite*, who diſputed with *Job*, religion was ſincerely taught.

Such is the diſcourſe of *Bozcius*, who labouring to prove one paradox by another, deſerves in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the *Tyrians* were *Edumeans*, they were then of the true religion, or well affected to God and his people: neither is it true that they were *Edumeans* at all. In what religion *Eſau* brought up his children, it is no where found written; but that himſelf was a profane man, and diſavowed by God, the ſcriptures in plain terms expreſs. That his poſterity were idolaters, is directly proved in the 25th chapter of the 2d book of *Chronicles*, that the *Edomites* were perpetual enemies to the houſe of *Iſrael*, ſave only when *David* and ſome of his race, kings of *Juda*, held them in ſubjection, who knows not? or who is ignorant of *David's* unfriendly behaviour amongſt them, when firſt they were ſubdued? Surely, it was not any argument of kindred or alliance between *Tyrus* and mount *Seir*, that *Hiram* held ſuch good correſpondence with *David*; even then when *Joab* ſlew all the males of *Edom*: neither was it for their devotion to God, and good affection to *Iſrael*, that the *Edomites* were ſo ill treated. It ſeemeth that the piety and ancient wiſdom of *Eliphaz* the *Temanite* was then forgotten, and the *Edumeans* puniſhed, for being ſuch as *David* in his own days found them. Altho' indeed the city of *Teman* whence *Eliphaz* came to reaſon with *Job*, is not that in *Edumea*, but another of the ſame name, lying eaſt from the ſea of *Galilee*, and adjoining to *Iluſ*, the country of *Job*: and to *Sueb* the city of *Bildad* the *Shuite*; as both ſuch chorographers who beſt knew thoſe parts, do plainly ſhew, and the holy text maketh maniſeſt. For *Job* is ſaid to have exceeded in riches, and *Solomon* in wiſdom, all the people of the eaſt; not the inhabitants of mount *Seir*, which lay due ſouth from *Paleſtina*. True it is, that *Elephaz* the ſon of *Eſau* had a ſon called *Teman*: but that fathers were wont in thoſe days to take name of their ſons, I no where find. And *Iſhmael* alſo had a ſon called *Thema*: of whom it is not unlike, that *Theman* in the eaſt had the name: for as

much as in the ſeventh chapter of the book of *Judges*, the *Midianites*, *Amalekites*, and all they of the eaſt are called *Iſhmaelites*. He that well conſiders how great and ſtrong a nation *Amalek* was, which durſt give battle to the hoſt of *Iſrael*, wherein were 600000 able men, will hardly believe that ſuch a people were deſcended from one of *Eſau's* grandchildren. For how powerful and numberleſs muſt the forces of all *Edom* have been, if one tribe of them, yea, one family of a tribe had been ſo great? ſurely mount *Seir*, and all the regions adjoining, could not have held them. But we no where find that *Edom* had to do with *Amalek*, or aſſiſted the *Amalekites*, when *Saul* went to root them out. For *Amalek* is no where in ſcripture named for a tribe in *Edom*, but a nation of itſelf, if diſtinct from the *Iſhmaelites*. The like may be ſaid of *Midian*, that the founder thereof being ſon to *Abraham* by *Keturah*, doubtleſs was no *Edomite*. And thus much in general for all the *Seignior*y of the *Red ſea* coaſt, which *Bozcius* imagines the *Edumeans* to have held: if the *Edomites* in after-times held ſome places, as *Elan* and *Ezion-gaber* on the *Red ſea* ſhore, yet in *Mofes's* time, which was long after the building of *Tyre*, they held them not. For *Mofes* himſelf ſaith, that *Iſrael* did compaſs all the borders of *Edom*; within which limits had *Midian* flood, *Mofes* muſt needs have known it: becauſe he had ſojourned long in that country: and there had left his wife and children, when he went into *Egypt*.

But conjectural arguments, how probable ſoever, are needleſs in ſo maniſeſt a caſe. For in the lxxxiii. *Pſalm*, *Edom*, *Amalek*, and *Tyre*, are named as diſtinct nations: yea, the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians* being one people, as all good authors ſhew, and *Bozcius* himſelf confeſſeth, were *Canaanites*, as appears *Gen.* x. 15, 19. appointed by God to have been deſtroyed, and their lands given to the children of *Aſher*, *Joſh.* xxix. becauſe they were idolaters, and of the curſed ſeed of *Canaan*, not couſins to *Iſrael*, nor profeſſors of the ſame religion. For tho' *Hiram* ſaid, *Bleſſed be God who hath ſent king David a wiſe ſon*: we cannot infer that he was of *David's* religion. The *Turk* hath ſaid as much of *Chriſtian* princes, his confederates. Certain it is, that the *Sidonians* then worſhipped *Aſhteroth*, and drew *Solomon* alſo to the ſame idolatry.

Whereas *Hiram* aided *Solomon* in building the temple, he did it for his own ends, receiving therefore of *Solomon* great proviſion of corn and oil, and the offer of twenty towns or villages in *Galilee*. And if we rightly conſider things, it will appear, that *Hiram* in all points dealt merchant-like with *Solomon*. He allowed him timber, with which *Labanus* was, and yet is over-peſtered, being otherwiſe apt to yield ſilks: as the *Andarine* ſilks which come from thence, and other good commodities. For corn and oil, which he wanted, he gave that which he could well ſpare to *Solomon*. Alſo gold for land: wherein *Solomon* was the wiſer; who having got the gold firſt, gave to *Hiram* the worſt villages that he had; with which the *Tyrian* was ill pleaſed. But it was a neceſſary policy, which enforced *Tyrus* to hold league with *Iſrael*. For *David* had ſubdued *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the *Aramites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, even to *Euphrates*: thro' which countries the *Tyrians* were wont to carry and to carry their wares on camels, to their fleets on the *Red ſea*, and back again to *Tyrus*: ſo that *Solomon* being lord of all the countries thro' which they were to paſs, could have cut off their trade.

But the *Iſraelites* were no ſeamen, and therefore glad to ſhare with the *Tyrians* in their adventures. Yet *Solomon*, as lord of the ſea-towns, which his father had taken from the *Philiftines*, might have greatly

greatly distressed the *Tyrians*, and perhaps have brought them even into subjection. Which *Hiram* knowing, was glad (and no marvel) that *Solomon* rather meant as a man of peace to employ his father's treasure in magnificent works, than in pursuing the conquest of all *Syria*. Therefore he willingly aided him, and sent him cunning workmen, to increase his delight in goodly buildings, imageries, and instruments of pleasure.

As these passages between *Solomon* and *Hiram*, are no strong arguments of piety in the *Tyrians*: so those other proofs which *Bozius* frames negatively upon particular examples, are very weak. For what the religion of *Cadmus* was, I think, no man knows. It seems to me, that having more cunning than the *Greeks*, and being very ambitious, he would fain have purchased divine honours: which his daughters, nephews, and others of his house obtained, but his own many misfortunes beguiled him of such hopes, if he had any. *Thales* and *Pherecydes* are but single examples. Every savage nation hath some whose wisdom excelleth the vulgar, even of civil people. Neither did the moral wisdom of these men express any true knowledge of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the gods of *Greece*; whom being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to say, that *Cadmus* and *Thales* being *Tyrians*, are not known to have taught idolatry, therefore the *Tyrians* were not idolaters. But this is of force, That *Carthage*, *Utica*, *Leptis*, *Cadiz*, and all colonies of the *Tyrians* (of which, I think, the islands beforementioned in the *Red* sea to have been, for they traded in all seas) were idolaters, even from their first beginnings: therefore the *Tyrians* who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were so likewise.

This their idolatry from *Solomon's* time onwards, is acknowledged by *Bozius*, who would have us think them to have been formerly a strange kind of devout *Edomites*. In which fancy he is so peremptory, that he stileth men of contrary opinion, *impious politicos*; as if it were impiety to think that God (who even among the heathen, which have not known his name, doth favour virtue, and hate vice) hath often rewarded moral honesty, with temporal happiness. Doubtless this doctrine of *Bozius* would better have agreed with *Julian* the apostate, than with *Cyril*. For if the *Affyrians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and all those nations of the *Gentiles*, did then prosper most, when they drew nearest unto the true religion: what may be said of the foul idolatry which grew in *Rome*, as fast as *Rome* itself grew; and was enlarged with some new superstition, almost upon every new victory? How few great battles did the *Romans* win, in which they vowed not either a temple to some new God, or some new honour to one of their old Gods? Yea, what one nation, save only that of the *Jews*, was subdued by them, whose gods they did not afterwards entertain in their city? Only the true God, which was the God of the *Jews*, they rejected, upbraiding the *Jews* with him, as if he were unworthy of the *Roman* majesty. Shall we hereupon inforce the leud and foolish conclusion, which heathen writers used against the Christians in the primitive Church; that such idolatry had caused the city of *Rome* to flourish, and that the decay of those abominations, did also bring with it the decay of the empire? It might well be thought so, if prosperity were a sign or effect of true religion. Such is the blind zeal of *Bozius*, who writing against those whom he falsely terms impious, gives strength to

such as are impious indeed. But such indiscretion is usually found among men of his humour; who having once either foolishly imbraced the dreams of others, or vainly fashioned in their own brains, any strange *Chimera's* of divinity, condemn all such in the pride of their zeal, as atheists and infidels, that are not transported with the like intemperate ignorance. Great pity it is, that such mad dogs are oftentimes encouraged by those, who having the command of many tongues, when they themselves cannot touch a man in open and generous opposition, will wound him secretly by the malicious virtue of an hypocrite.

C H A P. IX.

Of the tribe of Ephraim; and of the kings of the ten tribes, whose head was Ephraim.

S E C T. I.

Of the memorable places in the tribe of Ephraim.

HAVING now pass'd over *Phenicia*, we come to the next territory adjoining; which is that of *Ephraim*, sometime taken, *per excellentiam*, for the whole kingdom of the ten tribes. *Ephraim* was the second son of *Joseph*; whose issues, when they left *Egypt*, were in number 45000; all which dying in the desarts, *Joshua* excepted, there entered the *Holy Land* of their children, grown to be able men, 32500, who sat down on the west side of *Jordan*, between *Manasseh* and *Benjamin*: who bounded *Ephraim* by the north and south; as *Jordan* and the *Mediterranean* sea did by the east and west.

The first and chief city which *Ephraim* had, was *Samaria* the metropolis of the kingdom of *Israel*, built by *Amris*, or *Homri*, king thereof, and seated on the top of the mountain *Somron*, which overlooketh all the bottom, and as far as the sea-coast. It was afterwards called *Sebastæ*, or *Augusta*, in honour of *Augustus Cesar*. This city is often remembered in the scriptures: and magnificent it was in the first building; for as *Brochard* observeth, the ruins which yet remain, and which *Brochard* found greater than those of *Jerusalem*, tell those that behold them, what it was when it stood upright: for to this day there found great store of goodly marble pillars, with other hewn and carved stone, in great abundance, among the the rubbish.

It was beaten to the ground by the sons of *Hyrchanus* the high priest: restored and built by the first *Herod*, the son of *Antipater*; who, to flatter *Cesar*, called it *Sebastæ*. Herein were the prophets *Heliæus* and *Abdias* buried; and so was *John Baptist*. It now hath nothing but a few cottages filled with *Grecian* monks.

Near *Samaria* towards the south, is the hill of *Bethel*, and a town of that name; on the top of which mountain *Jeroboam* erected one of his golden calves to be worshipped; with which he seduced the *Israelites*.

In sight of this mountain of *Bethel*, was that ancient city of *Sichem*; after the restauration called *Neapolis*, now *Pelosa*, and *Napolsa*: it was destroyed by *Simeon* and *Levi*, in revenge of the ravishment of their sister *Dinah*: and after that by *Abimelech* evened with the soil. *Jeroboam* raised it up again; and the *Damascenes* a third time cast it down.

^a Psal. 59. 78, 108. Par. 25. ^b Sichur. Joh. 4. 5. Maborthan. Joseph. 11. Ant. 1.

Under *Sichem* towards the sea, standeth *Pharaton*, or *Pirhaton*, on the mountain ^a *Amalek*, the city of *Abdon* judge of *Israel*; and under it *Bethoron* of the *Levites*, built, as it is said, by *Sara*, the daughter of *Ephraim*. Near to this city, *Judas Maccabeus* overthrew *Seron* and *Lysias*, lieutenants to *Antiochus*. This city had *Solomon* formerly repaired and fortified.

Between *Bethoron* and the sea, standeth *Samir*, of which *Josh. x.* and *Saron*, whose king was slain by ^b *Joshua*: it is also mentioned *Acts ix. 35.* And of this *Saron* the valley taketh name; which beginning at *Cæsaria Palestina*, extendeth itself along the coast as far as *Joppe*, saith *Adrichome*. Tho' indeed the name *Sarona* is not particularly given to this valley, but to every fruitful plain region; for not only this valley is so called, to wit, between *Cæsaria* and *Joppe*, but that also between the mountain *Tabor* and the sea of *Galilee*; for so *St. Jerome*, upon *Isaiab xxxv.* interprets the word *Saron*: and so doth the same father, in his commentaries upon *Abdia*, read *Saron* for *Assaron*; understanding thereby a plain near *Lidda*: which *Lidda*, in his time, was called *Diospolis*, or the city of *Jupiter*, one of the toparchies of *Judea*, the fifth in dignity (or the third after *Pliny*) where *St. Peter* (*non sua sed Christi virtute*) cured *Aeneas*. ^c *Niger* calls all that region, from *Antilibanus* to *Joppe*, *Sarona*. This *Joppe* was burnt to the ground by the *Romans*, those ravens and spoilers of all estates, disturbers of commonwealths, usurpers of other princes kingdoms: who with no other respect led, than to amplify their own glory, troubled the whole world: and themselves, after murdering one another, became a prey to the most savage and barbarous nations.

In *Diospolis* (saith *Will. of Tyre*) was ^d *St. George* beheaded, and buried; in whose honour and memory, *Justinian* the emperor caused a fair Church to be built over his tomb; these be *Tyrius's* words; *Relicta à dextris locis maritimis Antipatride, & Joppe, per latè patentem planitiem Eleutheriam pertranseuntes, Liddam quæ est Diospolis, ubi & egregii Martyris Georgii usque hodie sepulchrum ostenditur, pervenerunt, ejus ecclesiam quum ad honorem ejusdem Martyris pius & orthodoxus princeps Romanorum, Augustus Justinianus multo studio & devotione prompta ædificari præceperat, &c.* They having left, saith he, on the right hand, the sea-towns *Antipatris* and *Joppe*, passing over the great open plain of *Eleutheria*, came to *Lidda*, which is *Diospolis*; where the sumptuous tomb of the famous martyr *St. George* is at this day shewed: whose Church, when the godly and orthodox prince of the *Romans*, high and mighty *Justinian*, had commanded to be built, with great earnestness and present devotion, &c. Thus far *Tyrius*, by whose testimony we may conjecture that this *St. George* was not that *Arian* bishop of *Alexandria*, but rather some better Christian; for this of *Alexandria*, was slain there in an uproar of the people, and his ashes cast into the sea, as ^e *Ammianus Marcellinus* reports. And yet also it may be, that this *Georgius* was a better Christian than he is commonly thought: for his words of the temple of *Genius*, *How long shall this sepulchre stand?* occasioned the uproar of the people against him, as fearing lest he would give attempt to overthrow that beautiful temple. This also *Marcellinus* reports; who tho' he says, that this *Georgius* was also deadly hated of the Christians, who else

might have rescued him: yet he addeth, that his ashes, with the ashes of two others, were therefore cast into the sea, lest if their relicts had been gathered up, Churches should be built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather think that it was not *Georgius*, whose name lives in the right honourable order of our knights of the garter, but rather another, whom *Tyrius*, above cited, witnesseth to have been buried at *Lidda*, or *Diospolis*. The same also is confirmed by ^f *Vitriac. St. Jerome* affirms that it was sometimes called *Tigrida*; and while the Christians inhabited the *Holy Land*, it had a bishop suffragan.

Near to *Lidda*, or *Diospolis*, standeth *Ramatha* of the *Levites*, or *Aramathia*: afterward *Rama* and *Ramula*, the native city of *Joseph*, which buried the body of *Christ*. ^g There are many places which bear this name of *Rama*: one they set in the tribe of *Judah* near *Thecua* in the way of *Hebron*; another in *Nephthalim*, not far from *Sephet*; a third in *Zabulon*, which, they say, adjoineth to *Sephoris*; a fourth, which they make the same with *Silo*; and a fifth, which is this *Rama* in the hills of *Ephraim*, called *Rama-Sophim*, where *Samuel* lived, and wherein he is buried.

From hence to the north, along the coast, are *Helon*, or *Ajalon* of the *Levites*, of which ^h *Chron. vi. Apollonia*, of which ⁱ *Josephus* in his antiquities, and in the wars of the *Jews*. Also *Balsalifa* (for which *Junius*, *2 Kings iv. 42.* reads *Planities Shalifæ*) they place hereabout in this tribe of *Ephraim*: but *Junius*, upon *1 Sam. vi.* where we read of the land of *Shalifha*, findeth it in *Benjamin*.

On the other side of the mountains of *Ephraim*, standeth *Gofna*, one of the toparchies, or cities of government, the second in dignity, of which the country about it taketh name.

Then ^j *Thamnath-sira*, or, according to the *Hebrew Thamnath-serach*; one also of the ten toparchies or presidencies of *Judea*, which they call *Thamnathica*; a goodly city and strong, seated on one of the high hills of *Ephraim*, on the north of the hill called *Gaas*; which city and territory *Israel* gave unto their leader *Joshua*; who also amplified it with buildings, near which he was buried. His sepulchre remained in ^k *St. Jerome's* time, and over it the sun engraven, in memory of that greatest of wonders which God wrought in *Joshua's* time.

In the places adjoining standeth *Adasja*, or *Adasfa*; where ^l *Judas Maccabeus*, with 3000 *Jews*, overthrew the army of *Nicanor*, lieutenant of *Syria*, near to *Gaser*, or *Gezer*, which *Joshua* took, and hang'd their king, a city of the *Levites*. It was afterwards taken by *Pharaoh* of *Egypt*, the people all slain, and the city razed: *Solomon* rebuilt it.

To the east of this place, is the frontier city of *Jesseti*, of which *Josh. xvi. 3.* otherwise *Peletbi*, whence *David* had part of his pretorian soldiers, under the charge of *Benaia*. Then that high and famous mountain and city of *Silo*, whereon the ark of God was kept so many years, till the *Philistines* got it.

To this they join the city of ^m *Machmas*, or *Michmas*, in which *Jonathan Maccabeus* inhabited; a place often remembred in the scriptures. It standeth in the common way from *Samaria* towards *Jerusalem*, and is now called *Byra*.

Then the village of *Najoth* where *Saul* prophesied; and near it ⁿ *Ephron*, one of those cities which *Abijah* recovered from *Jeroboam*, after the great

^a *Judg. 12. 15.* ^b *Josh. 12. 18.* ^c *Acts 6. Luke 23. Niger. Comm. 4. Asiae sol. 503. 14.* ^d *Of this St. George see more above in this second book, c. 7. §. 3. † 5.* ^e *Lib. 22. c. 11.* ^f *Salig. Tom. 6. c. 4.* ^g *See in the tribe of Benjamin, c. 12. §. 1.* ^h *Ant. 13. 21. de bell. Jud. 1. 6.* ⁱ *Judg. 2. 9. it is called Thamnath-Chores, Joshi. 19. 50.* ^k *Hieron in loc. Heb.* ^l *1 Mac. 7. 40.* ^m *See in Benjamin. 1 Mac. 9. v. ult.* ⁿ *1 Kings 4. And see Rama in Benjamin.*

overthrow given him. Then *Kibtsaim* of the *Levites*, of which *Josh. xxi. 22.* which *Junius* thinks to be the same with *Jokmeham*, of which *1 Chron. vi. 68.* As for *Abfalom's Baalhasar*, which they find hereabout, *Junius* reads it in the plain of *Chatfor*; and finds it in the tribe of *Juda*; as *Joshua xv.* we read of two *Chatfors* in that tribe, one near *Kadesb*, ver. 23. and the other the same as *Chetzron*, ver. 25. towards *Jordan*.

In this tribe also they find the city of *Mello*; whose citizens, they say, joined with the *Sichimites* in making the bastard *Abimelech* king: adding, that for the building thereof, with other cities, *Solomon* raised a tribute upon the people. But it seems that *Mello*, or *Millo*, is a common name of a strong fort or citadel: and so *Junius*, for *Domus Millo*, reads *incole munitionis*; and for *Salomo ædificabat Millo*, he reads, *ædificabat munitionem*; and so the *Septuagint* read τῆς ἀνεργίας in that place. And without doubt the *Millo* which *Solomon* built, cannot be that of *Sichem*, but another in *Jerusalem*.

The other cities of note in *Ephraim*, are *Taphuach*, whose king was slain by *Joshua*; and *Janoach*, or *Janoab*, spoiled by *Teglatphalassar*: *Pekab* then governing *Israel*; with divers others, but of no great fame.

The mountains of *Ephraim* sometime signify the greatest part of the land of the sons of *Joseph*, on the west of *Jordan*; several parts whereof are the hill of *Samron*, or *Samaria*, *1 Reg. xvi. 24.* ^b the hill of *Gabas*, *Judg. ii. 9.* the hill of *Tsalmon*, or *Salmon*, *Judg. ix. 48.* the hills of the region of *Tsuph*, or *Tsophim*, *Judg. ix. 5.* where *Rama Sophim* stood, which was the city of *Samuel*.

The great plenty of fruitful vines upon the sides of these mountains, was the occasion that *Jacob* in the spirit of prophecy, *Gen. xlix. 22.* compared *Joseph's* two branches, *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, to the branches of a fruitful vine planted by the well side, and spread her daughter-branches along the wall: which allegory also *Ezek xxii.* in his lamentation for *Ephraim* (that is, for the ten tribes, whose head was *Ephraim*) prosecutes: as also in his lamentation for *Judab*, he followeth the other allegory of *Jacob*, *Gen. xlix. 9.* comparing *Judab* to a lion. Upon the top of one of the highest of these hills of *Ephraim*, which overlooketh all the plains on both sides of *Jordan*, they find the castle called *Dok*; which they make to be the same with *Dagon*, of which *Joseph. 1. bell. Jud. c. 2.* in which castle, as it is *1 Mac. xvi.* *Ptolemy* most traiterously, at a banquet, slew *Simon Maccabeus* his father-in-law.

Among the rivers of this tribe of *Ephraim*, they name *Gaas*, remembered in *2 Sam. xxiii. 30.* where tho' *Junius* reads, *Uiddai ex una vallium Gabasi*; yet the *Vulgar*, and *Katablus*, read *Giddai* of the river of *Gaas*. Also in this tribe they place the river of *Carith*, by which the prophet *Elias* abode during the great drought, where he was ^d fed by the ravens: and after that the river was dried up, he travelled (by the spirit of God) towards *Sidon*, where he was relieved by the poor widow of *Zarepta*, whose dead son he revived, and increas'd her pittance of meal and oil, whereby she sustained her life.

SECT. II.

Of the kings of the ten tribes, from Jeroboam to Achab.

OF the first kings of *Israel*, I omit in this place to speak, and reserve it to the catalogue of the kings of *Judab*; of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the kings of the ten tribes; but briefly, beginning after the division from *Judab*, and *Benjamin*, now it followeth to speak. The first of these kings was *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat*, an *Ephrathite* of *Zereda*; who being a man of strength and courage, was by *Solomon* made overseer of the buildings of the *Millo* or munition of *Jerusalem*, for as much as belong'd to the charge of the tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, and so many of them as wrought in those works. During which time, as he went from *Jerusalem*, he encountred the prophet *Abijah*; who made him know that he was by God destined to be king of *Israel*, and to command ten of the twelve tribes. After this, fearing that those things might come to *Solomon's* knowledge, he fled into *Egypt* to *Shishak*, whom *Eusebius* calleth *Osochores*, whose daughter he married: the predecessor of which *Shishak* (if not the same) did likewise entertain *Adad* the *Idumean*, when he was carried young into *Egypt* from the fury of *David*, and his captain *Joab*; which *Adad*, the king of *Egypt* married to his wife's sister *Tapbnes*; using both him and *Jeroboam* as instruments to shake the kingdom of *Judea*, that himself might the easilier spoil it, as he did: for in the fifth year of *Rehoboam*, *Shishak* sack'd the city of *Jerusalem*, and carried thence all the treasure of *David* and *Solomon*, and all the spoils which *David* took from *Adadezer* of *Soba*, with the presents of *Tobu* king of *Hamath*, which were of an inestimable value.

This *Jeroboam*, after the death of *Solomon*, became lord of the ten tribes: and tho' he were permitted by God to govern the *Israelites*, and from a mean man exalted to that state: yet preferring the policies of the world, before the service and honour of God (as fearing that if the tribes under his rule should repair to *Jerusalem* to do their usual sacrifices, they might be drawn from him by degrees) he erected two golden calves, one in *Dan*, and another in *Bethel*, for the people to worship (an imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*, saith ¹ St. *Ambrose*, or rather of *Aaron's* calf in *Horeb*;) further, he made election of his priests out of the basest and unlearned people. This king made his chief seat and palace at *Sichem*: he despised the warning of the *Judean* prophet, whom *Josephus* calleth *Adon*, and *Glycas*, *Joel*: his hand thereafter withered, and was again restored; but continuing in his idolatry, and hardened, upon occasion that the prophet returning was slain by a lion, *Abijah* makes him know, that God purposed to root out his posterity.

He was afterward overthrown by ⁸ *Abia* king of *Judab*, and died, after he had governed 22 years; whom *Nadab* his son succeeded: who in the second year of his reign, together with all the race of *Jeroboam*, was slain, and rooted by *Baasba*, who reigned in his stead; so *Nadab* lived king but two years.

Baasba the son of *Abijah*, the third king after the partition, made war with *Asa* king of *Judab*: he seated himself in *Thersa*, and fortified *Rama* against *Judab*, to restrain their excursions. Here-

^a *Judg. 9. 6, 20. 1 Reg. 11. 27.* *Vatablus* expounds *Millo* in this place, *Locum publicum necessarium civibus Hierosolymitanis atque Israelitis.* ² *Kings 15. 29. Josh. 17. 15, 16.* ^b *Also the hill of Phineas, where Eleazar the high priest, the son of Aaron was buried, Josh. 24. 33. And the two tops of hills, Gerizzim, where the blessings, and Hebal where the cursings were to be read to the people, of which Deut. 11. and 27. Josh. 8.* ^c *It seemeth that Jacob in this prophecy the rather useth the word daughters for branches thereby the more plainly to signify colonies: which in the Hebrew phrase are called daughters of the metropolis; as in Joshua and elsewhere often.* ^d *1 Reg. 17. 5.* ^e *1 Reg. 14.* ^f *Ambrose on Rom. 1.* ⁸ *1 Kings 11. 12, 13, 14, 15.*

upon *Aſa* entertained *Benbadad* of *Damaſcus* againſt him, who invaded *Nephtalim*, and deſtroyed many places therein: the mean while *Aſa* carried away the materials, with which *Baaſha* intended to fortify *Rama*; but being an idolater, he was threatned by *Jehu* the prophet, that it ſhould befall his race, as it did to ^a *Jeroboam*; which afterwards came to paſs. He ruled twenty-four years, and died.

To *Baaſha* ſucceeded *Ela* his ſon, who at a feaſt at his palace of *Therſa*, was in his cups ſlain by *Zambris*, after he had reigned two years: and in him the prophecy of *Jehu* was fulfilled.

Zambris ſucceeded *Ela*, and aſſumed the name of a king ſeven days: but *Ambris* in revenge of the king's murder, ſet upon ^b *Zambris*, or *Zimri*; and incloſed him in *Therſa*, and forced him to burn himſelf.

Ambris, or *Homri*, ſucceeded *Ela*, and transferred the regal ſeat from *Therſa* to *Samaria*, which he bought of *Shemer*, built, and fortified it. This ^c *Ambris* was alſo an idolater, no leſs impious than the reſt; and therefore ſubjected to *Tabremmon* king of *Syria*; the father of *Benbadad*, according to *Eusebius*, *Nicephorus*, and *Zonaras*. But how this ſhould ſtand, I do not well conceive; ſeeing *Benbadad* the ſon of *Tabremmon*, was invited by ^d *Aſa* king of *Juda*, to aſſail *Baaſha* king of *Iſrael*, the father of *Ela* who forewent *Ambris*. This *Ambris* reigned 12 years, 6 in *Therſa*, and 6 in *Samaria*, and left two children, *Achab*, and *Athalia*.

SECT. III.

Of Achab and his ſucceſſors, with the captivity of the ten tribes.

A *Chab*, or *Ahab*, ſucceeded *Omri*, who not only upheld the idolatry of *Jeroboam*, borrowed of the *Egyptians*; but he married *Jezabel* the *Zidonian*; and as *Jeroboam* followed the religion of his *Egyptian* wife: ſo did *Achab* of his *Zidonian*; and erected an altar and a grove to *Baal* in *Samaria*. He ſuffered *Jezabel* to kill the prophets of the moſt high God. God ſent famine on the land of *Iſrael*. *Achab* met *Elias*; *Elias* prevailed in the trial of the ſacrifice, and killeth the falſe prophets, and afterwards ſlieth for fear of *Jezabel*.

Benbadad, not long after, beſieged *Samaria*; and taken by *Achab*, was by him ſet at liberty: for which the prophet (whom *Glycas* calleth *Michæas*) reproveh him: afterwards he cauſed *Naboth*, by a falſe accusation, to be ſtoned. Then joining with *Joſaphat* in the war for the recovery of *Ramoth*; he was ſlain, as *Michæas* had foretold him.

He had 3 ſons named in the ſcripture, *Ochozias*, *Joram*, and *Joas*; beſides 70 other ſons by ſundry wives and concubins.

Ochozias ſucceeded his father *Achab*. The *Moabites* fell from his obedience: he bruised himſelf by a fall; he ſent for counſel to ^e *Beelzebub* the god of *Chabaron*. *Elijab* the prophet meeteth the meſſenger on the way; and miſliking that *Ochozias* ſought help from that dead idol, asked the meſſenger, if there were not a God in *Iſrael*? *Ochozias* ſendeth 2 captains, and with each 50 ſoldiers to bring *Elijab* unto him; both which, with their attendants, were conſumed with fire. The 3d captain beſought mercy at *Elijab*'s hands, and he ſpared him, and went with him to the king; avowing it to the king that he muſt then die: which came to paſs in the 2d year of his reign.

Joram, the brother of *Ochozias* by *Jezabel*, ſucceeded: he allured *Joſaphat* king of *Juda*, and the

king of *Edom*, to aſſiſt him againſt the *Moabites*, who reſuſed to pay him the tribute of 20000 ſheep. The 3 kings wanted water for themſelves and their horſes in the deſerts. The prophet *Eliſha* cauſeth the ditches to flow. The ^f *Moabites* are overthrown; their king ſlieth to *Kirharafeth*; and being beſieged, according to ſome expoſitors, burnt his ſon on the walls as a ſacrifice, whereat the three kings, moved with compaſſion, returned and left *Moab*, waſting and ſpoiling that region. Others, as it ſeems with better reaſon, underſtand the text to ſpeak of the ſon of the king of *Edom*, whom they ſuppoſe in this irruption to have been taken priſoner by the *Moabites*, and that the king of *Moab* ſhewed him over the walls, threatning, unleſs the ſiege were diſſolved, that he would offer him in ſacrifice to his Gods. Whereupon the king of *Edom* beſought thoſe of *Juda* and *Iſrael*, to break off the ſiege for the ſafety of his ſon: which when the other kings reſuſed to yield unto, and that *Moab*, according to his former threatning, had burnt the king of *Edom*'s ſon upon the rampire, that all the aſſailants might diſcern it: the king of *Edom* being by this ſad ſpectacle enraged, forſook the party of the other kings; for want of whoſe aſſiſtance the ſiege was broken up.

After this the king of *Aram* ſent to *Joram*, to heal *Naaman* the captain of his army of the leproſy. The answer of *Joram* was; am I God to kill, and to give life, that he doth ſend to heal a man from his leproſy? adding, that the *Aramite* fought but matter of quarrel againſt him. *Eliſha* hearing thereof, willed the king to ſend *Naaman* to him; promiſing that he ſhould know that there was a prophet in *Iſrael*; and ſo *Naaman* was healed, by waſhing himſelf ſeven times in *Jordan*. *Eliſha* reſuſed the gifts of *Naaman*. But his ſervant *Gebazi* accepted a part thereof; from whence the tellers of ſpiritual gifts are called *Gebazites*, as the buyers are ^g *Simonians*, of *Simon Magus*.

Afterwards *Benbadad*, king of *Aram* or *Damaſcus*, having heard that this prophet did diſcover to the king of *Iſrael* whatſoever the *Aramite* conſulted in his moſt ſecret council, ſent a troop of horſe to take *Eliſha*: all whom *Eliſha* ſtruck blind, and brought them captives into *Samaria*; *Joram* then asked leave of the prophet to ſlay them; *Eliſha* forbade him to harm them, but cauſed them to be fed, and ſent back to their own prince in ſafety.

The king of *Aram*, notwithstanding theſe benefits, did again attempt *Samaria*; and brought the citizens to extream famine. *Joram* imputeth the cauſe thereof to the prophet *Eliſha*. *Eliſha*, by prayer, cauſed a noiſe of chariots and armour to ſound in the air, whereby the *Aramites* affrighted, fled away, and left the ſiege; an act of great admiration, as the ſame is written in ^h 2 *Kings* vii. After this, when *Azael* obtained the kingdom of *Syria* by the death of his maſter; *Joram* entring upon his frontier, took *Ramoth Gilead*; in which war he received divers wounds, and returned to *Jezrael* to be cured. But whiſt he lay there, *Jehu* (who commanded the army of *Joram* in *Gilead*, was anointed king by one of the children of the prophets ſent by *Eliſha*) ſurprized and ſlew both him and all that belonged unto him, rooting out the whole poſterity of *Ahab*.

Jehu, who reigned after *Jehoram*, deſtroyed not only the race of his foregoers, but alſo their religion; for which he received a promiſe from God, That his ſeed ſhould occupy the throne unto the 4th generation. Yet he upheld the idolatry of *Jeroboam*, for which he was plagued with grievous

^a 1 *Kings* 15. & 16. ^b 1 *Kings* 16. ^c 1 *Kings* 16. ^d 1 *Kings* 15. ^e *Beelzebub* was the ſame with *Belus* and *Pluto*, ſaith *Viginiere upon Livi*. ^f 2 *Kings* 1. ^g 2 *Kings* 3. ^h 2 *Kings* 1. 5.

war, wherein he was beaten by *Hazael* the *Aramite*, who spoiled all the countries to the east of *Jordan*; in which war he was slain (saith *Cedrenus*) whereof the scriptures are silent. *Jehu* reigned 28 years.

Joachaz, or *Jeboahaz*, the son of *Jehu*, succeeded his father, whom *Azael* and his son *Benhadad* often invaded, and in the end subjected, leaving him only 50 horse, 20 chariots, and 10000 foot; and as it is written in ^a the scriptures, he made them like dust beaten into powder. *Joachaz* reigned 17 years.

After *Joachaz*, *Joas*'s son governed *Israel*; who, when he repaired to *Elisha* the prophet, as he lay on his death-bed, the prophet promised him three victories over the *Aramites*: and first commanded him to lay his hand on his bow; and *Elisha* covered the king's hands with his, and bad him open the window westward (which was towards *Damascus*) and then shoot an arrow thence-out. He again willed him to beat the ground with his arrows, who smote it thrice, and ceased. The prophet then told him, that he should have smitten five or six times; and then he should have had so many victories over the *Aramites* as he gave strokes. And so it succeeded with *Joas*, who overthrew the *Aramites* in three battles, and recovered the cities and territory from *Benhadad* the son of *Azael*, which his father *Joachaz* had lost. He also overthrew ^b *Amazia* king of *Juda*, who provoked him to make the war; whereupon he entred *Jerusalem*, and sacked it, with the temple. This *Joas* reigned 16 years, and died; in whose time also the prophet *Elisha* exchanged this life for a better.

Jeroboam, the third from *Jehu*, followed *Joas* his father, an idolater as his predecessors: but he recovered all the rest of the land belonging to *Israel*, from *Hamath*, which is near *Libanus*, to the *Dead sea*, and reigned 41 years.

Zacharias, the fourth and last of the house of *Jehu*, slain by *Shallum* his vassal, who reigned in his stead, governed six months. *Shallum* held the kingdom but one month, being slaughter'd by *Menahem* of the *Gadites*.

Menahem, who took revenge of *Shallum*, used great cruelty to those that did not acknowledge him; ripping up the bellies of those that were with child. This *Menahem* being invaded by *Phul*, bought his peace with 10000 talents of silver; which he exacted by a tribute of 50 sheckles for every man of wealth in *Israel*. *Menahem* governed 20 years.

Pekahiah, or *Phaceia*, or, after *Zonaras*, *Phacefia*, succeeded; and after he had ruled two years, he was slain by *Phaca*, or *Pekab*, the commander of his army, who reigned in his place. In this *Pekab*'s time, *Phulassar*, or *Tiglat-Phylassar*, invaded the kingdom of *Israel*, and won *Ijon*, *Abel-Bethmaaca*, *Janoah*, *Kedesb*, *Hasor*, and *Gilead*, with all the cities of *Galilee*, ^d carrying them captives into *Affyria*: he was drawn in by *Achas* king of *Judah*, against *Pekab* and *Rezin*, the last of the *Adades*. For *Achas* being wasted by *Pekab* of *Israel*, and by *Rezin* of *Damascus*, did a third time borrow the church riches, and therewith engaged the *Affyrian*, who first suppressed the monarchy of *Syria* and *Damascus*, and then of *Israel*; and this inviting of the great *Affyrian*, was the utter ruin of both states, of *Israel* and of *Judah*. *Pekab* reigned 20 years.

Then *Hoshea*, or *Osea*, who slew *Pekab*, became the vassal of *Salmanassar*; but hoping to shake off the *Affyrian* yoke, he sought aid from *So*, or *Sua*, or *Sabicus* king of *Egypt*: which being known to the *Affyrian*, he cast him into prison, besieged *Samaria*, and mastered it; carried the ten idolatrous tribes into *Nineveh* in *Affyria*, and into *Rages* in *Media*, and into other eastern regions, and there dispersed them: and replanted *Samaria* with divers nations, and chiefly with the *Cuthæ* (inhabiting about *Cutha* a river in *Persia*, or rather in ^e *Arabia Deserta*) and with the people *Catanei* bounding upon *Syria*, and with those of *Sepharvajim* (a people of *Sephar* in *Mesopotamia* upon *Euphrates*, of whose conquest *Senacherib* vaunteth) also with those of *Ava*; which were of the ancient *Avins*, who inhabited the land of the *Philistines* in *Abraham*'s time, dwelling near unto *Gaza*, whom the *Caphtorims* rooted out; and at this time they were of *Arabia* the desert, called *Havai*; willing to return to their ancient seats. To these he added those of *Chamath* or *Iturea*, the ancient enemies of the *Israelites*, and sometimes the vassals of the *Adads* of *Damascus*, which so often afflicted them. And thus did this *Affyrian* advise himself better than the *Romans* did: for after *Titus* and *Vespasian* had wasted the cities of *Judea* and *Jerusalem*, they carried the people away captive; but left no others in their places, but a very few simple labourers, besides their own thin garrisons, which soon decayed: and thereby they gave that dangerous entrance to the *Brabians* and *Saracens*, who never could be driven thence again to this day.

And this transmigration, plantation, and displantation, happened in the year of the world 3292, the 6th year of *Ezekiah*, king of *Judah*; and the 9th of *Hosea* the last king of *Israel*.

A catalogue of the kings of the ten tribes.

1. <i>Jeroboam</i>	reigned	22 years
2. <i>Nadab</i>		2 years
3. <i>Baasha</i>		24 years
4. <i>Ela</i>		20 years
5. <i>Zambris</i>		7 days
6. <i>Omri</i>		11 years
7. <i>Ahab</i>		22 years
8. <i>Ochozias</i>		2 years
9. <i>Joram</i>		12 years
10. <i>Jehu</i>		28 years
11. <i>Joachaz</i>		17 years
12. <i>Joas</i>		16 years
13. <i>Jeroboam</i>		41 years
14. <i>Zacharias</i>		6 months
15. <i>Shallum</i>		1 month
16. <i>Menahem</i>		10 years
17. <i>Pekahiah</i>		2 years
18. <i>Phaca</i>		20 years
19. <i>Hosea</i>		9 years, about whose time writers differ.

CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of *Dan*, *Simeon*, *Judah*, *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the other half of *Manasseh*.

SECT. I.

Of *Dan*, whereof *Joppe*, *Gath*, *Accaron*, *Azotus*, and other towns.

NOW following the coast of the *Mediterranean* sea, that portion of land assigned to the tribe of *Dan*, joineth to *Ephraim*, whereof I spake last: of which family there were num-

^a 2 Kings 13. ^b 2 Kings 14. ^c 2 Kings 16. 19. ^d 2 Kings 15. 29. ^e Ptol. 1. 5. Isa. 37.

bred at mount *Sinai*, 62700 fighting men, all which leaving their bodies with the rest in the deserts, there entered the holy land of their sons 66400 bearing arms. The first famous city in this tribe on the sea coast was *Joppe*, or *Japho*, as in *Joshua* xix. 46. one of the most ancient of the world, and the most famous of others on that coast, because it was the port of *Jerusalem*. From hence *Jonas* embarked himself when he fled from the service of God, towards *Tharsis* in *Cilicia*. In the time of the *Macchabees* this city received many changes: and while *Judas Macchabæus* governed the Jews, the *Syrians* that were garrisoned in *Joppe*, having their fleet in the port, invited 200 principal citizens aboard them, and cast them all into the sea: which *Judas* revenged by firing their fleet, and putting the companies which sought to escape to the sword.

It was twice taken by the *Romans*, and by *Cestius* the lieutenant utterly burnt and ruined. But in the year of Christ 1250, *Lodowick* the *French* king gave it new walls and towers: it is now the *Turks*, and called *Jaffa*. There are certain rocks in that port, whereunto it is reported that *Andromeda* was fastned with chains, and thence delivered from the sea-monster by *Persæus*. This fable (for so I take it) is confirmed by *Josephus*, *Solinus*, and *Pliny*. *Marcus Scaurus*, during his office of *Edileship*, shewed the bones of this monster to the people of *Rome*. *St. Jerome* upon *Jonas* speaks of it indifferently.

The next unto *Joppe* was *Jamnia*, where *Judas Macchabæus* burnt the rest of the *Syrian* fleet: the fire and flame whereof was seen at *Jerusalem*, 240 furlongs off. It had sometimes a bishop's seat, saith *Will. of Tyre*; but there is no sign of it at this time that such a place there was.

After *Jamnia*, is the city of *Geth* or *Gath*, sometime *Anthedon*, saith *Volaterran*. And so *Montanus*, fol. 244. seems to understand it. For he sets it next to *Egypt*, of all the *Philistine* cities, and in the place of *Anthedon*. But *Volaterran* gives neither reason nor authority for his opinion; for *Ptolemy* sets *Anthedon* far to the south of *Joppe*: and *Geth* was the first and not the last (beginning from the north) of all the great cities of the *Philistines*: and about 16 miles from *Joppe*, where *St. Jerome* in his time found a great village of the same name. It was sometime the habitation and seminary of the *Anakims*: strong and giant-like men, whom *Joshua* could not expel, nor the *Danites* after him; nor any of the *Israelites*, till *David's* time: who slew *Goliath*, as his captains did divers others, not much inferiour in strength and stature unto *Goliath*.

Rehoboam the son of *Solomon* rebuilt *Geth*: *Ozias* the son of *Amaziah* destroyed it again. It was also laid waste by *Azazel* king of *Syria*. *Fulk*, the 4th king of *Jerusalem*, built a castle in the same place out of the old ruins. Whether this *Geth* was the same that *Will. of Tyre* in the holy war calls *Ibithin*, I much doubt; the error growing by taking *Geth* for *Anthedon*.

Not far from *Geth*, or *Gath*, standeth *Bethsemes*, or the house of the *Sun*. In the fields adjoining to this city (as is thought) was the ark of God brought by a yoke of two kine, turned loose by the *Philistines*: and the *Bethsemites* presuming to look therein, there were slain of the elders 70, and of the people 50000, by the ordinance of God. After which slaughter, and the great lamentation of

the people, it was called the great *Abel*, saith *St. Jerome*. *Benedictus Theologus* finds three other cities of this name; one in *Nephtalim*, another in *Juda*; and another in *Issachar*; *Jerome* finds a fifth in *Benjamin*.

Keeping the sea-coast, the strong city of *Accaron* offereth it self, sometimes one of the five satrapies, or governments of the *Philistines*. *St. Jerome* makes it the same with *Cæsaria Palestine*. *Pliny* confounds it with *Apollonia*: it was one of those that defended it self against the *Danites* and *Judeans*. It worshipped *Beelzebub* the god of hornets or flies. To which idol it was that *Abaziab* king of *Israel* sent to enquire of his health: whose messengers *Elijah* meeting by the way, caused them to return, with a sorrowful answer to their master. This city is remembered in many places of scripture.

Christianus Schrot placeth *Azotus* next to *Geth*, and then *Accaron*, or *Ekron*. This *Azotus*, or *Asdod*, was also an habitation of the *Anakims*, whom *Joshua* failed to destroy, tho' he once possess'd their city. Herein stood a sumptuous temple, dedicated to the idol *Dagon*: the same idol which fell twice to the ground of it self, after the ark of God was by the *Philistines* carried into their temple: and in the second fall it was utterly broken and defaced. Near it was that famous *Judas Macchabæus* slain by *Bacchides* and *Alcimus*, the lieutenants of *Demetrius*. Afterwards it was taken by *Jonathan*: and the rest of the citizens being put to the sword, all that fled into the temple of *Dagon* were, with their idol, therein consumed with fire: near which also he overthrew *Apollonius*.

Gabinus the *Roman* rebuilt it. It had a bishop's seat while Christianity flourished in those parts. But in *St. Jerome's* time it was yet a fair village. And this was the last of the sea-towns within the tribe of *Dan*.

The cities which are within the land east-ward from *Azotus*, and beyond the fountain of *Ethiopia*, wherein *Philip* the apostle baptized the eunuch, are *Tzorab*, or *Sarara*, and *Ejlbaol*, and between them *Castra Danis* near *Hebron*: tho' this place where *Sampson* was born, may seem by the words, *Judg.* xviii. 12. to be in the tribe of *Judah*, as the other also were bordering towns between *Dan* and *Juda*.

After these, within the bounds of *Juda*, but belonging to the *Danites*, they find *Gedor*: or, as it is, 1 *Macc.* xv. *Gedron*, which *Cendebeus* the lieutenant of *Antiochus*, fortified against the Jews, and near which himself was by the *Maccabees* overthrown.

Then *Modin*, the native city of the *Maccabees*; and wherein they were buried, on whose sepulcher the 7 marble pillars, which were erected of that height, as they served for a mark to the seamen, remained many hundreds of years after their first setting up, as *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* witness.

There are, besides these, the city of *Carathbairim*, that is, the city of the woods: seated in the border of *Juda*, *Benjamin*, and *Dan*, wherein the ark of God remained 20 years in the house of *Aminadab*; till such time as *David* carried it thence to *Jerusalem*: of this place (as they say) was *Zacharias* the son of *Barachias*, or *Jehoida*, who was slain between the temple and the altar: also *Urias*, whom *Joachim* king of *Jerusalem* slaughtered, as we find in *Jeremy*. Many other places which they

* *Macc.* 2. 12. b *Lib.* 3. 1. 15. de *Bel. Jud.* *Solin.* c. 47. *Plin.* l. 5. c. 9. c 2 *Macc.* 12. d De *Bel. Iac.* e *Hieron.* in *Micheam.* f *Lib.* 21. c. 18. g 1 *Sam.* 6. 18. h Or rather not the city it self, but the great stone in the field; upon which stone the *Philistines* set the ark, the change being east from *Eben*, or *Aben*, which signifieth a stone, to *Abel*, which signifieth mourning. i *Sar* in *Naph.* c. 7. sett. 4. 4 6. k 2 *King.* 1. It was besieged by *Plammetichus* the father of *Pharaoh Neco* for 29 years together; whence *Jer.* 25. 20. speaks of the residue of *Assadod*, to wit, the greatest part having perished in this siege. l 1 *Sam.* 5. 4. m 1 *Macc.* 9. 1 *Macc.* 10. *Jos.* 19. 41. *Judg.* 13. 25, &c. 18. 2. n 1 *Macc.* 15. 16. o *Alins* *Carath bairim* and *Bairim*, or *Bairimpharosim*.
1 *Sam.* 7. 1. 2 *Sam.* 6. 2. 2 *Chron.* 24. 22. *Matt.* 23. 33. *Jer.* 26. 20.
No. 14.

place in this tribe, rather as I take it upon presumption than warrant, I omit: as that of *Caspin*, taken with great slaughter by *Judas Macchabæus*: and *Iachis*, whose king was slain by *Joshua*, in which also *Amazias* was slain: the same which *Senacherib* took, *Ezechias* reigning in *Juda*.

Of other cities belonging to this tribe, see in *Joshua* xix. from the 41st verse, where also it is added, that the *Danites* portion was too little for their number of families: and therefore that they invaded *Leshem*, and inhabited it: which city, after amplified by *Philip* the brother of *Herod Antippos*, was called *Cæsarea Philippi*, as before, and made the metropolis of *Ituræa*, and *Trachonitis*: of which coasts this *Philip* was tetrarch: but of this city see more in *Nephtalim*. In this tribe there are no mountains of fame.

It hath two rivers or torrents: the northermost riseth out of the mountains of *Juda*: and passing by *Modin*, falleth into the sea by *Sachrona*.^b The other hath the name of *Sorek*, or *Sored*, whose banks are plentiful of vines, which have no seeds or stones: the wine they yield is red, of excellent colour, taste, and favour, &c. In this valley of *Sorek*, so called from the river, inhabited *Dalila* whom *Sampson* loved.

SECT. II.

The tribe of Simcon.

THE tribe of *Simeon* takes up the rest of the sea-coast of *Canaan*, to the border of *Egypt*; who being the second son of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were increased of that family, while they abode in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at mount *Sinai*, 59300 able men; all which ending their lives in the deserts, there entered the land of promise of their issues 22200 bearing arms, who were^c in part mixed with *Juda*, and in part severed, inhabiting a small territory on the sea-coast, belonging to *Edumæa*; of which the first city adjoining to *Dan*, was *Ascalon*.

The *Reguli*, or petty kings thereof, were called *Ascalonites*; of which^d *Volaterran* out of *Xanthus*, in the history of the *Lydians*, reports, that *Tantalus* and *Ascalus* were the sons of *Hymenæus*: and that *Ascalus* being employ'd by *Aciamus* king of the *Lydians*, with an army in *Syria*, falling in love with a young woman of that country, built this city, and called it after his own name: the same hath *Nicolaus* in his history, saith *Volaterran*.

Diodorus Siculus, in his third book, remembreth a lake near *Ascalon*, wherein there hath been a temple dedicated to *Derceto* the goddess of the *Syrians*; having the face of a woman, and the body of a fish: who, as I have said before, in the story of *Ninus*, was the mother of *Semiramis*, feigned to be cast into this lake, and fed and relieved by doves. And therefore was the dove worshipped, both in *Babylonia* and *Syria*, of which *Tibullus* the poet:

Alba Palestina sancta columba Syro.

The white dove is for holy held, in *Syria-Palestine*.

It was one of the chiefest and strongest cities of the *Philistines*. It bred many learned men (^e saith *Volaterran*) as *Antiochus*, *Sofus*, *Cygnus*, *Dorotheus* the historian, and *Antemidorus* who wrote the story of *Bithynia*.

In *Ascalon*, as some say, was that wicked *Herod* born, that seeking after our Saviour; caused all the male-children, of two years old and under, to be slain. In the Christian times it had a bishop, and after that, when it was by the *Saladine* defaced, *Richard* king of *England*, while he made war in the holy land, gave it a new wall, and many buildings. ^f *Ejus muros cum* Saladinus diruisset, *Richardus Anglorum rex instauravit*, saith *Adrichomius*.

In *David's* time it was one of the most renowned cities of the *Philistines*; for he nameth *Gath* and *Ascalon* only, when he lamenteth the death of *Saul*, and *Jonathan*; not speaking of the other three. ^g *Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it not in the streets of Ascalon*; it is now called *Scalone*. *Gabinus* restored it, as he did *Azotus* and *Gaza*.

Next to *Ascalon* stood *Gaza*, or *Gazera*, which the *Hebrews* call *Hazza*; the *Syrians*, *Azon*, of *Azonus* (as they say) the son of *Hercules*. Other prophane writers affirm, that it was built by *Jupiter*. *Pomp. Mela* gives the building thereof to *Cambyfes* the *Persian*, because belike he rebuilt it; and *Gaza* in the *Persian* tongue, is as much as to say, treasure. This^h *Gaza* was the first of the satrapies of the *Philistines*, and the south bound of the land of *Canaan* towards *Egypt*. But this city was far more ancient than *Cambyfes*, as it is proved by many scriptures. It was once taken by *Caleb*; but the strength of the *Anakims* put him from it. At such time asⁱ *Alexander Macedon* invaded the empire of *Persia*, it received a garrison for *Darius*: in despite whereof, it was, by the *Macedonians*, after a long siege, demolished, and was called *Gaza* of the desert.

^k *Alexander Janneus* king of the *Jews* surprised it, and slew 500 senators in the temple of *Apollo*, which fled thither for sanctuary; but this *Gaza* was not set up in the same place again, to wit, on the foundations which *Alexander Macedon* had overturned, but somewhat nearer the sea side; tho' the other was but two miles off. It was a town of great account in the time of the *Maccabees*, and gave many wounds to the *Jews*, till it was forced by *Simon*: of which he made so great account, as that he purposed to reside therein himself; and in his absence, left *John* his son and successor to be governor. In ^l *Brochard's* time it was still a goodly city, and known by the name of *Gazara*.

At the very out-let of the river *Bezor*, standeth *Majoma* the port of *Gaza*: to which the privilege of a city was given by the great *Constantine*; and the place called *Constance* after the name of the emperor's son. ^m But *Julian* the apostate, soon after favouring the *Gazeans*, made it subject unto them, and commanded it to be called *Gaza Maritima*.

On the other side of ⁿ *Bezor*, standeth *Antbedon*, defaced by *Alexander Janneus*, restored by *Herod*, and called *Agrippias*, after the name of *Agrippa*, the favourite of *Augustus*.

Then ^o *Raphia*, where *Philopater* overthrew the great *Antiochus*: and beyond it *Rhinocura*, whose torrent is known in the scriptures by the name of the torrent of *Egypt*, till the *Septuagint* converted it *Rinocura*; to difference it, *Isaiab* xxvii. 12. giving the name of the city to the torrent that wattereth it.

Pliny calls it *Rhinocolura*; and *Josephus*, *Rhinocorura*.

^p *Epiphanius* reports it as a tradition, that at this

^a 2 Macc. 12, 13. Jos. 12. 11. 2 Kings 14. 19. ^b Hieron. in Hæi. & Micheam 1. Broch. Breid. Judg. 16. 4. ^c And therefore no marvel that divers places named Jos. 15. in the large portion of *Juda*, be reckoned in this tribe: see Jos. 19. 1, 9. where this tribe is expressly noted. ^d Volat. Geog. l. 11. fol. 244. ^e Volat. ut supra. ^f Adrich. in Trib. Simeon. ^g 2 Sam. 1. 20. ^h Volat. l. 11. ⁱ Steph. de Urb. Judg. 1. 6, 16. 1 Kings 6. & alib. ^k Joseph. 13. Ant. 19. ^l Macc. 1. 15. Broch. l. 1. 7. ^m Hist. trip. l. 6. c. 4. Niceph. 10. Hist. c. 4. ⁿ Joseph. 13. Ant. 19. 21. ^o Joseph. 13. Ant. 19. 21. 24. &c. ^p Junius ubi *Valle* *Ægypti* the name of the stream seems to be *Shichor*. See in Asier, c. 7. sect. 3. & 8. in the margin. ^q Epiph. tom. 2. in tract. Manich. & in Ancorato. Gen. 10. 19.

place the world was divided by lots, between the three sons of *Noah*.

Within the land, and upon the river of *Besor*, they place *Gerar*; which the scripture placeth between *Kadesh* and *Shur*, *Gen. xx. 1*. That it was near to the wilderness of *Beerseba*, it appears, *Gen. xx. 31*. and therefore no marvel that as elsewhere *Beerseba*, so sometimes *Gerar*; be made the south bound of *Canaan*. It was of old a distinct kingdom from the *Philistine* satrapies, the kings by one common name were called *Abimelechs*: *St. Jerome* saith, that afterwards it was called *Regio salutaris*; The health county: so that it was no marvel that *Abraham* and *Isaac* lived much in these parts. Of king *Ashur*'s conquest of the cities about *Gerar*, see *2 Chron. xiv. 14*.

More within the land was ^a*Siceleg*, or *Tsiglak*, which was burnt by the *Amalekites*; when *David*, in his flying from *Saul* to the *Philistines*, had left his carriages there; but *David* followed them over the river of *Besor*, and put them to the slaughter, and recovered the prey.

Next ^b*Dabir*, sometime *Cariatb-Sepher*, the city of letters, the university, as they say, or academy of old *Palestine*. In *St. Jerome*'s time it seems it had the name of *Daema*: *Joshua xv. 49*. it is called *Urbs Sannæ*, from the name, as it seems, of some of the *Anakims*, as *Hebron* was called *Urbs Arbabi*. For even hence also were these giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by ^c*Othoniel*, encouraged by *Caleb*'s promise of his daughter in marriage: but that *Joshua* and the host of *Israel* were at the surprise, it appears *Joshua x. 39*. This city, *Josh. xxi. 15*. is named among those, which out of *Simeon* and *Juda*, were given to the *Levites*. And hence it seems they attribute it to this tribe.

Besides these, there are many others in the tribe of *Simeon*, but of less fame; as *Haij*, of which *Joshua xix. 7*. which also *Joshua xxi. 16*. is reckoned for one of the cities of the *Levites*, given out of the portion of *Juda* and *Simeon* (for which *Junius* thinks *Hasbam* is named *1 Chron. vi. 59*. tho' ^d in the place of *Joshua* these two are distinguished) also *Tholad* so named, *1 Chron. iv. 29*. for which *Josh. xix. 4*. we have *Eltholad*. *Chatzar-Susa*, so named, *Josh. xix. 5*. for which *Josh. xv. 1*. we have *Chatzar-Gadda*, both names agreeing in signification; for *Gadda*, is *Turma*, and *Susa*, *Equitatus*.

In the same places of *Joshua*, and of the *Chronicles*, *Chorma* is named; which they think to be the same with that of which *Numb. xiv. 45*. to which the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* pursued the *Israelites*. But that *Chorma* cannot be in *Simeon*, nor within the mountains of *Edumea*. For *Israel* fled not that way, but back again to the camp, which lay to the south of ^e*Edumea*, in the desert.

The same places also name *Beerseba* in this tribe; so called of the oath between ^f*Abraham* and *Abimelech*; near unto which *Hagar* wandred with her son *Ismael*.

It was also called the city of *Isaac*, because he dwelt long there.

While the Christians held the holy land, they laboured much to strengthen this place, standing on the border of the *Arabian* desert, and in the south bound of *Canaan*. It hath now the name of *Gibelin*.

The other cities of *Simeon*, which are named in the places of *Joshua*, and of the *Chronicles*, above noted, because they help us nothing in story, I omit them.

In the time of *Ezekiah* king of *Juda*, certain of this tribe being streightned in their own territories, passed to ^g*Gedor*, as it is *1 Chron. iv. 39*. (the same place which *Josh. xv. 36*. is called *Gedera* and *Gederothaima*) which at that time was inhabited by the issue of *Cham*; where they seated themselves: as also 500 others of this tribe, destroyed the reliques of *Amalek* in the mountains of *Edom*, and dwelt in their places.

The mountains within this tribe are few, and that of *Sampson* the chiefest; unto which he carried the gate-post of *Gaza*. The rivers are *Besor*, and the torrent of *Egypt* called *Shichar*, as is noted in *Affer*.

SECT. III.

The tribe of Juda.

OF *Juda*, the 4th son of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were multiplied in *Egypt* 74600; all which (*Caleb* excepted) perished in the deserts. And of their sons, there entered the land of *Canaan* 76500 bearing arms. Agreeable to the greatness of this number, was the greatest territory given, called afterwards *Judea*; within the bounds whereof, were the portions allotted to *Dan*, and *Simeon* included.

And many cities named in those tribes, did first, as they say, belong unto the children of *Juda*, who had a kind of sovereignty over them; as *Succoth*, *Cariattharim*; *Lachis*, *Bethsemes*, *Tsiglag*, *Beerseba*, and others.

The multitude of people within this small province (if it be meted by that ground given to this tribe only) were incredible, if the witness of the scriptures had not warranted the report. For when *David* numbred the people, they were found 500000 fighting men.

The cities of *Juda* were many: but I will remember the chiefest of them; beginning with *Arad*, or *Horma*, which standeth in the entrance of *Judea* from *Idumea*: whose king first surprised the *Israelites*, as they pass'd by the border of ^h*Canaan* towards *Moab*; and took from them some spoils, and many prisoners: who being afterwards overthrown by the *Israelites*, the sons of *Keni*, the kinsmen of *Moses*, obtained a possession in that territory; who before the coming of the *Israelites*, dwelt between *Madian* and *Amalek*.

Following this frontier towards *Idumea* and the south, ⁱ*Ascensus Scorpionis*, or *Acrabbim* is placed, the next to *Arad*; so called, because of scorpions which are said to be in that place: from which name of *Acrabbim*, *Jerome* thinks that the name of the toparchy, called *Acrabathena*, was denominated; of which we have spoken in *Manasses*.

On the south side also of *Judea*, they place the cities of *Jagur*, *Dimona*, *Adada*, *Cedes*, *Ashna*, *Yethnam*, and *Afor*, or *Chatfor*, most of them frontier towns.

And then *Ziph*: of which there are two places so called: one besides this in the body of *Juda*, of which the desert and Forrest adjoining took name; where *David* hid himself from *Saul*.

After these are the cities of *Ezion*, *Adar*, *Karkab*, and *Asemona*, or *Hatmon*, of no great fame.

Turning now from *Idumea*, towards the north, we find the cities of *Danna*, *Shemah*, *Amam*, the other *Afor*, or *Chatfor*, *Behaloth*, and the two *Socchoes*: of all which, see *Josh. xv. 25*. also *Cariath*, by *Josh. xv. 25*. called *Kerioth*: whence *Judas* the traitor was called *Is-cariath*, as it were a man of *Cariath*. Then ^k*Hetham* the abode of *Sampson*,

^a *1 Sam. 30*. ^b *Joseph. 10. 11. 12*. ^c *Josh. 11. 21*. ^d And also *1 Chron. 4. 32*. ^e *Deut. 1*. ^f *Gen. 21. 31*. ^g *As it seems in the land of Juda. See in the first paragraph of this chapter, in the cities of Dan. Judg. 16. 3*. ^h *Numb. 21. 3. Josh. 12. 14. Judg. 1. 16*. ⁱ *Numb. 34. 3. Deut. 8. 15*. ^k *Judg. 15. 8. 1 Chron. 11. 6. Jun. out of the 1 Chron. 4. 32. notes, that this Hetham, tho' it were within the bounds of Juda, belonged to Simeon.*

which *Rehoboth* re-edified. Beyond these, towards the north-border, and towards *Eleutheropolis*, is the city of ^a*Jetbar*, or *Jatbir*, belonging to the *Levites*. In ^bSt. *Jerome's* time it was called *Jetbira*, and inhabited altogether with Christians: near unto this city was that remarkable battel fought betwixt *Asa* king of *Juda*, and *Zara* king of the *Arabians*, who brought into the field a million of fighting men; and was notwithstanding beaten and put to flight: *Asa* following the victory as far as *Gerar*, which at the same time he recovered.

Not far from *Jetbar*, standeth *Jarmuth*, whose king was slain by *Joshua*, and the city overturned. Next unto it is *Maresa*, the native city of the prophet *Micha*: between it and *Odolla*, ^c*Judas Macchabeus* overthrew *Gorgias*; and sent thence 10000 drachmas of silver to be offered for sacrifice.

^d*Odolla*, or *Hadullam* it self, was an ancient and magnificent city, taken by *Joshua*, and the king thereof slain. *Jonathan Macchabeus* beatified it greatly. Then ^e*Ceila*, or *Keila*, afterwards *Echela*, where *David* sometime hid himself, and which afterwards he delivered from the assaults of the *Philistines*: near which the prophet *Abacuc* was buried; whose monument remained, and was seen by St. *Jerome*.

Near it is *Hebron*, sometime called *the city of Arbah*, for which the *Vulgar* hath *Cariatbarbe*: the reason of this name they give, as if it signified the city of four; because the four patriarchs, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, were therein buried; but of *Adam* it is but supposed; and it is plain by the places, *Josh. xiv. 14.* and *xv. 13.* and *xx. 11.* that *Arbah* here doth not signify four, but that it was the name of the father of the giants, called *Anakim*, whose son, as it seems, *Anak* was: and *Achim*, *Sheshai*, and *Talmi* (whom *Caleb* expelled, *Josh. xv.*) were the sons of this *Anak*, *Numb. xiii. 23.* The name of *Anak* signifieth *torquem*, a chain worth for ornament: and it seems that this *Anak*, enriched by the spoils which himself and his father got, wore a chain of gold, and so got this name: and leaving the custom to his posterity, left also the name: so that in *Latin* the name of *Anakim*, may not amiss be expounded by *Torquati*.

The city *Hebron* was one of the ancientest cities of *Canaan*; built 7 years before *Tfoan*, or *Tanis* in *Egypt*: and it was the head and chief city of the *Anakims*, whom *Caleb* expelled: to whom it was in part given; to wit, the villages adjoining, and the rest to the *Levites*. It had a bishop in the Christian times, and a magnificent temple built by *Helen* the mother of *Constantine*.

Not far hence they find *Eleutheropolis*, or the free city, remembred often by St. *Jerome*. Then *Eglon*, whose king *Dahir* associated, with the other four kings of the *Amorites*, to wit, of ^f*Jerusalem*, *Hebron*, *Jarmuth*, and *Lachis*, besieging the *Gibeonites*, were by *Joshua* utterly overthrown. From hence the next city of fame was *Emaus*, afterwards *Nicopolis*, one of the cities of government, or presidencies of *Judea*. In the sight of this city, ^g*Judas Macchabeus* (after he had formerly beaten both *Apollonius* and *Seron*) gave a third overthrow to *Gorgias* lieutenant to *Antiochus*.

In the year 1301, it was overturned by an earthquake, saith ^h*Eusebius*. In the Christian times it had a bishop's seat, of the diocese of *Cæsaria* of *Palestine*.

From *Emaus* towards the west sea there are the cities of *Nabama*, *Bethdagon*, and *Gader*, or *Gedera*, or *Gederothaima*, of which, and of *Gederoth*, ⁱ*Josh. xv. 36, 41.* Then *Azecha*, to which *Joshua* followed the slaughter of the five kings before named, a city of great strength in the valley of ^k*Terebinth* or *Turpentine*: as the *Vulgar* readeth, ^l*Sam. xvii. 2.* whence (as it seems) they seat it near unto *Soco*, and unto *Lebna* of the *Levites*. It revolted from the subjection of the Jews, while *Joram* the son of *Josaphat* ruled in *Jerusalem*: and next unto this standeth *Maceda*, which *Joshua* utterly dispeopled.

On the other side of *Emaus*, towards the east, standeth *Bethsur*, otherwise *Bethsora*, and *Bethfor*; one of the strongest, and most sought for places in all *Juda*: it is seated on a high hill; and therefore called *Bethsur* (*the house on the rock, or of strength*.) It was fortified by *Rehoboam*, and afterwards by ^m*Judas Macchabeus*. *Lyfias* forced it, and *Antiochus Eupator* by famine: *Jonathan* regained it: and it was by *Simon* exceedingly fortified against the *Syrian* kings.

ⁿ*Bethlehem* is next unto it within six miles of *Jerusalem*, otherwise *Lehem*, sometime *Ephrata*; which name, they say, it had of *Caleb's* wife, when as it is so called by *Moses* before *Caleb* was famous in those parts, *Gen. xxxviii. 16.* Of this city was *Abeſſan*, or *Ibzan*, *Judge of Israel*, after *Jephthah*, famous for the thirty sons, and thirty daughters, begotten by him. *Elimelec* was also a *Bethlemite*, who with his wife *Naomi* sojourned in *Moab* during the famine of *Juda*, in the time of the *Judges*, with whom ^o*Ruth*, the daughter-in-law of *Naomi* returned to *Bethlehem*, and married *Boaz*, of whom *Obed*, of whom *Ishai*, of whom *David*. It had also the honour to be the native city of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*: and therefore shall the memory thereof never end.

^pIn *Zabulon* of *Galilee* there was also a city of the same name; and therefore was this of our Saviour called *Bethlehem Juda*.

From *Bethlehem*, some four or five miles, standeth *Thecua*, the city of ^q*Amos* the prophet: and to this place adjoining is the city of *Bethzacaria*, in the way between *Bethsura* and *Jerusalem*; on whose hills adjoining the glorious gilt shields of *Antiochus* shined like lamps of fire in the eyes of the Jews. The city of ^r*Rezek* was also near unto *Bethlehem*, which also *Adoni-bezec* commanded; who had, during his reign, tortured seventy kings, by cutting off the joints of their fingers and toes, and made them gather bread under his table: but at length the same end befel himself by the sons of *Juda*, after they had taken him prisoner.

The rest of the cities in this part (most of them of no great estimation) we may pass by, until we come to the magnificent castle of *Herodium*, which *Herod* erected on a hill, mounting thereunto with 200 marble steps, exceeding beautiful and strong. ^sAnd towards the *Dead sea*, and adjoining to the desert of *Jeruel*, between it and *Tekoa*, is that *Clivus floridus*, where in the time of ^t*Jehosaphat*, the Jews stood and looked on the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites*, massacring one another, when they had purposed to join against *Juda*; near which place is the valley of blessing, where the Jews the fourth day after solemnly came and blessed God for so strange deliverance.

^a *Josh. 15. 48.* ^b *Hieron. in loc. Hebr.* ^c *2 Macc. 12. 35.* ^d *Gen. 38. 1.* *Josh. 12. 15.* ^e *1 Sam. 23. 1.* ^f *Josh. 10. 11.* ^g *1 Macc. 3.* ^h *Euseb. in Chron. Broch. l. 6.* ⁱ *Alfo 1 Chron. 4. 39. as is above remembred in the tribe of Simeon.* ^k *Junius for in Valle Terebinthi, Jath in valle Querceti. Vatablus keeps the Hebrew reading in valle Elah.* ^l *Joseph. 13. Ant. 9.* ^m *1 Macc. 6.* ⁿ *Gen. 53. 48.* ^o *Ruth 1.* ^p *Hieron. in Comm. super Matth. c. 2. Matt. 2. 1.* ^q *Amos 1. 1.* ^r *1 Macc. 6. 32.* ^s *Joseph. Ant. 12. 14. 1 Macc. 6. 36.* ^t *Seron Mammill. c. 7. Act. 7. 41.* ^u *Judg. 1. 6, 7.* ^v *Joseph. 14. Ant. 22.* ^w *2 Chron. 30. 16, 26.*

Now the cities of ^a *Judah* which border the *Dead* sea, are these; *Aduran* beautified by *Rehoboum*, and *Tsohar*, which the *Vulgar* calleth ^b *Segor*; so called, because *Lot* in his prayer for it, urged that it was but a little one; whence it was called *Tsohar*, which signifieth a little one; when as the old name was *Belab*, as it is *Gen. xiv. 2.* In the *Romans* time it had a garison, and was called, as they say, *Pannier*: In *Jerome's* time *Balexona*. The *Engaddi*, or *Hengaddi*, first *Asasenthamar*; near unto which are the gardens of *Balsamum*, the best that the world had called *Opobalsamum*: the most part of all which trees, *Cleopatra*, queen of *Egypt*, sent for out of *Judea*; and *Herod*, who either feared or loved *Anthony* her husband, caused them to be rooted up, and presented unto her; which she replanted near *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*. This city was first taken by *Chedorlaomer*, and the *Amorites* thence expelled. It was one of the most remarkable cities of *Judea*, and one of the presidencies thereof.

The rest of the cities are many in the in-land, and among them ^d *Jezrael*; not that which was the city of *Naboth*, of which already; but another of the same name, the city of *Achinoan*, the wife of *David*, the mother of that *Ammon*, whom *Abolom* slew: also, as some think, the city of ^e *Amasa*, *Abalom's* lieutenant, and the commander of his army. But this seemeth to be an error, grounded upon the nearness of the words, *Israel* and *Jezrael*: and because ² *Sam. xvii. 25.* *Amasa's* father is called a *Jezraelite*, who ¹ *Chron. ii. 17.* is called an *Ishmaelite*: indeed the *Hebrew* orthography sheweth, that *Amasa's* father is not said to be of the city *Jezrael*, but an *Israelite* in religion, tho' otherwise an *Ishmaelite*.

In this tribe were many high hills, or mountains, as those of *Engaddi* upon the *Dead* sea, and the mountains of *Judah*, which begin to rise by *Emaus*, and end near *Taphna*; and these part *Judah* from *Dan* and *Simeon*. Of others which stand single, there is that of *Hebron*: at the foot whereof was that oak of *Mamre*, where the three angels appeared to *Abraham*, which ¹ *St. Jerome* calleth a fir-tree; and saith, that it stood till the time of *Constantine* the younger. There is also that mountain, called *Collis Achillæ*, on the south side of *Ziph*; on the top whereof the great *Herod*, inclosing the old castle, erected by *Jonathan Maccabeus*, and called it *Massada*, garnished it with seven and twenty high and strong towers; and therein left armour and furniture for an hundred thousand men, being, as it seemeth, a place inaccessible, and of incomparable strength.

In the valley afterward called the *Dead* sea, or the lake *Asphaltitis*: this country had four cities, *Adama*, *Sodom*, *Sebaim*, and *Gomorra*, destroyed with fire from heaven for their unnatural sins.

S E C T. IV.

The Tribe of REUBEN, and his borderers.

† I.

The seats and bounds of *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, part whereof the *Reubenites* won from *Sehon*, king of *Heshbon*.

ON the other side of the *Dead* sea, *Reuben* the eldest of *Jacob's* sons inhabited, of whose children there were numbred at mount *Sinai*, forty six thousand, who dying with the rest in the deserts, there remained to possess the land forty three thou-

sand seven hundred bearing arms. But before we speak of these or the rest that inhabited the east-side of *Jordan*, something of their borderers, to wit, *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, whose land in our writers are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first, we are to remember, that out of *Abraham's* kindred came many mighty families; as by *Isaac* and *Jacob*, the nation called *Israel*, and afterward *Jews*: by *Esau* or *Edom*, the *Idumeans*: by *Ishmael*, the eldest son of *Abraham*, the *Ishmaelites*: and by *Keturah*, his last wife, the *Midianites*. And again, by *Lot*, *Abraham's* brother's son, those two valiant nations of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*: all which being but strangers in the land of *Canaan* (formerly possess'd by the *Canaanites*, and by the families of them descended) these issues and alliances of *Abraham*, all but *Jacob*, whose children were bred in *Egypt*, inhabited the frontier places adjoining.

Esau and his sons held *Idumea*, which bounded *Canaan* on the south. *Ishmael* took from the south-east part of the *Dead* sea: stretching his possession over all *Arabia Petraea*, and a part of *Arabia* the desert, as far as the river *Tigris*, from *Sur* to *Havilah*.

Moab took the rest of the coast of the *Dead* sea, leaving a part to *Midian*; and passing over *Arnon*, inhabited the plains between *Jordan*, and the hills of *Abarim*, or *Arnon*, as far north as *Essebon*, or *Geshon*.

Ammon sat down on the north-east side of *Arnon*, and possess'd the tract from *Rabba*, afterwards *Philadelphia*, both within the mountains of ² *Gilead*, and without them as far forth as *Aroer*, tho' in *Moses's* time he had nothing left him in all that valley: for the *Amorites* had thrust him over the river of ¹ *Jaboc*, as they had done *Moab* over *Arnon*. As these nations encompassed sundry parts of *Canaan*, so the border between the river of *Jaboc* and *Damascus* was held by the *Amorites* themselves, with other mix'd nations: all which territory on the east-side of *Jordan*, and on the east-side of the *Dead* sea, was granted by *Moses* to the tribes of ¹ *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manassah*; whereof that part which *Moab* had, was first possess'd by the *Emims*, a nation of giants, weakned and broken by *Chedorlaomer*, after expelled by the *Moabites*, as before remembred. That which the *Ammonites* held, was the territory, and ancient possession of the *Zamzummims*, or *Zurci*, who were also beaten at the same time by *Chedorlaomer*, *Amraphel*, and the rest; and by them an easy way of conquest was prepared for the *Ammonites*.

Now where it is written, that *Arnon* was the border of *Moab*, the same is to be understood according to the time when *Moses* wrote. For then had *Sehon*, or his ancestor, beaten the *Moabites* out of the plain countries, between *Abarim* and *Jordan*, and driven them thence from *Heshbon* over *Arnon*; and this happened not long before *Moses's* arrival upon that border, when *Labeb* governed the *Moabites*. For he that ruled *Moab*, when *Moses* pass'd *Arnon*, was not the son of *Labeb*; but his name was *Baalac*, the son of *Zippor*. And it may be, that those kings were elective, as the *Idumeans* anciently were.

Now all that part of *Moab*, between *Arnon* and *Jordan*, as far north as *Essebon*, was inhabited by *Reuben*. And when *Israel* arrived there out of *Egypt*, it was in the possession of *Sehon*, of the race of *Canaan*, by *Amoreus*; and therefore did *Jephthah*, the judge of *Israel*, justly defend the regaining of those countries against the claim of the *Ammonites*;

^a 2 Chron. 11. ^b *Sam. call it* *Balsatha*, and *Vitula* consermans. See in *Gad. 10. §. 5.* post principium in *Haruer. Gen. 19. 20.* ^c *Hieron in Ose. Heb. Chataston thamar. 2 Chron. 20. 2.* ^d *Gen. 14. 7.* ^e *1 Reg. 21.* ^f *2 Sam. 17. 25.* ^g *Hieron in loc. Heb. & quod Heb. Joseph. 14. Ant. c. 30.* ^h *Josh. 13.* ⁱ *Numb. 21. 24.* ^k *Gen. 14.*

because (as he alledged) *Moses* found them in the possession of the *Amorites*, and not in the hands of *Moab*, or *Ammon*, who (saith ^a*Jephthab*) had three hundred years time to recover them, and did not: Whence he inferreth, that they ought not to claim them now.

And lest any should marvel why the *Ammonites* in *Jephthab's* time should make claim to these countries; whereas *Moses* in the place, *Numb. xxi. 26.* rather accounts them to have been the ancient possession of the *Moabites* than of the *Ammonites*: it is to be noted, that *Deut. iii. 11.* when it is said, that the iron bed of *Og* was to be seen at *Rabbath*, the chief city of the *Ammonites*; it is also signified, that much of the land of *Og*, which the *Israelites* possessed, was by him, or his ancestors, got from the *Ammonites*, as much as *Sehon's* was from the *Moabites*.

And as the *Canaanite* nations were seated so confusedly together, that it was hard to distinguish them; so also were the sons of ^b*Moab* and *Ammon*, *Midian*, *Amalek*, and *Ismael*. Yet the reason seemeth plain enough why *Ammon* commanded in chief in *Jephthab's* time: for sometimes the one nation, sometimes the other of all those borderers acquired the sovereignty: and again, that one part of the land which *Gad* held, namely within the mountains of *Galaad* or *Gilead*, and as far south as *Aroer*, belonged to the *Ammonites*. And therefore taking advantage of the time, they then sought to recover it again. Yet at such time as *Moses* overthrew *Sehon* at *Jabaz*, the *Ammonites* had lost to the *Amorites* all that part of their possession which lay about *Aroer*, and between it and *Jaboc*. *Sehon* and *Og*, two kings of the *Amorites*, having displanted both *Moab* and *Ammon* of all within the mountains. For it is written *Numb. xxi. 24.* that *Israel* conquered the land of *Sehon* from *Arnon* to *Jaboc*, even unto the children of *Ammon*; so as at this time the river of *Jaboc* was the south bound of *Ammon*, within the mountains; when as anciently they had also possessions over *Jaboc*, which at length the *Gadites* possess'd; as appears in *Joshua xiii. 25.*

† II.

Of the memorable places of the Reubenites.

THE chief cities belonging to *Reuben* were these, ^a*Kademoth*, for which the *Vulgar*, without any shew of warrant, readeth *Jethson*. The *Vulgar*, or *Jerome* followed the *Septuagint*, those two verses 36 and 37 of *Joshua xxi.* being wanting in the old *Hebrew* copies, and the *Septuagint* read *Kedson* for *Kedmoth*, which *Kedson* by writing, slipped into *Jethson*.

This city, which they gave to the *Levites*, imparts her name to the desert adjoining; from whence *Moses* sent his embassy to ^d*Sehon*. In the same place of *Joshua*, where this *Kedemoth* is mentioned, the *Vulgar* for *Betser* & *villa ejus*, reads *Bosor* in *solitudine Misor*, without any ground from the *Hebrew*: whence *Adrichomius* makes a town called ^e*Misor*, in the border between *Reuben* and *Gad*. Farther from *Kedemoth*, near the *Dead sea* (for the country between being mountainous, hath few cities) they place two towns of note, *Lasa*, or *Lesbab*, of which *Genesis x. 19.* the ^f*Greeks* call it *Callirrhoe*; near

which there is a hill, from whence there floweth springs both of hot and cold, bitter and sweet water, all which, soon after their rising, being joined in one stream, do make a very wholesome bath, especially for all contractions of sinews: to which *Herod* the elder, when he was desperate of all other help, repaired; but in vain. ^gOthers say, that these springs arise out of the hills of *Macherus* in this tribe. The like fountains are found in the *Pyrenees*, and in *Peru*, called, *The baths of the Inga's or kings*. The other town is *Macherus*, the next between *Lasa* and *Jordan*, of all that part of the world the strongest in-land city and castle, standing upon a mountain, every way inaccessible. It was first fortified by *Alexander Jannæus*, who made it a frontier against the *Arabians*; but it was demolished by *Gabinus* in the war with *Aristobulus*, saith ^h*Josephus*. It was thither, saith he, that *Herod* sent *John Baptist*, and wherein he was slain: his army soon after being utterly overthrown by *Arctas* king of *Arabia*, and himself after this murder never prospering. Not far from *Macherus* was ⁱ*Bosor*, or *Bozra*, a town of refuge, and belonging to the *Levites*, and near it ^k*Livias* upon *Jordan*, which *Herod* built in honour of *Livia*, the mother of *Tiberius Cæsar*.

To the north of *Livias* is *Setim*, or ^l*Sittim*, where the children of *Israel* embraced the daughters of *Midian* and *Moab*; and where *Phineas* pierced the body of *Zimri* and *Cosbi*, with his spear, bringing due vengeance upon them, when they were in the midst of their sin: And from hence *Joshua* sent the discoverers to view *Jericho*, staying here until he went over *Jordan*. As for the *Torrent* ^m*Setim*, which in this place *Adrichomius* dreams of, reading *Joel iii. 18.* *Irrigabit torrentem Setim*. The *Vulgar* hath *torrentem spinarum*; and *Junius* *vallem cedrorum*; expounding it not for any particular place in *Canaan*, but for the Church, in which the just being placed, grow as the *cedars*, as it is *Psal. xcii. 13.*

The plain country hereabout, by ⁿ*Moses* called the plains of *Moab*, where he expounded the book of *Deuteronomy* to the people, a little before his death, is in the beginning of the same book precisely bounded by *Moses*. On the south, it had the great desert of *Paran*, where they had long wandered. On the east, it had *Chatjeroth*, and *Dizabab* (of which two, the former is that *Gazorus*, of which *Ptolemy* in *Palestina*; the latter was a tract belonging to the *Nabathæes* in *Arabia Petraea*, where was ^o*Mezabab*, of which *Gen. xxxvi. 39.*) by the geographers, called *Medava* and *Medaba*. On the west it had *Jordan*, and on the north it had *Laban* (in *Junius's* edition by the fault of the print, *Lamban*, *Deut. i. 1.*) the same which the geographers call *Livias*; and some confound it with *Livias*, of which even now we speak.

Also on the same north side, towards the confines of *Cælesyria*, it had *Thophel*, whereabout sometime *Pella* of *Cælesyria* stood; which was in the region of *Decapolis*; and as *Stephannus* saith, was sometime called *Butis*. It is also noted in *Moses* to be over-against, or near unto *Suph*, for which the *Vulgar* hath the *Red sea*; as also *Numb. ii. 14.* it translateth the word *Suphab* in like manner; whereas in this place of *Deuteronomy*, there is no addition of

^a *Judg. 11.* ^b *Josh. 13. 25.* *Junius* notes, that he one half of the land of *Hammon*, which in this place of *Joshua* is said to have been given to the *Gadites*, was taken first from the *Ammonites* by *Sehon*; but the place *Deut. 3. 11.* proveth, that as well *Og* as *Sehon* had gotten lands out of the hands of the *Ammonites*. ^d *Deut. 2. 26.* ^e It was a marginal note out of *Deut. 3.* where the seventy kept the word *Misor*, signifying a plain, which after crept into the text. ^f *Joseph. 17. Ant. c. 9.* & *Hieron. in quæst. Heb. in Gen.* ^g *Aquila, l. 3.* ^h *Joseph. 13. Ant. c. 24.* & *14. Ant. c. 10.* & alibi. *Joseph. bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 25.* ⁱ *Deut. 4. 43.* *Josh. 20. 8.* ^k *Euseb. in Chron. Hier. in loc. Heb.* ^l *Numb. 25. 1.* ^m *Josh. 3. 1.* ⁿ *Deut. 34. 1.* ^o The same as it seems which *Numb. 21. 30.* is called *Medeba*, whence we read of the plains of *Medeva*, *Josh. 13. 9, 16.* of which also we read in the wars of *David* against *Hanun* the *Ammonite* *1 Chron. 19. 7.* Also *1 Mac. 9. 36.* *Isaiah 16. 2.* See before, c. 5. §. 7.

any word in the *Hebrew* to signify the sea ; and yet the scripture, when this word is so to be taken, useth the addition of *Mara*, thereby to distinguish it from the region of *Suph*, or *Suphab*, which doubtless was about these plains of *Moab*, towards the *Dead* sea ; where the country being full of reeds ; was therefore thus called : as also the *Red* sea was called *Mare Suph*, for like reason.

The place in these large plains of *Moab*, where *Moses* made those divine exhortations, some say, was ^a*Bethabara*, where *John* baptized, which in the story of *Gideon*, is called *Beth-bara*. ^b*Josephus* says, it was where after the city *Abila* stood, near *Jordan*, in a place set with palm-trees ; which sure was the same with *Abel-sittim*, in the plains of *Moab*, *Numb.* xxxiii. 49. that some call *Abel-sathaim*, and *Bel-sathim*, which is reckoned by *Moses* in that place of *Numbers* for the 42, and last place of the *Israelites* encamping in the time of *Moses*. This place is also called ^c*Sittim* ; which word, if we should interpret, we should rather bring it from cedars than from thorns, with *Adrichomius* and others. It was the wood of which the ark of the tabernacle was made.

Toward the east of these plains of *Moab*, they place the cities of ^d*Nebo*, *Baal-meon*, *Sibma*, and *Hesbon*, the chief city of *Sehon* and *Elhael*, and *Kirjathaima*, the seat of the giant *Emim*. Of the two first of these, *Moses* seems to give a note, that the names were to be changed, because they tasted of the *Moabites* ^eidolatry. For *Nebo*, (instead of which *Junius*, *Isa.* xvi. 1. reads *Deus vaticinus*) was the name of their idol-oracle, and *Baal-meon* is the habitation of *Baal*. Of the same idol was the hill *Nebo* in these parts denominated ; from whose top, which the common translators call *Phasgab*, *Moses*, before his death, saw all the land of *Canaan* beyond *Jordan*. In which story *Junius* does not take *Phasgab*, or *Pisgab*, for any proper name ; but for an appellative signifying a hill : and so also *Vatablus*, in some places, as *Numb.* xxi. 20. where he noteth, that some call *Pisgab* that top which looketh to *Jericho* and *Hair*, as it looketh to *Moab* ; which opinion may be somewhat strengthened by the name of the city of *Reuben*, mentioned *Josh.* xiii. 20. called *Ashtoth-Pisgab*, which is as much as *Decursus Pisga*, to wit, where the waters did run down from *Pisgab*. In the same place of *Joshua*, there is also named *Beth-peor*, as belonging to *Reuben* : so called from the hill *Peor*, from whence also *Baal*, the idol, was also called *Baal-peor*, which, they say, was the same as *Priapus* ; the chief place of whose worship seems to have been *Bamoth-baal* ; of which also *Josh.* xiii. in the cities of *Reuben* ; for which *Numb.* xxii. 41. they read *the high place of Baal* (for so the word signifieth) to which place *Balak* first brought *Balaam*, to curse the *Israelites*.

† III.

Of divers places bordering *Reuben*, belonging to *Midian*, *Moab*, or *Edom*.

THESE were besides these divers places of note over *Arnon*, which adjoined to *Reuben* ; among which they place *Gallim*, the city of *Phalti*, to whom ^f*Saul* gave his daughter *Michal* from *David* : but *Junius* thinks this town to be in *Benjamin* ; gathering so much out of *Isaiah* x. 29. where it is named among the cities of *Benjamin*. With

better reason, perhaps, out of *Numb.* xxi. 19. we may say, that *Mathana* and *Nabaliel* were in those confines of *Reuben*, thro' which places the *Israelites* pass'd, after they had left the well called *Beer*. Then *Diblathaim*, which the prophet ^g*Jeremiah* threatened with the rest of the cities of *Moab*.

Madian also is found in these parts ; the chief of the *Madianites* in *Moab* ; but not that *Midian* ; or *Madian* by the *Red* sea, wherein *Jethro* inhabited : for of the *Madianites* there were two nations ; of which these of *Moab* became idolaters, and received an exceeding overthrow by a regiment of twelve thousand *Israelites*, sent by *Moses* out of the plains of *Moab*, at such time as *Israel* began to accompany their daughters. Their five kings ; with *Balaam* the soothsayer were then slain, and their regal city ; with the rest, destroyed. The other *Madianites*, over whom *Jethro* was prince, or priest, forgot not the God of *Abraham* their ancestor ; but relieved and assisted the *Israelites* in their painful travels, thro' the deserts, and were in all that passage their guides. In the south border of ^h*Moab*, adjoining to *Edom*, and sometime reckoned as the chief city of *Edom* ; there is that *Petra*, which in the scriptures is called *Selah*, which is as much as *Rupes* or *Petra*. It was also called *Joshtheel*, as appears by the place ; *2 Reg.* xiv. It was built (saith ⁱ*Josephus*) by *Recem*, one of those five kings of the *Madianites*, slain, as before is said ; after whom it was called *Recem*. Now they say, it is called *Crac* and *Mozera*.

The soldans of *Egypt*, for the exceeding strength thereof, kept therein all their treasures of *Egypt* and *Arabia* ; of which it is the first and strongest city : the same ; perhaps, which *Pliny* and *Strabo* call *Nabathea* ; whence also the province adjoining took name ; which name seems to have been taken at first from *Nabaioth*, the son of *Abraham*, by *Keturah*. For *Nabathea* is no where understood for all *Arabia Petraea* (at least where it is not misunderstood) but it is that province which neighboureth *Judea*. For *Pharan* inhabited by *Ishmael*, whose people *Ptolemy* calleth *Pharanites*, instead of *Ishmaelites* ; and all those territories of the *Cusites*, *Madianites*, *Amalekites*, *Ishmaelites*, *Edomites* ; or *Idumeans*, the lands of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Hus* ; *Sin*, and of *Og* king of *Basan*, were parts of ^k*Arabia Petraea* ; tho' it be also true, that some part of *Arabia* the desert belonged to the *Amalekites* and *Ishmaelites* : all which nations the scriptures in *1 Chron.* v. calleth *Hagarims* of *Hagar*.

This city *Petra*, *Scaurus* besieged with the *Roman* army ; and finding the place in shew impregnable, he was content, by the persuasion of *Antipater*, to take a composition of money and to quit it. Yet *Amasias*, king of *Judah* (after he had slaughtered ten thousand of the *Arabians* in the valley called *Salinarum*) won also this city. *St. Jerome* finds *Ruth* the *Moabite* to be natural of this city. In the time when the Christians held the kingdom of ^l*Jerusalem*, it had a *Latin* bishop, having before been under the *Greek* Church. It is seated not far from *Hor*, where *Aaron* died ; and on the other side, towards the north, is the river of ^m*Zared*, or *Zered*, by which *Moses* encamped in the thirty eighth station. *Adrichome* describeth the waters of *Memrim*, or rather *Nemrim*, in his map of *Reuben*, not far hence, and between *Zared* and *Arnon* ; and so he doth the valley of *Save* : but the waters of ⁿ*Nimra*, or *Beth-Nimra* (for which it seems *Adri-*

^a John 1. 28. *Judg.* 7. 24. ^b *Joseph.* Ant. 4. 7. ^c *Numb.* 25. 1. *Exod.* 25. 10. ^d *Numb.* 31. 37. *Gen.* 14. 5. *Numb.* 32. ^e *Exod.* 23. 13. Nomen decorum alienorum ne recordamini, ne audatur in ore tuo. *Psal.* 16. 4. non assumpturus sum nomina eorum in labiis meis, *Eccl.* 2. 17. Amovebo nomina Bahalimorum ab ore ejus. *What name they used for Nebo, it doth not appear ; Baalmeon it seems they named sometime Baith, as Isaiah 15. 2. and sometime Bethmeon, Isaiah 58. 23.* ^f *1 Sam.* 18. ^g *Jerem.* 48. ^h *Isa.* 16. 1. ⁱ *Lib.* 4. Ant. 7. ^k *1 Chron.* 5. 19. 20. ^l *Gal.* Tyr. 20. bell. sac. 3. ^m *Numb.* 21. *Deut.* 2. 13. ⁿ *Numb.* 32. 3. *Josh.* 13. 27. *Isa.* 15. 21.

chomius writ *Nemrim*) refresh'd the plains of *Moab*: and the confluence of those waters of *Nimra* are in the tribe of *Gad*. *Save* also cannot be found in this place, that is, to the south of *Arnon*, and under *Midian*. For after *Abraham* returned from the pursuit of the *Affyrian* and *Persian* princes, the king of *Sodom* met him in the valley of *Save*, or *Sba-veh*, which is the king's dale, where *Absalom* set up his monument, as it seems, not far from *Jerusalem*. And at the same time *Melchisedec*, king of *Salem*, also encountered him. But *Abraham* coming from the north, and *Melchisedec* inhabiting, either near *Betbsan*, otherwise *Scythopolis*, in the half tribe of *Manasseh*, or in *Jerusalem* (both places lying to the west of *Jordan*) could not encounter each other in *Arabia*: and therefore *Save*, which was also called the *King's Dale*, could not be in these parts.

† IV.

Of the Dead sea.

NOW, because the sea of *Sodom*, or the *Dead* sea, called also the lake of *Asphaltitis*, and the salt-sea (in distinction from the sea of *Tiberias*, which was fresh water) also the sea of the wilderness, or rather the sea^b of the plains, is often remembered in the scriptures, and in this story also; therefore I think it not impertinent to speak somewhat thereof: for it is like unto the *Caspian* sea, which hath no out-let, or disburthening. The length of this lake *Josephus* makes 180 furlongs (which make 22 miles and a half of ours) and about 150 in breadth, which make 18 of our miles, and somewhat more. *Pliny* makes it a great deal less. But those that have of late years seen this sea, did account it (saith *Weissenberg*) 8 Dutch miles (which is 32 of ours) in length, and 2 and a half of theirs (which is 10 of ours) in breadth. Of this lake, or sea, *Tacitus* maketh this report; *Lacus est immenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis pestifer: neque vento impellitur, neque pisces aut fuetas aquis volucres patitur, incertum unde superjecta ut solido feruntur, periti imperitique nandi perinde attolluntur, &c.* That it is very great, and (as it were) a sea of corrupt taste; of smell infectious, and pestilent to the borderers: It is neither moved, nor raised by the wind, nor endureth fish to live in it, or fowl to swim in it. Those things that are cast into it, and the unskillful of swimming, as well as the skillful, are born up by this water. At one time of the year it casteth up bitumen; the art of gathering which, experience (the finder of other things) hath also taught. It is used in the trimming of ships, and the like businesses.

And then of the land, he speaketh in this sort: "The fields not far from this lake, which were
" sometime fruitful, and adorned with great cities,
" were burnt with lightning; of which the ruins
" remain, the ground looking with a sad face, as
" having lost her fruitfulness: for whatsoever doth
" either grow, or is set thereon, be it fruits or
" flowers, when they come to ripeness, have no-
" thing within them, but moulder into ashes:" thus far *Tacitus*. And it is found by experience, that those pomegranates, and other apples, or oranges, which do still grow on the banks of this cursed lake, do look fair, and are of good colour on the out-side; but being cut, have nothing but dust

within. Of the bitumen which this lake casteth up, it was by the *Greeks* called *Asphaltitis*. *Vespasian*, desirous to be satisfied of these reports, went on purpose to see this lake, and caused certain captives to be cast into it, who were not only unskillful in swimming, but had their hands also bound behind them; and notwithstanding, they were carried on the face of the waters, and could not sink.

† V.

Of the kings of *Moab*, much of whose country within *Arnon*, *Reuben* possess'd.

OF the kings of *Moab*, whose country (within *Arnon*) *Reuben* possess'd (tho' not taken from *Moab*, but from *Sehon* the *Amorite*) few are known. *Junius* in *Numb.* xxi. 14. nameth *Vabeb*, which seemeth to be the ancestor, or predecessor of *Balac*, the son of *Zippor*, which *Balac* sent for *Balaam* to curse *Israel*. For, fearing to contend with *Moses* by arms, by the examples of *Sehon* and *Og*, he hoped, by the help of *Balaam's* curfings, or enchantments, to take from them all strength and courage, and to cast on them some pestilent diseases. And tho' *Balaam* at the first, moved by the spirit of God, bless'd *Israel*, contrary to the hope and desire of *Moab*; yet being desirous in some sort to satisfy him, and to do him service, he advised *Moab* to send *Midianitish* women among the *Israelites*; hoping by them, as by fit instruments of mischief, to draw them to the idolatry of the heathen; but in the end, he received the reward of his falling from God, and of his evil counsel, and was slain among the rest of the princes of *Midian*.

After these times the kings of the *Moabites* are not named; saving that we find in *1 Chron.* iv. that *Jokim*, and the men of *Chozeba*, and *Joash*, and *Sareph*, all being of the issue of *Judab*, sometime had the dominion in *Moab*: but as it is written in the 22d verse, *These also are ancient things*, to wit, as some expound it, the particulars of these mens governments are no where extant, or remaining: or as others, *hec prius fuerunt*; these families of *Judab* were once thus famous: but now their posterity chuse rather to abide in *Babylon*, and be clay-workers to the king there.

Then we find *Eglon* king of *Moab*, who with the help of *Anmon* and *Amalek*, murthered *Israel*, and commanded them 18 years; which *Eglon*, *Ehud* slew in his own house, and afterwards 10000 of his nation. What name the king of *Moab* had, unto whom *David* fled, fearing *Saul*, it doth not appear; or whether it were the same against whom *Saul* made war, it is not manifest; for neither are named. But in respect that this *Moabite* was an enemy to *Saul*, he received *David*, and relieved him, knowing that *Saul* sought his life.

After this, *David* himself entered the region of *Moab*; but not likely in the same king's time: for he slaughtered two parts of the people, and made the third part tributary: whereupon it was said of *David*, *Moab is my wash-pot, over Edom will I cast my shoe*; meaning, that he would reduce them to such an abjection, and appoint them for base services: and that he would tread down the *Idumeans*.

The next king, after *David's* time, of the *Moabites*, whose name liveth, was *Mesha*; who falling from *Judab* (perhaps in remembrance of the severity of *David*) fastened himself to the kings of *Israel*.

^a Gen. 14. ^b So *Junius* reads for the Hebrew, *Haraboth* every where, and so also the edition of *Vatablus*, *Deut.* 4. *ut* *in* *solitudine*, as also *2 Kings* 14. 25. the reason of this name seems to be, because it pass to the plains of *Moab*, which are called *Haraboth* *Moab*, *Deut.* 34. 1. as also we have *Celuloth* in *Harbath*, that is in the plain, to wit, of *Zabulon*, *1 Mac.* 9. 2. *Adrichomius* imagines a city in *Zabulon*, called *Araba*. ^c *Deter. Ter. Sancta*. ^d *Numb.* 21. 22, 23, 24. *Josh.* 24. ^e *Josh.* 13. ^f *1 Sam.* 22. ^g *1 Sam.* 14. ^h *2 Sam.* 8. ⁱ *1 Chron.* 18. ^k *Psalm* 60. 10.

and paid tribute to ^a*Abab* 100000 lambs, and 200000 rams, with the wooll: who revolted again from *Israel*, after the death of *Abab*, was invaded by *Jehoram*; with whom joined the kings of *Judab* and *Idumea*; and being by these three kings pretis'd and broken, he fled to *Kir-hareseth*, as is elsewhere shewed. There is also mention made of the *Moabites* without the king's name; when that nation, afflicted by the *Ammonites* and *Idumeans* invaded *Jehosaphat*. And by reason of some private quarrels among themselves, the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* set upon the *Idumeans*, and slaughtered them; and then one against another, so as ^b*Jehosaphat* had a notorious victory over them all, without either blood or wound. Also in the time of ^c*Jeremiah* the prophet, there was a king of *Moab*, which is not named, which was after *Mesha* of *Moab* many descents: for *Mesha* lived with *Jehoram* and this *Moabite* in *Zedekiah's* time, 14 kings of *Judab* coming between, who wasted 300 and odd years.

SECT. V.

Of the memorable places of the Gadites, and the bordering places of Ammon.

THE territory adjoining to *Reuben*, is that of *Gad*; whereof all that part which joined to the mountains, was sometime in the possession of the *Ammonites*, as far to the south as *Aroer*. Of the children of *Gad*, the 7th son of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of ^d*Leah*, there parted out of *Egypt*, and died in the deserts 45550, and of their sons, there entred the land promised 45000 bearing arms: from the half tribe of *Manasseh*, the river of *Jabboc* divided them: from *Reuben*, the cities of *Hesbon*, *Elbela* and *Aphec*.

The chief city of *Gad*, was *Aroer*, which they make to be the same with *Ar*, or ^e*Rabbath-Moab*, the great or commanding *Moab*. But the learned *Junius*, attending diligently to those words of *Moses*, *Deut. ii. 36. Ab Harabero, que est in ripa fluminis Arnon, & civitate ipsa que est in flumine*; Where the city in the river is distinguished from the city upon the bank of the river (as also in like manner, *Josh. xii. 2. and xiii. 9.*) thinketh, that *Harober*, which doubtless belonged to the *Gadites* (as *Numb. xxxii. 34.* it is said, that they built it) was indeed seated near *Har* of the *Moabites*; but diverse from it. For that *Har* was never possess'd by *Moses*, it is plain, *Deut. ii. 9.* where God, forbidding *Moses* to touch it, saith, he hath given *Har* for an inheritance to the sons of *Lot*. Now that this city, which in divers places is said to be within and in the middle of the river of *Arnon* (and so distinguished from *Harober*, which is said in the same places to be on the bank of *Arnon*) is *Har* of the *Moabites*; the same *Junius* proveth out of *Numb. xxi. 15.* where *Arnon* is said to be divided into divers streams, where, or among which, *Har* is seated: and the same is confirmed by the place of *Josh. xiii. 25.* where *Harober* is said to be seated before *Rabbab*; which *Rabbab*, as it seems, cannot be the *Rabbab* of the *Ammonites* (for they sat not *Harober* near it, nor in sight of it) and therefore by *Rabbab*, here we must understand *Rabbab* of *Moab*, which they make to be *Ar* or *Har*; and so we must needs distinguish it from *Harober*. And as for ^f*Har* (which also gave the name

to the coast adjoining) it seems it continued in the possession of the *Moabites*, after they had once expelled the giant-like people, called *Emims*, first weakened by ^g*Chedorlaomer*, and his associates: but *Harober*, by the interchange of times, suffered many ancient changes, as being won from the *Moabites* by *Sehon*, and from him by the *Israelites*; and from them, as it seems in the story of *Jephtha*, by the *Ammonites*; and from the *Ammonites* again, by the *Israelites*, under the conduct of *Jephtha*. In *St. Jerome's* time, the greatest part of this city perished by an earthquake, as also *Zoar* in which *Lot* saved himself, in the destruction of *Sodom*, seated not far hence: which they say was therefore called *Vitula consternans*, because as a wanton tumbling heifer, she was thrice overthrown with earthquakes; for which cause also ^h*Jerome* seems to think that this *Zoar* was called *Saliffa* or *Bal-saliffa*, as if *Bal* had been a remainder of the old name *Balah* or *Belah* (of which *Gen. xiv. 2.*) and *Saliffa* which hath a signification of the ternary number, had alluded to the three earthquakes.

Brochard takes *Harober* to be *Petra*, but erroneously, as before it is noted; seeing that *Petra* was in the south border of *Moab*, adjoining to *Edom*, whereas *Harober* is in the north-east border. Between *Harober* and *Jordan* they seat *Dibon*, which is attributed to the *Gadites*, because they are said to have built it, *Numb. xxxii. 34.* tho' *Joshua xiii. 17.* it is said that *Moses* gave it the *Reubenites*. Of this city among the rest of *Moab*, both *Isaiah xv.* and *Jeremiah xlviii.* prophesied, that it should perish; and the lakes about it run with the blood of the inhabitants. It was a great village near *Arnon* in *St. Jerome's* time.

Keeping the banks of *Arnon*, one of the next cities of fame to *Aroer* was *Beth-nimrab*, of which *Isaiah xv. 21.* prophesieth, *That the waters thereof should be dried up: and all the vale of Moab withered.* Not far from *Beth-nimrab* in this tribe *Adrichomius* placeth *Jogbeba*, and *Nobach* or *Nobe*: of both which we read in the story of ⁱ*Gideon*; and that *Jogbeba* was in *Gad* built by the *Gadites*, it appears *Numb. xxxii. 35.* and therefore *Nobach* also must needs be in these parts: but whether in *Gad* or *Manasseh*, it is not certain; only that it was anciently called *Kenath*, *Moses* witnesseth; ^k*Nobach also* (saith he) *went and took Kenath with her towns, and called it Nobach of his own name*; where because the verses precedent speak of the *Manassites*, and because it is not likely that *Moses* would have severed this seat of the *Gadites* from the rest, of which he spake before, verses 34, 35, 36, therefore it may seem that this ^l*Nobach* was in that part of *Manasseh*, which was in the east of *Jordan*: tho' *Adrichomius* place it in *Gad*. For whereas he supposeth it to be the same with *Nob*, which *Saul* destroyed, of this we shall speak ^min the tribe of *Benjamin*. And as for that *Karker* where *Zebach* and *Zalmunna* rested themselves in their flight from *Gideon*, to which place *Gideon* marched thro' this *Nobach* and *Jogbeba*, tho' some place it in *Gad*, and make it the same with *Kir-chares*, of which *Isaiah xv. and 2 Kings iii. 25.* yet there can be no certainty that it was in *Gad*: and if it be the same with *Kir-chares*, it is certain that it was a principal city held still by the *Moabites*, and not in the tribe of *Gad*.

In the body of this tribe of *Gad* they place ⁿ*Hararoth*: of which name the scripture witnesseth,

^a 2 Kings 3. ^b 2 Chron. 20. ^c Jerem. 27. ^d Gen. 30. *Numb. 1. 26. 32. Josh. 13.* ^e Isa. 15. *Deut. 2.* ^f *Deut. 2. 9.* Out of which place the words *Numb. 21. 28.* are to be expounded; not that the city of *Har*, but the coast adjoining, was wasted by *Sehon*. ^g Gen. 14. 5. *Judg. 11. 35.* ^h Hier. in Epitaph. Paul & in quest. & loc. Hebr. see *Junius's* annotations upon *1 Sam. 9. 2.* where he makes *Shaliffa* a plain country in *Benjamin*, and the same with *Bal-shaliffa*, 2 Kings 4. 42. where he expounds *Bal* or *Bahal* to be as much as *Planities*. ⁱ *Judg. 8. 11.* ^k *Numb. 32. 42.* ^l *Numb. 21. 30.* It is called *Nophach* and placed in the border of the kingdom of *Sehon* towards *Baan*, and therefore it is altogether improbable that it was in *Gad*. ^m Chap. 12. sect. 1. *Judg. 8. 10.* ⁿ *Numb. 32. 34, 35.*

that two cities were built by the *Gadites*; the former simply called *Hataroth*, the latter *Hatrotb-Sophan*: for which latter the *Vulgar* makes two cities *Roth* and *Shopban*; the name *Hataroth* is as much as *Carone*.

In the valley of the kingdom of *Sehon*, together with *Beth-nimrah*, of which we have spoken, *Josh.* xiii. 27. nameth *Beth-baram*, and *Succoth*: the former *Numb.* xxxij. 36. (where it is called *Beth-baram*) together with *Beth-nimrah*, is said to have been built by the *Gadites*, which (perhaps the rather because in *Joshua* it is called *Beth-baram*) some take to be *Betaramptha* (of which ^b *Josephus*) after by *Herod* called *Julias*. But whether this *Betaramptha* were corrupted from *Beth-baram*, or from *Beth-aramatha* (of which *Aramatha* there is mention in ^c *Josephus*) or from *Beth-remphan* (of which *Remphan*, an idol of those countries, we read *Acts* vii. 43. and to which *Junius* refers the name of the city *Rephan*, *1 Macc.* xxxvii.) of this question it were hard to resolve. But touching *Julias* (according to *Josephus* sometimes *Betaramptha*) the same *Josephus* placeth it in the region of *Peræa*, beyond *Jordan*; which *Regio Peræa*, as the Greek word signifieth, is no more than *Regio ulterior*, the country beyond the river; and therefore they, which labour to set down the bounds of this *Peræa*, take more pains than needs. Fourteen villages this *Julias* had belonging unto it, according to ^d *Josephus*. He makes it to have been built by *Herod Antipas*, and named *Julias* in honour of the adoption of *Livia*, *Augustus's* wife, into the *Julian* family: by which adoption she was called *Julia*. Another *Julias*, he ^d saith, was built by *Philip* the brother of *Herod*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*, which he saith is the same as *Bethsaida*.

Upon the sea of *Galilee* near to *Julias* in *Peræa* (that is, in the region over *Jordan*) they find *Vetexobra*, as it is called in ^e *Josephus*, for *Beth-ezob*, which is as much as *domus hisſopi*. Of a noble woman of this city, which for safeguard in the time of war with the *Romans*, came with many others into *Jerusalem*, and was there besieged, *Josephus* in the place noted, reports a lamentable history; how for hunger she eat her own child, with other tragical accidents hereupon ensuing.

Of *Succoth* (which we said *Josh.* xiii. is placed with *Ben-haran*, in the valley of the kingdom of *Sehon*) it is plain by the story of ^f *Gideon* that it is near unto *Jordan*: where it is said, that as he was pass'd *Jordan*, with his 300, weary in the pursuit of *Zebab* and *Zalmunna*, he requested relief of the men of *Succoth*: who denying him, and that with contempt, in *Gideon's* return were by him tortured, as it seems under a threshing-car, or *tribulum*, between which and their flesh he put thorns to tear their flesh as they were press'd and trod under the *tribulum*; and after which sort also *David* used some of the ^g *Ammonites*, tho' not with thorns, but with the iron teeth of the *tribulum*. As for the name of *Succoth*, which signifieth such tabernacles as were made in haste, either for men or cattle, *Moses.* *Gen.* xxxiii. 17. witnesseth, that the original of the name was from such harbours, which *Jacob* in his return from *Mesopotamia* built in that place: as also the place beyond the ^h *Red-sea*, where the children of *Israel*, as they came from *Ramesses* in *Egypt*, had their first station, was upon like reason called *Succoth*: because there they set up their first tabernacles or tents: which they used after for forty years in the wilderness. In remembrance

whereof, the feast of *Succoth*, or tabernacles, was instituted.

Other four cities of *Gad* are named *Josh.* xxi. 38. *Ramoth* in *Gilebad*, *Machanaïm*, *Chesbon*, and *Jabzer*, all of them by the *Gadites* given to the *Levites*; of which *Jabzer*, as *Chesbon* or *Hesbon* was a chief city of *Sehon*, whence *Numb.* xxxii. 1. his country is called the land of *Jabzer*. It was taken by *Moses*, having first sent spies to view it. In the first of the *Chronicles* it is made part of *Gilebad*. In the latter times (as it may be gathered by the prophecy of *Isaiab*, touching *Moab*) it was possessed by the *Moabites*: to which place of *Isaiab* vi. 8. also *Jeremiah* xlviii. 32. in a like prophecy alludes. It was at length regained (but as it seems from the *Ammonites*) by *Judas Macchabæus*: as it is *1 Macc.* v. 8. where *Junius* out of *Josephus* reads *Jabzer*, tho' the *Greeks* hath *Gazer*. For *Gazer* or *Gezer* (as he gathereth out of *Joshua* xvi. 3, 8. and *Judg.* i. 29.) was far from these countries of *Sehon*, seated in the west border of *Ephraim*, not possessed by the *Israelites*, until *Solomon's* time; for whom the king of *Egypt* won it from the *Canaanite*, and gave it him as a dowry with his daughter.

Of *Chesbon* it may be marvelled, that in the place of *Joshua*, and *1 Chron.* vi. 81. it should be said to have been given to the *Levites*, by the *Gadites*, seeing *Joshua* xiii. 17. it is reckoned for a principal city of the *Reubenites*. *Adrichomius*, and such as little trouble themselves with such scruples, finding *Casbon*, *1 Macc.* v. 36. among the cities of *Gilebad*, taken by *Judas Macchabæus*, makes two cities of one; as if this *Casbon* had been the *Chesbon* of *Gad*, and that of *Reuben* distinct from it; but the better reconciliation is, that it being a bordering city, between *Gad* and *Reuben*, was common to both, and that the *Gadites* gave their part to the *Levites*: for so also it seemeth, that in like reason, *Dibon* is said in one place built by the *Gadites*, and in another, given to *Reuben*, as before is noted. Of *Machanaïm*, which word signifieth a double army, we read *Genesis* xxxii. 2. that it was therefore so called, because the angels of God in that place met *Jacob* in manner of another host, or company, to join with his for his defence; as also *Luke* ii. 13. we read of a multitude of the host of heaven, which appeared to the shepherds, at the time of our Saviour's birth; and so unto the godly king *Oswald* of *Northumberland*, when he was soon after to join battel with the *Pagan Penda* of *Middle-England*. *Beda* reports, that the like comfort appeared; whence the field where the battel was fought in the north parts of *England*, is called *Heaven-field*. In this city of *Machanaïm*, *David* abode during the rebellion of *Abſalom*; and the same, for the strength thereof, *Abner* chose for the seat of *Ishboſeth*, during the war between *David* and the house of *Saul*.

Of the fourth town, which was *Ramoth* in *Gilebad*, we read often in the scripture; for the recovering of which, king *Achab* lost his life. *Junius* thinks, that *Ramatha-mitſpe*, of which *Joshua* xiii. 26. was this *Ramoth* in *Gilebad*. Concerning the place where *Laban* and *Jacob* sware one to the other, as it was called *Gilebad*, which is as much as a witnessing heap, because of the heap of stones which *Laban* and his sons left for a monument; so also that it was called *Mitſpah*, which signifieth over-looking (because there they called God to oversee, and be witness to their covenant) it is plain by the place, *Genesis* xxxi. 49. that in these parts

^a *Joseph.* 1. *Ant.* 18. c. 3. ^b *Lib.* 7. *Ant.* c. 7. *Ubi* Græcus Codex legit *Αρραθας*, Latinus *Rabatha* Metropolis *Hammonitarum*. ^c *Ant.* 20. 11. ^d *Joseph.* *Ant.* 18. 3. & *Bell.* *Jud.* 2. 8. ^e *Joseph.* de *Bell.* *Jud.* 1. 7. c. 8. ^f *Judg.* 8. 5. ^g 2 *Sapn.* 12. 31. ^h *Exod.* 12. 37. ⁱ *Levit.* 23. 43.

there was not only a town, but likewise a region called *Mitspab*, it appears *Josb. xi. 3.* where we read of the *Chivites* under *Hermon*, in the country of *Mitspab* the town of *Mitspab*, as it seems both by this place and in the 8th verse following, being not in the hill country, but in the valley. But seeing that *Jephtha* the judge of *Israel*, who after he came home from *Tob* (whither his brethren had driven him) dwelt in this town of *Mitspab*, who doubtless was of the tribe of *Manasseh*, and thence at first expelled by his brethren; it may seem that they do not well which place this town of *Mitspab* rather in *Gad*, than in *Manasseh*. By *Judas Macchabæus* this town of *Mitspab* (whether in *Gad* or in *Manasseh*) was utterly spoiled and burnt, and all the males of it slain: for it was then possess'd of the *Ammonites*.

Between *Succoth* (of which we have spoken) and the river *Jaboc* was that *Peniel* or *Penuel*, which name signifieth *Locum faciei Dei*; "A place where the face of God was seen: so called for memory of the angel's appearing to *Jacob*, and wrestling with him there: the churlishness of which city, in refusing to relieve *Gideon*, was the cause that in his return he overthrew their tower, and slew the chief aldermen thereof. To these places of the *Gadites*, they add *Rogelim*, the city of that great and faithful subject *Barzillai*, as it seems, not far from *Mahanaim*, where he sustained king *David* during *Absalom's* rebellion. To these they add the towns of *Gaddi*, *Arnon*, and *Alimis*, of which *Gaddi* being in *Hebrew* no more than *Gaddita*, is ignorantly made a name of a place. *Arnon* also no where appears to be the name of a town, but still of a river. *Alimis* *Adrichomius* frames of *ἐν Ἀλέμοις* 1 *Macc. v. 26.* so that the name should rather be *Alema*; but *Junius* out of *Josephus* reads *Mallæ*, for this in *Alimis*: and understanding *Mallæ* to be put for *Millo*, and to be as much as *Munitio* (as we have shewed touching the *Millo* of the *Sichemites*) he takes this *Mallæ* to be *Mitspab Moabitarum*, of which 1 *Sam. xxii. 3.* As for that *Mageth* which *Adrichomius* finds in this tribe of *Gad*, it is that *Mabacath*, which *Moses* noteth to be as far as the farthest of *Manasses*, out of the bounds this tribe. So also *Dathema*, of which 1 *Macc. v. 10.* (which *Junius* takes to be *Rithma*, of which *Numb. xxxiii. 18.* a place of strength in the territory of the *Ammonites*) and in like manner *Minnith* and *Abel vinearum*, tho' by some they be attributed to the *Gadites*, or to their borders, yet they are found farther off. For of the two last we read in *Jephtha's* pursuit of the *Ammonites*: seated as it seems by that place of the book of *Judges*, the former of them in the south-border, and the other in the east-border, both far removed from the *Gadites*. But the chief city of the *Ammonites* was nearer, and not far from the borders of *Gad*. It is called in the scriptures sometime *Rabbath*, as *Deuteronomy iii. 11.* but more often *Rabba*. It is supposed to be that *Philadelphia* which *Ptolemy* finds in *Cœlesyria*. *Jerome* and *Callistus* in *Arabia*. It was conquered by *Og* from the *Ammonites*: but as it seems never possess'd by the *Israelites*, after the overthrow of *Og*, but left to the *Ammonites*; whereupon at length it became the

regal seat of the *Ammonites*, but of old it was the possession of the *Zamzumims*: which is as much as to say, men for all manner of craft and wickedness infamous. The same were also called *Raphaim*, of whom was *Og*, which recovered much of that which the *Ammonites* had got from his ancestors: who having been first beaten by the *Affyrians*, and their assistants (as the *Emims* in *Moab*, and the *Horims* in *Seir* had been) were afterward the easier conquered by the *Ammonites*, as the *Emims* were by *Moab*, and the *Horims* were by the *Idumeans*. Yet did the races of *Emoreus*, of whom these giants were descended, contend with the conquerors for their ancient inheritance: and as *Sehon* of *Hesbon* had dispossessed *Moab*, so had *Og* of *Basan* the *Ammonites*, and between them recovered the best part of all the valley, between the mountains and *Jordan*. For this *Og* was also master of *Rabba* or *Philadelphia*: and in the possession of the one or the other of these two, *Moses* and *Israel* found all those cities and countries, which were given to *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manasseh*. So that tho' it were 450 years since that the *Zamzumims* or *Raphaims* were expelled, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance: but having these two kings of one kindred, and both valiant and undertaking men, to wit, *Og* and *Sehon* both *Amorites*, they recovered again much of their lost possessions, and thrust the sons of *Lot* over the mountains, and into the deserts. And as the kings, or captains of *Persia* and *Affyria* (remembered *Genesis xiv.*) made way for *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Edom*; so by that great conquest which *Moses* had over those two *Amorites*, *Og* and *Sehon*, did the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* take opportunity to look back again into those plains, and when the *Reubenites*, *Gadites* and *Manassites* forsook the worship of the living God, and became slothful and licentious, they taking the advantage, invaded them, and cast them out of their possessions; and were sometimes their masters, sometimes their tributaries, as they pleased or displeased God; and according to the wisdom and virtue of their commanders.

In this city of *Rabba*, was the iron bed of *Og* found, nine cubits of length, and four of breadth, *Deut. iii.* The city was taken in *David's* time, and the inhabitants slain with great severity, and by divers torments. At the first assault thereof *Uriah* was shot to death, having been by direction from *David*, appointed to be employed in the leading of an assault, where he could not escape: wherein also many of the best of the army perished, and wherein *David* so displeased God, as his affairs had ill success afterwardeven to his dying day. From hence had *David* the weighty and rich crown of gold, which the kings of *Ammon* wore; or which, as some expound it, was used to be set on the head of their idol, weighing a talent, which is sixty pound weight after the common talent. In the time of the Christians it had a metropolitan bishop, and under him twelve others.

The mountains which are described within this tribe, and that of *Manasseh*, with a part of *Reuben*, are those which *Ptolemy* calleth the hills of *Hippus*, a city of *Cœlesyria*; and *Strabo*, *Trachones*, the same which contain from *Damascus* to near the de-

^a Of other towns of this name, see in the tribe of Benjamin. ^b *Judg. 11. 36.* ^c 1 *Macc. 5. 35.* ^d *Gen. 32. 30.* ^e *Judg. 8. 17.* ^f 2 *Sam. 19. 33.* ^g *Deut. 3. 14.* *Josb. 12. 5.* ^h The letters D and R in the Hebrew are very like, so that one is oft mistaken for another, and sometimes without mistaking one is put for another, as for *Rodanim*, 1 *Chron. 7.* we have *Dodanim*, *Gen. 10. 4.* ⁱ Other names of this city according to *Stephanus* were *Ammana* and *Astarte*: but in this latter perhaps he mistook, which might seem to be the same *Astaroth*, one of the chief cities of *Og*, of which in that which remaineth to be spoken of *Manasses*. *Adrichomius* says it was also called *Urbs aquarum*, because of the river *Jaboc's* winding about it, but in the place, 2 *Sam. 27.* whence he gathers this opinion, *Junius* reads *intercepi ab urbe aquarum*, if we must read with others *cepi urbem aquarum*, yet it cannot be taken of *Rabba* it self, but of some fort adjoining. ^k 2 *Sam. 12.* *Will. Tyr. bell. sic. 13. cap. 12.* ^l *Ptolemy* ^m *Strabo* 1. 16. *Τράχων* is locus asper & silebrosus: whence it appears, that *Trachonitis regio* in these parts was properly the hill country.

parts of *Moab*, and receive divers names, as commonly mountains do, which neighbour and bound divers countries: for from the south part, as far northward as *Asteroth*, the chief city of *Og*, they are called *Galaad*, or *Gilead*; from thence northward, they are known by the name of *Hermion*; for so *Moses* calleth them: the *Zidonians* name them *Shirion*; but the *Amorites*, *Skenir*, others *Seir*; of which name all those hills also were called, which part *Judea* and *Idumea*: and lastly, they are called *Libanus*; for so the prophet *Jer.* xxii. makes them all one, calling the high mountains of *Galaad* the head of *Libanus*. These mountains are very fruitful, and full of good pastures, and have many trees, which yield ^a*Balsamum*, and many other medicinable drugs. The river of this tribe are the waters of *Nimrah* and *Dibon*, and the river *Jaboc*: others do also fancy another river, which rising out of the rocks of *Arnon*, falleth into *Jordan*.

S E C T. VI.

Of the Ammonites, part of whose territories the Gadites won from Og the king of Basan.

THIS tribe of *Gad*, possess'd half the country of the *Ammonites*, who together with the *Moabites*, held that part of *Arabia Petraea* called *Nabathea*, as well within as without the mountains of *Gilead*: tho' at this time when the *Gadites* won it, it was in the possession of *Sehon* and *Og*, *Amorites*: and therefore *Moses* did not expel the *Ammonites*, but the *Amorites*, who had thrust the issues of *Lot* over the mountains *Trachones* or *Gilead*, as before. After the death of *Othoniel* the first judge of *Israel*; the *Ammonites* joined with the *Moabites* against the *Hebrews*, and so continued long. ^b*Jephtha* judge of *Israel* had a great conquest over one of the kings of *Ammon*, but his name is omitted. In the time of *Samuel* they were at peace with them again.

Afterward we find that cruel king of the *Ammonites*, called *Nabas*; who besieging ^c*Jabez Gilead*, gave them no other conditions than the pulling out of their right eyes. The reason why he tender'd so hard a composition, was (besides this desire to bring shame upon *Israel*, because those *Gileadites* using to carry a target on their left arms, which could not but shadow their left eyes, should by losing their right, be utterly disabled to defend themselves: but *Saul* came to their rescue, and delivered them from that danger. This *Nabas*, as it may seem, became the confederate of *David*, having friended him in *Saul's* time, tho' ^d*Josephus* thinks that this *Nabas* was slain in the battle, when *Saul* rais'd the siege of *Jabez*, who affirmeth that there were three kings of the *Moabites* of that name.

Hanan succeeded *Nabas*; to whom when *David* sent to congratulate his establishment, and to confirm the former friendship which he had with his father, he most contemptuously and proudly cut off the ambassadors garments to the knees, and shaved the half of their beards. But afterwards, notwithstanding the aids received from the *Aramites* subject to *Adadazer*, and from the *Reguli* of *Rehob*, and *Maacab*, and from ^e*Isob*, yet all those *Arabians*, together with the *Ammonites*, were over-turned; their chief city of *Rabba*, after *Philadelphia*,

taken, the crown, which weighed a talent of gold, was set on *David's* head; all such as were prisoners *David* executed with strange severity; for with saws and harrows, he tare them in pieces, and cast the rest into lime-kilns.

Jehosaphat governing *Judah*, they assisted the *Moabites* their neighbours against him, and perished together. *Osias* made them tributaries, and they were again by *Jotham* inforc'd to continue that tribute, and to increase it, to wit, one hundred talents of silver, ten thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley: which the *Ammonites* continued two years.

The fifth king of the *Ammonites*, of whose name we read, was *Baalis*, the confederate of *Zedekiah*: after whose taking by *Nabuchodonosor*, *Baalis* sent *Ismael* of the blood of the king of *Judah*, to slay *Gedaliah*, who served *Nabuchodonosor*.

S E C T. VII.

Of the other half of Manasseh.

THE rest of the land of *Gilead*, and of the kingdom of *Og* in *Basan*, with the land of *Ilus*, and *Argob*, or *Trachonitis* (wherein also were part of the small territories of ^f*Batanea*, *Gaulonitis*, *Gessuri*, *Machati*, and *Auranitis*) was given to the half tribe of *Manasseh* over *Jordan*, of which those three latter provinces defended themselves against them, for many ages. But *Batanea Ptolemy* setteth farther off, and to the north-east, as a skirt of *Arabia* the desert: and all those other provinces before named with *Peræa* and *Ituræa*, he nameth but as part of *Cælesyria*, as far south as *Rabba* or *Philadelphia*; likewise all the rest which belonged to *Gad* and *Reuben*, saving the land near the *Dead sea*, he makes part of *Arabia Petraea*: for many of these small kingdoms take not much more ground than the county of *Kent*.

Basan, or after the *Septuagint*, *Basanitis*, stretcheth it self from the river of *Jaboc*, to the ^g*Machati*, and *Gessuri*; and from the mountains to *Jordan*, a region exceeding fertile; by reason whereof it abounded in all sorts of cattle. It had also the goodliest woods of all that part of the world; especially of oaks, which bear mast (of which the prophet *Zacharias*, *Howl*, *O ye oaks of Basan*) and by reason hereof they bred so many swine, as ^h2000 in one herd were carried head-long into the sea, by the unclean spirits which Christ had cast out of one of the *Gadarens*. It had in it threescore cities, walled and defended: all which, after *Og* and his sons were slain, *Jair*, descended of *Manasseh*, conquered, and called the country after his own name, *Avoth Jair*, or the cities of *Jair*.

The principal cities of this half tribe (for I will omit the rest) are these, *Pella*, sometimes ⁱ*Butis*, otherwise *Bernice*: by *Seleucus*, king of *Syria*, it is said to have been called *Pella*, after the name of that *Pella* in *Macedon*, in which both *Philip* the father, and his son *Alexander* the Great were born. It was taken, and in part demolished, by *Alexander Jannæus*, king of the *Jews*, because it refused to obey the *Jews* laws; but it was repaired by *Pompey*, and annexed to the government of *Syria*. It is now but a village, saith *Niger*. *Carnaim* by the river *Jaboc*, taken by ^k*Judas Maccabeus*, where

^a Hier. 8. & 9. ^b Judg. 10. ^c 1 Sam. 11. ^d Joseph. 1. 6. Ant. c. 5. &c. 2 Sam. 10. 4. 18. ^e *Isob*, that is the men of *Thob*: *Thob* is a small territory under *Arnon* hills. *Rehob* is another between *Hazor* and *Sidon*, in the north bound of *Canaan*, Num. 13. 22. of which see in the tribe of *Asher*, Hier. 40. and 41. ^f 2 Chron. 20. ^g 2 Chron. 36. ^h 2 Chron. 25. ⁱ 2 Chron. 27. ^j Another territory adjoining to *Manasseh*, whose limits were confounded with some of these, was that *Thishbitis*, the country of *Thas*, as it is 1 Kings 16. 1. and of *Tobias*, Tob. 1. 2. it lay on the east to the tribe of *Nephthali* on the right hand of it, as in Tob. 1. 2. and was possessed by colonies of *Israelites* in the time of *Saul*, after his victory over the *Amalekites* and *Philistines* in those parts, as it is gathered out of 1 Chron. 5. 10. whence it appears that it was part of *Ituræa*, of which Chap. 7. Sect. 4. † 5 and 6. ^k So they call them of *Mahacath*, of which *Mahacath* somewhat hath been spoken towards the end of the fifth paragraph of this chapter. See 1 Mac. 5. 36. and Deut. 3. 14. and Josh. 12. 5. ^l Mark 5. 13. ^m Anciently, as it seems, it was called *Tophel*. See above in the bounds of *Moab*, in this chapter, Sect. 4. † 2. ⁿ 1 Mac. 5.

he set on fire the ^a temple of their idols, together with all those that fled thereunto for sanctuary; and near it they place the castle of *Carnion*, of which *2 Mac.* xii. 22. Then the strong city of ^b*Ephron* near *Jordan*, which refusing to yield passage to ^c*Judas Maccabeus*, was forced by him by assault, and taken, and burnt with great slaughter.

Jabez Gilead, or *Jabesus*, was another of the cities of this half tribe, which being besieged by ^d*Nabas*, king of the *Ammonites*, was delivered by *Saul*, as is ^e elsewhere mentioned. In memory whereof, the citizens ^f recovered, embalmed, and buried the bodies of *Saul* and his sons, which hung despitefully over the walls of *Bethsan*, or *Scythopolis*. ^g*Gaddara*, or *Gadara*, is next to be named, seat by *Pliny* on a hill near the river *Hieromiace*, which river *Ortelius* seems to think to be *Jaboc*. At the foot of the hill there spring forth also hot baths, as at *Machærus*. *Alexander Jannæus*, after ten months siege, won it, and subverted it. *Pompey* restored it; and *Gabinus* ^h made it one of the five courts of justice in *Palestine*. *Jerusalem* being the first, *Gadara* the second, *Emath*, or *Amathus* the third, *Jericho* and *Sephora* in *Galilee* the fourth and fifth. The citizens impatiently bearing the tyranny of *Herod*, surnamed *Ascalonita*, accused him to *Julius Cæsar* of many crimes; but perceiving that they could not prevail, and that *Herod* was highly favoured of *Cæsar*, fearing the terrible ⁱ revenge of *Herod*, they slew themselves; some by strangling, others by leaping over high towers, others by drowning themselves.

To the east of *Gadara*, they place *Sebei* ^k in which *Josephus*, *Ant.* 5. 13. saith *Jephtha* was buried; whence others reading with the *Vulgar*, *Jud.* xii. 7. *Sepultus est in Civitate sua Gilehad* (for in *una Civitatum Gilehad*) imagine *Gilead* to be the name of a city, and to be the same with *Sebei*. In like manner following the *Vulgar*, *1 Mac.* v. 26. where it readeth *Casphor* for *Chesbon*: the same *Adrichemius* imagineth it to be *Ampla & firma Gilehaditarum civitas*; so of one city *Hesbon*, or *Chesbon*, which they call *Essebon*, the chief city of *Sebon* in the tribe of *Reuben*, he imagineth two more. This *Casphor* in *Manasses*, and a city in *Gad*, which he calleth *Casbon*, of which we have admonished the reader heretofore. Of *Gamala* (so called, because the hill on which it stood, was in fashion like the back of a camel) which *Josephus* placeth not far from *Gadara*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*, over-against *Tarichea*, which is on the west-side of the sea or lake of *Tiberias*. See this in *Josephus*'s fourth book of the *Jewish war*, c. 1. 3. where he describes the place by nature to be almost invincible; and in the story of the siege, shews how *Vespasian*, with much danger of his own person, entering it, was at first repulled, with other very memorable accidents; and how at length, after the coming of *Titus*, when it was taken, many leaping down the rocks, with their wives and children, to the number of five thousand, thus perished; besides four thousand slain by the *Romans*; so that none escaped, save only two women that hid themselves.

About four miles west from *Gadara*, and as much east from *Tiberias* (which is on the other side of the lake) *Josephus* placeth *Hippus*, or *Hippene*, whence ^l*Ptolemy* gives the name to the hills that compass the plains in which it standeth: so that it may seem to have been of no small note. It is seated far from the hill country: on the east of the lake, as also

Pliny noteth, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 15. it was restored by *Pompey*; after by ^m*Augustus* added to *Herod*'s tetrarchy: it was wasted by the *Jews*, in the beginning of their rebellion: when by many massacres of their nation, they were enraged against their borderers.

The next city of note, but of more ancient fame, is ⁿ*Edrehi* or *Edrai*, wherein *Og* king of *Basan* chiefly abode, when *Moses* and *Israel* invaded him: and near unto this his regal city, it was that he lost the battle and his life. It stood in *St. Jerome*'s time; and had the name of *Adar* or *Adara*. Not far from these towns near *Jordan*, in this valley stood *Geraffa* or *Gergeffa*, inhabited by the *Gergefites*, descended of the fifth son of *Canaan*. Of these *Gergefites* we read *Mat.* viii. 28. that Christ coming from the other side of the lake of *Tiberias*, landed in their coasts; where casting the devils out of the possessed, he permitted them to enter into the herd of hogs: in which story, for *Gergefites* or *Gergefins*, ^o*St. Luke* and *St. Mark* have *Gadarens*; not as if these were all one (for *Gergeffa* or *Geraffa* is a distinct town in these parts from *Gadara*) but the bounds being confounded, and the cities neighbours, either might well be named in this story. This city received many changes and calamities, of which *Josephus* hath often mention. For besides other adventures, it was taken by *L. Annius* lieutenant to *Vespasian*; and 1000 of the ablest young men put to the sword, and the city burnt. In the year 1120 it was rebuilt by *Baldwin* king of *Damascus*; and in the same year recovered by *Baldwin de Burgo* king of *Jerusalem*, and by him utterly razed. Near unto *Geraffa* is the village of *Magedan*, or after the *Syriak*, *Magedu*, or after the *Greek*, *Magdala*, where the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*, *Matt.* xv. desired of our Saviour a sign from heaven; the same place, or some adjoining to it, which ^p*St. Mark* calleth *Dalmanutha*. By the circumstances of which story it appears, that this coast lay between the lake of *Tiberias*, and the country of *Decapolis*. ^q*Brochard* makes both these places to be one; and finds it to be *Phiale*, the fountain of *Jordan* according to *Josephus*: but this *Phiale* is too far from the sea of *Galilee*, and from *Bethsaida*, to be either *Magdala* or *Dalmanutha*. For as it appears by the story, not far hence towards the north, was the desert of *Bethsaida*, ^r where Christ filled 5000 people with the five barley loaves and the fishes.

On the north of this *Bethsaida* they place *Julias*, not that which was built by *Herod*, but the other by *Philip*, which boundeth the region *Trachonitis* toward the south. It was sometimes a village, and not long after the birth of Christ it was compassed with a wall by *Philip* the tetrarch of *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis*; and after the name of *Julia*, the wife of *Tiberias* called *Julias*, as hath been farther spoken in the tribe of *Gad*, where it is noted that ^s*Josephus* makes this *Julias* to be the same as *Bethsaida*. Upon the east-side of the same lake of *Tiberias* stands *Corozaim*, or *Corazim*, of which Christ in *Matthew*; *Wo be unto the Corazim*.

But the principal city of all these in ancient time was *Asteroth*, sometime peopled with the giants *Raphaim*; and therefore the country adjoining called the land of giants, of whose race was *Og* king of *Basan*. In *Genesis* xvi. 5. this city is called *Asteroth* of *Carnaim*, whence *1 Mac.* v. 26. is called simply *Carnaim*, as *Josh.* xiii. 21. it is cal-

^a Joseph. 12. Ant. 12. ^b Mac. 5. ^c 2 Mac. 12. 27. ^d 1 Sam. 11. ^e Joseph. 6. Ant. 5. ^f 1 Sam. 31. ^g 1 Chron. 10. ^h Joseph. 14. Ant. 13. ⁱ Joseph. 15. Ant. 13. ^k Of Mitspa in Gilead, the city of Jephtha. See in the tribe of Gad. ^l In Vita Ima. ^m Joseph. bell. Jud. 2. c. 19. ⁿ Of another Edrehi in Nephthalim. See Josh. 19. 37. Deut. 3. 1. and 10. Item Josh. 13. 31. ^o Mark. 5. Luk. 8. ^p Mark. 8. ^q Brochard. Itin. 2. Of this Phiale, see in Naph. c. 7. Sect. 4. { 3. ^r Mat. 14. Mark. 6. Luk. 9. John 6. ^s Joseph. 8. Ant. 3. & alibi

led *Asteroth* without the addition of *Carnaim*. The word *Carnaim* signifieth a pair of horns, which agree well with the name of their idol *Astoreth*, which was the image of a sheep, as it is elsewhere noted, that *Asteroth* in *Deut.* signifieth sheep. Others from the ambiguity of the *Hebrew* take *Karnaim*, to have been the name of the people which inhabited this city, and expound it *Heroes* ^b *radiantes*. For of old the *Raphæi* which inhabited this city, *Gen.* xiv. 5. were giant-like men, as appears by comparing the words *Deut.* iii. 11. *Og ex residuo gigantum*, with the words *Josb.* xiii. 12. *Og ex reliquiis Raphæorum*; but if the *Karnaim*, or *Karnaim*, were those *Raphæi*, the word would not have been in the dual number; neither would *Moses* in the place of *Genesis* have said the *Raphæi* in *Asteroth* of the *Karnaim*, but rather the *Raphæi* in *Asteroth* of the *Raphæi*, or some other way fittest for perspicuity; for this naming of both thus in the same clause, distinguisheth the one from the other.

Not far from *Asteroth*, *Adrichomius* out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbachius* placeth *Cedar* in the way out of *Syria* into *Galilee*, four miles from *Corazin*. This city, saith he, is remembred in the *Canticles*, and in the book of *Judith*, and there are that of this city understand *David* in *Psalms* 120, and here the sepulchre of *Job* is yet to be seen, saith *Breidenbach*.

Now concerning the texts which he citeth, it is so, that the *Greek* hath *Galaad* instead of the word *Cedar*, which the *Vulgar* doth use in that place of *Judith*, and joineth *Carmel* and *Galilee*. The *Canticles*, and the 120th *Psalms* do rather prove, that *Kedar* was not hereabout, than any way help *Adrichomius*. For that they speak of *Scenitæ Cedareni*, it is apparent, and as evident by the place in the *Canticles* that they were *decolorés*, much more than any under the *Climates* of the land of *Canaan*; whence *Junius* out of *Lampridius* and *Pliny*, placeth them in *Arabia Petraea*, far from these parts. Touching the sepulchre of *Job* it is certain that the *Arabians* and *Saracens* (holding those places) feign many things to abuse the Christians, and to get money. Further, it may well be affirmed, that many, if not all, the historical circumstances of *Job* are so obscure, that we should rather by finding his country seek to get some knowledge of him, than by any presumptions founded upon him, infer what his country was, and build unto him a city by conjecture.

Of *Job* himself, whether he were the same *Jobab* remembred in *Genesis* xxxvi. descended from *Esau*, and king also of *Idumea*, tho' ^c *Rupertus*, *Lyranus*, *Oleaster*, and *Bellarmino* are of another opinion, yet *St. Ambrose*, *Augustine*, *Chrysostome*, and *Gregory*, with *Athanasius*, *Hippolytus*, *Irenæus*, *Eusebius Emisenus*, *Apollinaris*, *Eustachius* and others, cited by *St. Jerome* in his 126th epistle to *Evagrius*, take him for the same.

The land of *Huts* or *Hus* wherein *Job* dwelt is from the *Greek* ^d *ἡὺς*, which the *Septuagint* use for the word *Huts*, translated by the *Vulgar* sometimes *Hus*, as *Job* i. 1. sometimes *Ausitis*, as *Jer.* xxv. 20. This land is placed by *Junius* between *Palæstina* and *Cœlesyria*, beside *Chamatba*, or *Hamatba*, under *Palmyrene* in the country called by *Ptolemy*, *Trachonitis* or *Bathanea*, the bounds of which countries are confounded with *Basan* in this half tribe of *Manassêb*. And that this land of

Hus was thus seated, it may in part be gathered out of the place of *Jeremiah* xxv. 20. where he reckons the *Hushites* among the promiscuous borderers of the *Israelites*, whom he therefore calleth promiscuous or *miscellaneam turbam*, because their bounds were not only joined but confounded, and their *Seignories* mingled one with the other, but of this place the words of *Jeremiah*, *Lam.* iv. 21. speaking of the same prophecy, of which he speaketh in the five and twentieth chapter, must needs be expounded; as *Junius* reads them, distinguishing the land of *Hus* from *Edom*: *O filia Edomi, ô quæ habitas in terra Hutzî*; *O daughter of Edom, O thou which dwellest in the land of Hus*. Now because the *Vulgar* doth not so distinguish, but readeth, *Filia Edom quæ habitas in terra Hus*; *Daughter of Edom which dwellest in the land of Hus*: Hence, as it seems, some of the learned have thought that *Job* was an *Edomite*, as we have said, and king of *Edom*; which if they understand by it *Idumæa* or *Edom*, so called in *Moses's* time, they are greatly mistaken, making this land of *Hus* to be in *Idumæa*, *Deut.* iii. 9. For it is very probable, that *Esau*, when he first parted from *Jacob*, did not seat himself in *Edom*, or *Seir*, which lieth on the south border of *Judea*, but inhabited *Seir* far to the east of *Jordan*, and held a part of those mountains otherwise called *Galaad* and *Elæmon*, which by corruption the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites*, *Shenir* for *Seir*, and from this his habitation did *Esau* encounter *Jacob*, when he returned out of *Mesopotamia*, who passed by the very border of *Esau's* abiding. It is true, that at such time as *Moses* wandred in the deserts, that the posterity of *Esau* inhabited *Seir* to the south of *Judea*. For it is like that the *Amorites*, who had beaten both *Ammon* and *Moab*, did also drive the *Edomites* out of those parts, who thenceforward seated themselves to the south of *Judea*, bordering the desert *Paran*, and stretched their habitations over the deserts as far as *Hôr*, where *Aaron* died.

Now for this *Hus*, which gave the name to a part of the land of *Trachonitis*, whether it were *Hus* the son of *Aram*, as *Junius* thinks in his note upon *Gen.* x. 23. or rather *Hus* the son of *Nachor*, *Abraham's* brother, the question is doubtful. For my part I rather incline to think, that it was *Hus* the son of *Nachor*; partly because these families of *Aram* seem long before to have been lost; and partly because in *Job.* xxxii. 2. *Elibu* the fourth of *Job's* friends, which seems to be of *Job's* own country, is called a ^e *Buzite*, of *Buz*, the brother of *Hus*, the son of *Nachor*; as also *Jer.* xxv. in the same continuation (tho' some other nations named between) where *Hus* is spoken of, there *Buz* is also named. Neither doth it hinder our conjecture, that in the place of *Job* xxxii. *Elibu* the *Buzite* is said to be of the family of *Ram* (which *Junius* expounds to be as much as of the family of *Aram*;) for that by this *Aram* we are not to understand *Aram* the son of *Shem*, *Junius* himself maketh it plain, both in his annotation upon the beginning of his book, where he saith that one of *Job's* friends (which must needs be this *Elibu*) was of the posterity of *Nachor* (as also in this place he confesseth so much expressly) and in as much as he readeth not, *de familia Aram*, or *Ram*, but *de familia Syra*; like as elsewhere *Laban* who sprung of *Nachor* is called a *Syrian*.

^a See chap. 7. Sect. 3. † 2. ^b Because horn when it is polished shineth; hence it is that the verb of this noun is sometimes *lucere*; as it were *cornu esse: uterque* upon the *Vulgar*, *Exod.* 34. 10. *reading cornuam carneam, or lucidam faciem, gave occasion to the fabulous painters to paint Moses with horns*, *Judith* i. 8. † *Cant.* 5. ^c *Rup. Lyr. Oleast. in Gen. bell. in Com. lib. 1. de verb. Dei* *St. Amb. sup. Ep. ad Rom. Aug. de civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 4. Chryl. Hom. 2. De patientia Job. Greg. com. in Job.* ^d For *ov* and *aw* are often changed one into the other: whence they used *Ausitis* for *Onitis*, &c. Hence also by *Junius* and others it is called *Ausitis*, and so as it seem they read it in the *Septuagint*. *Jun. in Gen. 10. 23.* ^e Whence the *Septuagint* calls him, *ex regione Ausitis*. As

As for the ^aother three of *Job's* friends (of whom by this note of *Elibu's* being of the *Syrian* family, or the family of *Nachor*) it is implied that they were of other kindreds; as also by the *Septuagint's* addition, that this *Elibu* was of the land of *Hus*, or *Ausitis*, it is implied that they thought only *Elibu* to have been of *Job's* own country.

Franciscus Brochard the monk, in his description of the holy land in the journey from *Acon* eastward, findeth *Suetba*, and *Theman* on the east of the sea of *Galilee*, both very near to the land of *Hus*; whereof the one may seem to have denominated *Bildad* the *Shuchite*; the other *Eliphaz* the *Themanite*; two of the three friends of *Job*, of the which *Job*. ii. 11. But *Junius* thinks that the *Shuchites* were inhabitants of *Arabia* the desert, descended of *Shuach* the son of *Abraham* and *Ketura*; of whom *Genesis* xxv. 2. perhaps, saith he, the same whom *Pliny* calls *Sacchæi*. So also he thinketh the *Themanites*, of whom *Eliphaz* was, to have been of *Arabia* the desert; and *Eliphaz* himself to have been of the posterity of *Theman* the son of *Eliphaz*, which was the son of *Esau*. And so also *Nabamah* whence *Tophar* the third of *Job's* friends (which in this place of *Job* ii. 11. are mentioned) is by the same learned expositor thought either to be named of *Thimnah* by transposition of letters (which *Thimnah*, *Gen.* xxxvi. 40. is named among the sons of *Esau* that gave denomination to the places where they are seated) or else to be the same *Nabamah*, which *Josh.* xv. 41. is reckoned for a city of *Juda* in the border, as he thinks, of *Edom*. And yet I deny not, but that near to the land of *Hus*, in *Basán*, as it seems, in the tribe of *Manasses*, there is a region which at least in latter times was called *Suitis*, or of some like name. For this is evident by the history of ^b*Gulielmus Tyrius*, which reports of a fort in this region of *Suita* or *Suitis* (as he calls it diversly) of exceeding great strength and use for the retaining of the whole country: which in the time of *Baldwin* the 2d king of *Jerusalem*, was with great digging thro' rocks recovered by the Christians; having not long before been lost to the great disadvantage of the country, while it was in the hands of the *Saracens*. The situation of this fort is by *Tyrius* described to be 16 miles from the city *Tiberias*, on the east of *Jordan*; by *Adrichomius* 4 miles northward from the place where *Jordan* enters the lake *Tiberias* at *Corazin*.

Other cities of this part of *Manasses* named in the scripture are these; *Golan*, *Bebeshtera*, *Mitspah* of *Gilead*, and *Kenath*, which after the coming of the *Israelites* was called *Nobach*. Of *Nobach* or *Kenath*, and *Mitspah* of *Gilead*, we have spoken by occasion among the cities of *Gad*: the two other were given to the *Levites*, and *Golan* made one of the cities of refuge; from which *Golan* we have both *Gaulanitis superior* & *inferior*, oft in *Josephus*. *Bebeshtera* is accounted the chief city of *Basán* by some, but the writers corrupting the name into *Bozra*, it is confounded with *Betser* or *Bozra* of *Reuben*, and with *Bozra* of *Edom*. *Argob* is oft named for a region in this tract, and hence *Jerome* hath *Arga*, a name of a city placed by some about the waters of *Merom* (as they are called by *Joshua*) which make the lake *Samachonitis*, as *Josephus* calls it. This lake being as it were in the midst between *Cæsaria Philippi* and *Tiberias*, through which, as through the lake of *Tiberias*, *Jordan* runneth, boundeth part of this half tribe on the west. When the snow of *Libanus* melteth, it is very large, saith *Brochard*; otherwise more contract, leaving the

marsh ground on both sides, for lions and other wild beasts, which harbour in the shrubs that plentifully grow there.

Adjoining to this lake in this country of *Manasses*, *Josephus* names two places of strength fortified by himself in the beginning of the *Jews* rebellion: *Seleucia* the one, and *Sogane* the other. In the north side of this half tribe of *Manasseh*, and in the north-east, the scripture nameth divers bordering places towards *Damascus*, as *Tsedad Chauran*, and *Chatsar Henan*, lying in a line drawn from the west; of which three cities we read *Ezek.* xlvii. 16. with which also agrees the place *Numb.* xxxiv. 8. where for *Chauran*, between *Tsedad*, and *Chatsar-benan*, *Zipbron* is named. From this *Chauran* is the name of *Auranitis regio*, in *Josephus* and *Tyrius*, whose bounds (as also the bounds of *Gessur* and *Mabachath* or *Macati*, which were likewise borderers to *Manasses* towards the north-east) are unknown; only that *Gessur* was of might, it appears in that *David* married ^d*Mabaca* the daughter of *Tholmay* king of *Gessur*; by whom he had the most beautiful, but wicked, and unfortunate *Abfalon*.

C H A P. XI.

The history of the Syrians, the chief borderers of the Israelites, that dwelt on the east of Jordan.

S E C T. I.

Of the city of Damascus, and the divers fortunes thereof.

D*amascus* of all other in this border, and of that part of the world, was the most famous, excelling in beauty, antiquity, and riches, and was therefore called the city of joy or gladness, and the house of pleasure; and is not only remembered in many places of scripture, but by the best historians and cosmographers. The *Hebrews*, saith ^e*Josephus* i. 14. think it to have been built by *Hus* the son of *Aram*; of which opinion *St. Jerome* upon *Isaiah* xvii. seemeth to be; tho' in his *Hebrew* questions he affirmeth that it was founded by *Damascus*, the son of *Eliezer* ^f*Abraham's* steward, a thing very unlikely, seeing the city was formerly known by that name, as appears by *Abraham's* calling this his steward *Eliezer* of *Damascio*. *David* was the first that subjected it to the kingdom of *Juda*, after the overthrow of *Adadezer* their king; but in *Solomon's* time, *Rezon* recovered it again, tho' he had no title at all or right to that principality: but *David* having overthrown *Nadad* king of *Sophona* (otherwise *Syria*, *Soba* or *Zobah*) *Rezon* or *Rezon* with the remainder of that broken army, invaded ^g*Damascena*, and possess'd *Damascus* it self, and became an enemy to *Solomon* all his life.

The next king of *Damascus* was *Adad* the *Edomite*, who flying into *Egypt* from ^h*David*, and *Joab*, when they slew all the males in *Edom*, was there entertained, and married *Taphnes* the king of *Egypt's* wife's sister, of whom *Taphnes* in *Egypt* was so called. This *Adad* returning again became an enemy to *Solomon*, all his life, and (as some writers affirm) invaded *Damascus*, and thrust *Rezon* thence out. In the line of *Adad* that kingdom continued nine descents (as hereafter may be shewed in the catalogue of those kings of *Syria*) to whom

^a See Sixtus Senensis. ^b De Bell. Sacr. l. 22. c. 15. & 21. ^c Josh. 21. 27. ^d Deut. 4. 43. ^e 1 Chron. 3. 2. ^f Joseph. ^g 1 Kings 11. 40. ^h 1 Kings 11. 11.

the *Affyrians* and then the *Grecians* succeeded. This city was exceeding strong, compassed with waters from the rivers of ^a *Abanah* and *Parphar*; whereof one of those prophane writers call *Chrysostrboas*, the golden river. *Junius* takes it for *Adonis*. The country adjoining is very fruitful of excellent wines and wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very strong castle built, as it seems, by the ^b *Florentines* after it became Christian: the lilies being found cut in many marbles in that citadel. Against this city the prophets ^c *Amos*, *Isaiab*, *Jeremiab*, and *Zacharias*, prophesied that it should be taken, burnt, demolished, and made a heap of stones. In the time of the last *Rezon*, and tenth king of the *Damascenes*, *Teglathphalassar* invited by *Achaz* king of ^d *Juda*, carried away the naturals of *Damascus* into the east, leaving of his own nation to inhabit it. After that it was utterly ruined by the *Babylonians*, said *Jerome* upon *Isaiab* xvii. which thing was performed by *Salmanasar* according to *Junius*, in his note upon that place, 5 years after the prophecy. In time it was restored by the *Macedonians*, and the *Ptolemies*; but long after when *Syria* fell into the hands of the *Romans*, it was taken by ^e *Metellus* and *Lollius*. In the time of the Christians it had an archbishop: *St. Jerome* living, as he affirmeth upon the *Acts*, it was the metropolis of the *Saracens*, being taken by *Hlaomar* their king from the *Romans*, in the year of our redemption 636. And in the year ^f 1147, *Conrad* the third, emperor of *Rome*, *Lewis* king of *France*, *Baldwin* the third king of *Jerusalem*, *Henry* duke of *Austria*, brother to *Conrad*, ^g *Frederick Barbarossa* afterwards emperor, *Theodorick* earl of *Flanders*, and other princes assembled at *Ptolomais Acon*, on the sea coast, determined to recover *Damascus*; but being betray'd by the *Syrians*, they failed of the enterprize.

In the year 1262, *Halon* the *Tartar* incompass'd it, and having formerly taken the king, brought him under the walls, and threatened extream torture unto him, except the citizens surrendred the place; but they refusing it, the ^h king was torn asunder before them, and in fine the city taken, *Agab* the son of *Halon* was by his father made king thereof.

In the year ⁱ 1400, *Tamberlain* emperor of the *Parthians*, invaded that region, and besieged the city with an army of 1200000 (if the number be not mistaken.) He entred it and put all to the sword, filling the ditch with his prisoners, those that retired into the castle, which seemed a place impregnable, he over-topped with another castle adjoining; he forbore the demolishing of the city in respect of the beauty of the church, garnished with 40 gates or sumptuous porches. It had within it 9000 lanterns of gold and silver; but while he invaded *Egypt* they again surprized *Damascus*. Lastly, in his return after three months siege he forc'd it; the *Mahometans*, prostrating themselves with their priests, desired mercy: but *Tamberlain* commanding them to enter the church, he burnt them, and it, to the number of 30000, and did so demolish it, as those that came afterwards to see their houses, knew them not by their foundations. And as a trophy of his victory, he raised three towers with great art, built with the heads of those whom he had slaughtered. After this it was restored and repossessed by the soldan of *Egypt*, with a garrison of *Mammalukes*. And in the year 1517, *Selim* emperor of the *Turks* wrested it out of the hands of the *Egyptians*; in whose possession it now remain-

eth inhabited with *Mahometans* and *Christians*, of all neighbouring nations.

SECT. II.

Of the first kings of Damascus, and of the growing up of their power.

NOW be it that *Damascus* were founded by ^j *Hus* the son of *Aram*, or by *Damascus* the son of *Eliezer*, *Abraham's* steward, we find no relation of their kings, or common-wealth till *David's* time. For it stood without the bounds of *Canaan*; and therefore neglected by *Moses*, *Joshua*, and *Judges*, as impertinent to that story: but were it so that it had some *reguli*, or petty kings over it, as all the cities of those parts had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till such time as *David* overthrew *Adadezer* prince of *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*; the same nation which ^k *Pliny* calleth *Nubæi*, inhabiting between *Batania* and *Euphrates*. Now the better to understand the story of those *Syrian* princes, whom soon after the kings of *Damascus* made their vassals, the reader may inform himself, that on the north-east parts of the holy land there were three chief principalities whereof the kings or commanders greatly vexed or disturbed the state or commonwealth of ^l *Israel*, namely *Damascus* or *Aram*, *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Chamath Zoba*, of which these were the princes in *David's* and *Solomon's* times: *Razon* or *Rezon* of *Damascus*, *Adadezer* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Tobu* of *Chamath*. But it seemeth that *Damascus* was one of the cities subject to *Adadezer* when *David* invaded him, tho' when *Saul* made war against *Zoba*, *Damascus* was not named. And as *Josephus* affirmeth, the leader of those succours, which were levied and sent to *Hadad-Hezer* from *Damascus*, had the name of *Adad*: who was in that battle slain with ^m 22000 *Aramites* of *Damascus*; whereof, as of the overthrow of *Adadezer*, *Rezon* the commander of his army, taking advantage, made himself king of *Damascus*: *Adadezer* and ⁿ *Adad* of *Damascus* being both slain. About the same time *Tobu* king of *Chamath* or *Iturea*, hearing that his neighbour and enemy *Adadezer* was utterly overthrown, sendeth for peace to *David*, and presented him with rich gifts, but *in dolo*, saith *St. Jerome*; it was craftily done of him. Now to the north of the holy land, and to the west of *Damascus*, the *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* inhabited; but they for the most part were in league and peace with the *Judeans* and *Israelites*. But to return to the kings of *Syria*, I mean of *Syria* as it is taken in the scriptures, containing *Damascena*, *Soba* or *Zoba*, and *Chamath* or *Iturea*, to which I may add *Geshur*, because it is so accounted in ^o *2 Sam.* xv. as joining in the territory to *Damascus* (for *Syria* at large is far greater, of which *Palestina* it self is but a province, as I have noted in the beginning of this tract. It is not agreed among the historians of former times, nor of our later writers, who was the first of those *Adads* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Damascus*.

Some account *Rezon*, others *Adad* of *Idumea*: of whom it is written in the 1st of *Kings*, that *David* having invaded that region, and left *Joab* therein to destroy all the male children thereof: *Adad* of the king's seed, fled into *Egypt*, and was there married to *Taphnes* the queen's sister as before; who hearing of *David's* death, and the death of his captain *Joab* (whom indeed all the border-

^a 2 King. 5. ^b Herold. 6. Bell. Sac. c. 1. 3. 8. 10. & 17. 49. & 9. ^d 2 Kings 16. ^e Joseph. Ant. 4. ^f Onaplianus in Chron. ^g Varr. c. 46. Will. Tyr. Bell. Sac. l. 17. c. 1. 23. 4. 5. ^h Herold. Bel. Sac. 4. c. 14. ⁱ Herold. l. 6. c. 4. ^j Plin. l. 6. c. 28. ^k 1 Sam. 14. 47. ^l 2 Sam. 8. ^m 1 Kings 11.

ing nations feared) he turned again; and, as *Bunting* thinketh, this *Adad* did expel *Rezon* out of *Damascus*, and was the first of the Syrian kings. To me it seemeth otherwise. For as I take it, ^a *Adadezer* the son of *Rehob*, whom *Saul* invaded, was the founder of that principality; and the first of *Adads*, who forsaking his father's name, as he grew powerful, took upon him the style of *Adad*, the great god of the *Affyrians*, saith *Macrobius*, which signifieth oneness or unity. I also find a city called *Adada* in the same part of *Syria*: of which whether these princes took the name or gave it, I am ignorant. For *Adad-ezer*, *Ben-adad*, *Eli-adad* were the same in name, with the differences of *Ezer*, *Ben*, and *Eli*, adjoined. And that *Adadezer* was of greatest power, it appeareth, first because it is against him, that *Davida* undertook the war; secondly, because he levied 22000 *Aramites* out of the territory of *Damascus*; as out of his proper dominions: for had the *Damascenes* had a king apart, it is probable that the scriptures would have given us his name; thirdly, because *Syria Zoba*, of the most of which *Adadezer* was king, was an exceeding large territory, and contained of *Arabia* the desert as far as to *Euphrates*, according to ^b *Pliny*, and the greatest part of *Arabia Petraea*, according to *Niger*. Whosoever was the first, whether *Adadezer* or *Adad* of *Idumea*, *Rezon* was the second: ^c *Who was an enemy to Israel all the days of Solomon*. Besides, the evil that *Adad* did seemeth to be referred to *Hadad* of *Idumea*, lately returned out of *Egypt*, to wit, 23 years after he was carried thither.

The third king of *Damascus*, and of *Zobab* both, was *Hezion*; to *Hezion* succeeded *Tabrimmon*, or *Tabremmon*; to him *Benbadad*, as is proved in ¹ *Kings* xv. 18. For *Afa* king of *Juda*, the son of *Abiam*, the son of *Roboam*, the son of *Solomon*, being vexed and invaded by *Baasha*, the successor of *Nadab*, the son of *Jeroboam*, sent to *Benbadad*, the son of *Tabrimmon* the son of *Hezion* king of *Aram*, that dwelt at *Damascus*, to invade *Israel* (while *Baasha* sought to fortify *Rama* against *Afa*; thereby to block him up, that he should not enter into any of the territories of *Israel*) who according to the desire of *Afa*, having received his presents, willingly invaded the country of *Nephtalim*, and took divers cities, and spoils thence: ^d *Afa* in the mean while carrying away all the materials, which *Baasha* had brought to fortify *Rama* withal, and converted them to his own use.

This *Benbadad*'s father *Tabremmon* was in league with *Afa*: and so was his father *Hezion*; for *Afa* requireth the continuance of that friendship from *Benbadad*, his son; tho' it seemeth that the gold and silver sent him out of the temple, was the most forcible argument. And that this *Tabremmon* invaded *Israel*, before the enterprise of his son *Benbadad*, it is conjectured. For *Benbadad*, when he was prisoner with *Achab*, spoke as followeth. ^e *The cities which my father took from thy father, I will restore; and thou shalt make streets or keepers of the borders, for thee in Damascus; as my father did in Samaria*. And herein there ariseth a great doubt (if the argument it self were of much importance) because *Tabremmon* was father indeed to *Benbadad* which invaded *Baasha*, at the request of *Afa*. But this *Benbadad* that twice entred upon ^f *Achab*, and was the second time taken prisoner, was rather the son of *Benbadad*, the first of that name, the confederate of *Afa* and *Abiam*, as before, than

the son of *Tabremmon*: For between the invasion of *Benbadad* the first, in *Baasha*'s time, and the siege of *Samaria*, and the overthrow of *Benbadad* by *Achab*, there pass'd 49 years, as may be gathered out of the reigns of the kings of *Israel*. So that if we allow 30 years of age to *Benbadad*, when he invaded *Baasha*, and after that 49 years, ere he was taken by *Achab*, which make 79 years, it is unlikely that *Benbadad*, at such an age, should make war. Besides all this, the first *Benbadad* came with no such pomp, but the second *Benbadad* vaunteth, that he was followed with 32 kings; and therefore I resolve that *Benbadad* the son of *Tabremmon* invaded *Baasha* and *Omri*, and *Benbadad* the second invaded *Achab*, at whose hands this *Benbadad* received two notorious overthrows; the first at *Samaria*, by a fall of 700 *Israelites*; the second at *Aphec*, where with the like number in effect the *Israelites* slaughtered 100000 of the ^g *Aramites*, besides 27000, which were crush'd by the fall of the wall of *Aphec*. And this *Benbadad* again setteth at liberty; to whom he rendreth those towns, that his father had taken from the predecessor of *Achab*; but being returned, he refused to surrender *Ramoth-Gilead*, a frontier town, and of great importance. Now three years alters (for so long the league lasted) ^h *Ramoth* not being delivered, *Achab* invadeth *Gilead*, and besiegeth the city, being assisted by *Jehosaphat*. The *Aramites* came to succour and fight, in which *Achab* is wounded, and died that night. After this, *Benbadad* sendeth the commander of his forces ⁱ *Naaman*, to *Joram* the son of *Achab*, to be healed of the leprosy; and tho' *Elizeus* had healed him, yet he picketh quarrel against *Joram*: and when *Joram* by *Elizeus*'s intelligence, had escaped his plot, he sent men and chariots to take the prophet, as is aforesaid. After ^k *Benbadad* besiegeth *Samaria* again; and being terrified thence from ^l heaven, he departeth home, and sickneth, and sendeth *Azael* with great gifts to *Elizeus*, to know his estate, if he might live. *Azael* returning, smothereth him. *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* call this *Benbadad*, *Adar*, the son of *Adar*: ^m *Amos* and *Jeremiah* mention the towers of *Benbadad*. *Josephus* writeth, that *Benbadad* and his successor *Azael*, were worshipped for gods, by the *Syrians* to his time, for the sumptuous temples which they built in ⁿ *Damascus*. The *Syrians* also boasted much of their antiquity, ignorant, saith he, that scarce yet 1100 years are compleat, since their wars with the *Israelites*.

Hazael or *Azael*, the first king of the race of the *Adads* of *Damascus*, was anointed by *Elisha*, or *Elizeus*, when he was sent by *Benbadad* to the prophet, to know whether *Benbadad* should recover his present fit of sickness. He waged war with *Joram*, who received divers wounds at the encounter at *Ramoth* in *Gilead*; from whence returning to be cured at *Jesrael*, he and the king of *Juda*, *Ahaziah*, or *Ochozias*, are slain by *Jehu*, as before is said. After the death of *Joram*, *Azael* continued the war against *Jehu*, and wasted *Gilead*, and all those portions of ^o *Gad*, *Reuben*, and *Manasseh*, over *Jordan*. He then invadeth *Juda*, and took *Gath*; but by gifts from *Joas*, he was averted from attempting *Jerusalem*: for he presented him with all the ^p *hallowed things which Jehosaphat, Jehoram, and Ahaziah, his fathers, kings of Juda had dedicated, and which he himself had dedicated; and all the gold which was found in the treasures of the Lord, and in the king's house*. This was the second time that the temple was spoiled, to please the *Adads*

^a 2 Sam. 8. 3, 12. ^b Plin. 1. 6. c. 18. ^c 1 Kings 11. ^d 1 Kings 15. 18. ^e 1 Kings 20. 34. ^f 1 Kings 15. ^g 1 Kings 20. ^h 1 Kings 22. ⁱ 2 Kings 5. ^j 2 Kings 6. ^k 2 Kings 6. ^l 2 Kings 7. ^m Amos 1. Jer 49. ⁿ Ant. 1. 8. c. 8. ^o 2 Kings 12. 17. ^p 2 Kings 12.

of *Damascus*: for ^a*Afa* did present *Benbadad* with those treasures, when he invited him to war upon *Baasha*, king of *Israel*. And notwithstanding this composition between *Joas* and *Azael*, yet a part of his army spoiled the other provinces of *Judea*, and slaughtered many principal persons. Lastly, ^b*Azael* vexed *Joahas* the son of *Jehu*, and brought him to that extremity, as he left him but fifty horsemen, ten chariots, and ten thousand footmen of all his people.

S E C T. III.

Of the later kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.

AFTER *Hazael*, *Benbadad* the second, or rather the third of that name, the son of *Hazael*, reigned in *Damascus*, who fought against *Israel* with ill success: for ^c*Joas*, king of *Israel*, the son of the unhappy *Joachaz*, as he was foretold by ^d*Elisba* the prophet, beat *Benbadad* in three several battles; and he lost all those cities to *Israel*, which his father *Hazael* had taken violently from *Joachaz*.

Afterwards this *Benbadad*, the son of *Hazael*, there succeed 3 others of the same name, of whom the stories are lost; only *Nicholaus Damascenus*, cited by ^e*Josephus*, makes mention of them: and in one of these king's times it was, that *Jeroboam* the 2d, the son of ^f*Joas*, recovered *Damascus* it self, to *Judah*, saith the *Geneva*; but better in *Junius*, *utque recuperabat Damascus, & Camatham Jebudæ, pro Israele*; that is, And how he recovered for *Israel*, *Damascus*, and *Camatha* of *Judea*: for these cities, sometimes conquered by *David*, did of right belong to the tribe of *Juda*.

And it is likely that this conquest upon the *Adads* was performed; the first of these three *Adads* then living, of whom there is no story. For when as *Jehoas* the king of the ten tribes had thrice overcome the *Syrians* in the time of *Benbadad*, the son of *Hazael*, and had recovered the cities which *Hazael* had won from *Israel*; and so left his kingdom to his son *Jeroboam* the 2d: it seemeth, that this *Jeroboam*, without delay, and having nothing else left for him to enterprise, instantly followed his father's good fortune, and invaded *Damascus*.

Razin, or *Rezin*, after *Josephus Rases*, after *Zonaras Raason* the 10th, *Adad*, making league with *Pekab*, or *Phacas*, king of *Israel*, against *Achaz*, king of *Juda*: both carry away a great number of prisoners. After this they both besiege *Achaz* in *Jerusalem*; but in vain. Then ^g*Adad* alone invadeth *Elatb*; and beating out the Jews, maketh it a colony of *Syrians*. Wherefore *Achab* brought ^h*Teglatphalassar* against *Razin*, who took him, and beheaded him, and won *Damascus*; with whom ended the line of the *Adads*, and the kingdom of *Damascus*; the *Affyrians* becoming masters both of that and *Israel*. These *Adads*, as they reigned in order, are thus reckoned:

1. *Adadezer*, the son of *Rebob*.
2. *Rezin*, the son of *Eliadad*, or *Razin*.
3. *Hexion*.
4. *Tabrommon*.
5. *Benbadad*, who invadeth *Baasha*.
6. *Bonbadad* the second, taken prisoner by *Achab*.
7. *Hazael*, whom *Elisba* foretold with tears, of his advancement; the same who overthrew *Joram*, king of *Israel*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. And that there was a second *Hazael*, which preceded *Benbadad* the third, it is not improbable, because that *Hazael* which took *Geth*, and compounded

the war with *Joas*, made the expedition thirty years, and perhaps more, after the first *Hazael*, which stifled his master *Benbadad*, and had slain *Joram* the son of *Achab*, king of *Israel*. For *Joas* began to reign in the seventh year of *Jehu*, king of *Israel*; and after he had reigned twenty three years, the temple was not yet repaired; after which (and how long we know not) it is said, that *Hazael* took *Geth*, and turned his face towards *Jerusalem*. It is also some proof, that *Hazael* which took *Geth*, was not the same with *Hazael* that murdered *Benbadad*, because he could not at that time but be of good years, being, as it seemeth, the second person in the kingdom, and commander of *Benbadad*'s men of war. To this *Hazael*, be he the first or second, succeeded,

8. *Benbadad* the 3d, whom *Joash*, king of *Israel*, thrice overthrew.

9. *Rezin*, or *Rezin* the last, who joined with *Pekab*, king of *Israel*, against *Juda*, at which time *Achaz*, king of *Juda*, waged for his defence *Teglatphalassar*.

Now between *Benbadad* the 3d, and *Rezin* the last, *Nicholaus Damascenus* finds 3 other kings of the *Adads*, which make 12 in all.

For the rest of the princes of *Syria*, which were but *Reguli*, as those of ⁱ*Emath*, and *Gessur*, we find that *Tobu* was king of *Emath*, or *Chamath* in *David*'s time, to whom he sent his son *Joram* with presents, after *David*'s victory against *Adadezer*. Also ^k*Sennacherib* speaketh of a king of *Emath*, but nameth him not.

S E C T. IV.

Of other lesser kingdoms of the Syrians, which being brought under the Affyrians, never recovered themselves again.

OF *Gessur* we find two kings named, to wit, *Talmi*, and his father *Ammibur*. To *Talmi*, whose daughter *David* married, it was that *Abalom* fled, who was his maternal grandfather. Of the kings of *Sophena*, or *Syria*, *Soba*, or *Cœlesyria*, there are two named, *Rebob*, or *Rechob*, the father of *Adadezer*, and *Adadezer* himself; and it is plain, that after his death, the seat of the kings of *Soba*, was transferred to *Damascus*, a city better fitting their greatness. After, *Rezin* became lord of both principalities. And the race of these kings of *Syria* (which became so potent, and joined *Soba*, *Damascus*, *Emath*, and the desert of *Arabia*, with other provinces, into one, under *Rezin* the second of the *Adads*) as it began with *David*, so it ended at once with the kingdom of *Israel*. For *Abaz* king of *Juda*, waged the *Affyrian Teglatphalassar* against *Pekab*, king of *Israel*, and against *Rezin*, the last king of *Damascus*; which *Teglatb* first invaded *Damascena*, and the region of *Soba*, and took *Damascus* it self; and did put to death *Rezin* the last, carrying the inhabitants captive. This was the second time that the *Affyrians* attempted *Israel*: for first, *Phul Belochus* entered the borders thereof (*Menabem* governing *Israel*) who stop'd the enterprize of *Phul*, with a thousand talents of silver: for this *Phul Belochus*, whose pedigree we will examine hereafter, being scarce warm as yet in his seat at *Babylon*, which he, with the help of his companion *Arbaces*, had wrested from *Sardanapalus*; having besides this king of *Syria* in his way, who seemed to be a great and strong

^a 1 Kings 15.
^e 2 Kings 16. 5.

^b 2 Kings 13. 7.
^h 1 Sam. 7. Joseph. Ant. 1. 9. c. 12.

^c 2 Kings 13.

^d Joseph. Ant. c. 9.
^k 2 Sam. 8. 9.

^e Joseph. Ant. 1. 7. c. 6.

^f 2 Kings 14. 25.

prince, was content to take the composition of a thousand talents of the king of *Israel*, for that present time. But his son *Teglath*, following the purpose of his father *Belochus*, and finding so excellent an occasion, as the war begun between *Israel* and *Judah*, *Pekah* commanding in the one, and *Achaz* in the other, his neighbour *Rezin* being also wrapt in that war, and wasted in strength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of *Achaz* king of *Judah*, his impress and entertainment. So, first attempting *Damascus*, which lay in his path towards *Israel*, he carried it (as is before remembred) and then with great ease possess'd himself of the cities of *Nephthulim*, leading with him a great part of the people captive. And his son *Salmanassar*, whom *Ptolemy* calleth *Nabonassar*, after the revolt of *Hosea*, forced *Samaria*, and rent that kingdom asunder. So as the line and race of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, whom *Belochus* supplanted; the race and monarchy of the *Syrian Adads* in *Rezin*, whom *Teglath* slaughtered, the kingdom of *Israel* in *Hosea*, whom *Salmanassar* overturned, happened near about a time; that of *Ninus*, in the days of *Belochus*, and the other two in the days of *Teglathphalassar*, and *Salmanassar* his son. For *Sardanapalus* perished, *Osia* ruling *Judah*; and the other two kingdoms were dissolved, *Achaz* yet living.

Lastly, The kingdom of *Judah* itself being attempted by *Sennacherib*, the son of *Salmanassar*, in vain, and preserved for the time by God, miraculously, was at length utterly overturned. *Jerusalem* and the temple burnt, an hundred thirty-two years after the captivity of *Israel* and *Samaria*; the destruction of *Israel* being in the ninth year of *Hosea*; that of *Judah* in the 11th of *Zedekiah*. Now the emperors of *Affyria* and *Babylon*, held also the kingdom of *Syria*, from the eighth year of *Salmanassar*, to the last of *Baltassar*, whom *Herodotus* calleth *Labynitus*; in all about two hundred years. After these, the *Persians*, from *Cyrus* to *Darius* their last king, held *Syria* about two hundred years.

Then *Alexander Macedon* took this among other provinces of the *Persian* empire; and his successors the *Seleucide* reigned therein, till it became subject to the power of the *Romans*, from whom it was wrested long after by the *Saracens*, and remaineth now in possession of the *Turk*, as shall be shewed in due place. Thus much of the nations bordering upon the *Israelites*, with whom they had most to do, both in war and peace, being the only people, whose history in those ancient times carried an assured face of truth.

C H A P. XII.

Of the tribe of Benjamin, and of Jerusalem.

S E C T. I.

Of divers memorable places in the tribe of Benjamin, whereof Jericho, Gilgal, Mitspah, Bethel, Rama, Gobah, and Gibha.

Of the tribe of *Benjamin*, the twelfth and youngest son of *Jacob*, whom he had by *Rachel*, there were mustered at mount *Sinai*, 35000 able bodies; all which perishing in the deserts, there entered the *Holy Land* of their issues, 45600 fit to bear arms: and these had their

territory on this side *Jordan*, between *Judah* and *Ephraim*. The cities within this tribe, nearest *Jordan*, are *Lod*, *Hadid*, and *Ono*; of which *Lod* and *Ono* were built by *Shemed*, a *Benjamite*, 1 Chron. viii. 12. they were all three re-inhabited with *Benjamites*, after the return out of captivity, as is mentioned, *Nehem.* xi. 35. and *Esdras* ii. 35. where *Adrichomius* reading *Lod*, *Hadid*, *Ono*, makes besides *Hadid* in *Nehemiah*, a city called *Lothadid*. This *Hadid*, or *Chadid*, was rebuilt by *Simon Maccabeus*, 1 Mac. xii. 38.

Samarim, or *Tjemaraim*, named of *Tjemary*, one of the sons of *Canaan*, was another of their cities; and further into the land standeth *Jericho*, one of the toparchies, and the last of *Judah*; seated in a most fruitful valley, adorned with many palm-trees, and therefore elsewhere called the city of *Palms*, 1 Kings xvii. 36. From the time of *Joshua*, who utterly destroyed it, it lay waste until the time of *Achab*; in whose days *Isriel* of *Bethel* laid the new foundation of it in the loss of *Abiram* his eldest son, and built the gates of it in the loss of his youngest son *Segub*, according to the curse of *Joshua*; in which, and other respects, *Hosea* xii. 14. calleth *Joshua* a prophet. In after-times it was destroyed by *Vespasian*, and rebuilt by *Adrian*.

To the south-east of *Jericho*, stood *Halmon* of the *Levites*, of which *Josh.* xxi. 18. to the south, *Bethabara*, of which *Josh.* xv. and xviii. then that *Gilgal*, of which there is so much mention in the scripture, where *Joshua* first eat of the fruits of the land; circumcised all those born in the deserts, and celebrated the passover.

The reason of the name, or rather a memorable application of the etymology of this name (for it seems by the place, *Deut.* xi. 30. that the name was known before the coming of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*) is noted *Josh.* v. 9. *Ob devolutionem probri Aegyptiaci*, because their foreskins (the people being there circumcised) were tumbled down the hill; which from thence was called *Collis preputiorum*. This *Gilgal* was also called *Geliloth*, as appears by comparing the places, *Josh.* xv. 7. and xviii. 17. For it was in the borders of *Jordan*, of which *Josh.* xxii. 13. and *Geliloth* signifieth borders. It stood (tho' in some distance) directly eastward, over-against the two hills *Garzim* and *Iabal*, *Deut.* xi. 29. upon the one of which, the blessings, and on the other the cursings were to be read to the people, both being the mountains of *Ephraim*. Further, for the situation of this *Gilgal*, it is to be noted, that both it and *Mitspah* of *Benjamin* (of which also we read oft in the scripture) were seated about the midst of the length of the land of *Canaan*; for which reason *Samuel* chose these two places, to either of which he came yearly to give judgment to the *Israelites*; of which two *Gilgal* (as is said) was near *Jordan* on the east-side of this tribe, and *Mitspa* near the west sea, towards the land of the *Philistines*.

The third place which is named with these two, whither also *Samuel* used yearly to come, is *Bethel*; which also was seated in this tribe of *Benjamin*. But to return to *Gilgal* which was the first place, where the ark resided, after they pass'd over *Jordan* (from whence it was carried to *Silo*, and thence to *Kirjath-jeharim*, and at length to *Jerusalem*) here in *Gilgal* it was that *Joshua* pitched up the twelve stones which were taken out of the

^a *Josh.* 6. 29. ^b 1 Chron. 6. 60. This *Halmon* is called *Halemeth*, whence they make a new city *Almath*, as if this tribe had given provinces to the *Levites*. ^c 1 Sam. 7. 15. ^d *Junius* in this place for *Bethel*, reads *Domum Dei totius*, and interprets it *Kirjath-jeharim*, where the ark abode: For, *justit* he, by the law, *Exod.* 23. 17. the greatest meetings in their annual feasts, were to be where the ark was; but this place doth not speak of festival, but of judicial meetings: and besides, the priests did use to bring the ark to their great meetings, wheresoever they were, as appears 1 Sam. 12. 11. and c. 14. 18. neither is it easy to expound *Bethel*, otherwise than for the city *Bethel*, tho' *Junius* also takes it for the place where the ark was, 1 Sam. 10. 3.

channel of *Jordan* when it was dry, that the *Israelites* might pass over it; by which story, as it is set down *Josh. iv.* it appears, that the same day that they passed over *Jordan* they lodged at *Gilgal*. At the same *Gilgal*, to omit many other memorable things, it was that *Samuel* hewed *Agag* the king of the *Amalekites* in pieces. And as for *Mitspah*, whither *Samuel* came yearly to give judgment, there also were often the greatest meetings held, as that for the revenge of the *Levite's* wife against *Gibba*, and the *Benjamites*, *Judg. xxi. 1.* and another against the *Philistines*, *1 Sam. vii. 12.* Thither also *Judas Maccabeus* gathered the *Jews* (when *Jerusalem* was possess'd by the heathen) as it is *1 Mac. iii. 47.* in which place this reason of their meeting is added; *Quia locus orationi fuerat Mitspæ antea Israeli.* Touching this *Mitspa*, to avoid confusion, it is to be remembred, that the scriptures mention four places of this name: *Mitspa* of *Judah*, of which *Josh. xv. 38.* ^a *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, of which we have spoken already in the tribe of *Gad*: *Mitspa* of the *Moabites*, where *David* for a while held himself, commending his parents to the king of *Moab*, *1 Sam. xxii. 3.* and lastly, this chief *Mitspa* of the *Benjamites*. And as in this place the chief meetings were held, both before *Jerusalem* was recovered from the *Jebusites*, and also in the time of the *Maccabees*, as we have said, when *Jerusalem* was held by the wicked under *Antiochus*, so also in the time of *Jeremy*, after the destruction of the temple by the *Chaldees*, *Geduliah*, whom *Nabuchodonosor* left in *Jewry*, as governour over those that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place; until (to the great hurt of the *Jews*) he was slain by the treason of *Ishmael*, one of the royal blood of *Judah*, as it is *Jeremiah xli.*

Near unto this *Mitspa*, the scripture mentioneth *Beth-car*, *1 Sam. vii. 11.* after called *Aben-Hezer*, that is, the stone of help: where *Samuel* pitched up the pillar or stone, for a trophy against the *Philistines*.

Touching *Bethel*, which, as it seems, was the third place where *Samuel* held his chief meetings for the ministring of justice, that it was anciently called *Luz*, and how it was taken by the issue of *Joseph* (tho' it belonged to the portion of *Benjamin*, as it is *Nehemiah xi. 31.* and *Joshua xviii. 22.*) and how another city called *Luz*, *Josh. xvi. 2.* near adjoining to it, was built by the man of the city, which shewed the entrance to the spies, as it is *Judges i.* and of the occasion of the name from *Jacob's* vision; and how *Jeroboam*, by erecting one of his calves here, of *Bethel* (which signifieth the house of God) made it ^b *Beth-aven*, that is, the house of vanity, *Hosea iv. 15.* and *x. 5.* as also other memorable things of this place; they are so well known out of the histories of the scripture, that we may well pass them over.

The territory of *Bethel*, which at the first belonged to the kingdom of the ten tribes, from the time of the great victory of *Abia* against *Jeroboam* (of which *2 Chron. xiii.*) was taken from them, and adjoined to the kingdom of *Judah*; and so it continued, as appears by the story of *Josiah*, which performed the prophecies against the altar of *Bethel*, *2 Kings xxiii.* whence those counts, *1 Mac. xi. 34.*

are called *Aphærema*, which *Greek* word signifieth as much as, *A thing taken away*, to wit, from the ten tribes. It was one of the three *Seignories*, or *Presectures* which *Demetrius*, in his epistle mentioneth, as added by him to the *Dition* of the *Jews*, out of the *Samaritan* country. A part of it, as appears *2 Chron. xiii. 19.* was *Hephraim*, which *Josh. xviii. 23.* is called *Hophram*, belonging to this tribe of *Benjamin*.

Not far from this *Bethel*, in this tribe, we find three other cities often mentioned in the scriptures, *Rama*, *Gibba*, and *Gebab*. Of the name *Rama*, ^c it is noted already in the description of *Ephraim*, that there were many towns so high called, because of their high situation: but whereas they find out *Rama* in the tribe of *Judah* (as it seems, because *Matthew ii.* it appears that it bordered *Bethlehem*) and also out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*, make *Silo* to have been called *Rama*, and find yet another *Rama* in *Zabulon*; these three have no warrant in the scripture. Of *Rama*, in the tribe of *Asher*, as it seems, we have testimony, *Josh. xix. 29.* and of another in *Nephthalim*, *Josh. xix. 36.* of a third *Rama*, where *Samuel* dwelt in mount *Ephraim*, *1 Sam. xxv. 1.* which more often is called ^d *Ramatha*, and *1 Sam. i. 1.* *Ramatbaim Tso-phim*; for which the *Septuagint* have *Aramatbaim-sophim*, taking the article affixed in the beginning, for a part of the word, whence they think *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, *Matth. xxvii. 57.* was denominated.

Of a fourth *Rama*, we read *2 Kings viii. 29.* which is *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. The first, which is most often mentioned, is *Rama* of *Benjamin*, seated, as we said, near *Bethel*, the uttermost south border of the kingdom of the ten tribes; for which cause *Baasha*, in the time of *Asa*, king of *Judah* fortified it, to hinder those that did fly from him to *Asa*. Of this *Rama*, or *Ramatha*, I should rather think *Joseph* was, that buried Christ, because it was nearer to *Jerusalem*, and after the captivity belonged to *Judah*, as it appears, *Esd. ii. 26.* wherein that it is joined with *Gebab*, it is plain, that he speaketh of that *Rama*, with whose stones (after *Baasha* had ceased to build it) *Asa* (as it is *1 Kings xxv. 22.*) built *Gebab* adjoining to it, both being in *Benjamin*. And as *Rama* was the south border of the ten tribes, so was *Gebab* the north border of the kingdom of *Judah*; whence *2 Kings xxiii. 8.* we read, that *Josiah*, thro' all his kingdom, even from *Gebab*, which was the north border to *Beer-sheba*, which was the south border, destroyed the places of idolatry.

The third city *Gibba*, which was the city of *Saul* (the wickedness of which city, in the time of the judges, had almost utterly rooted out this tribe) *Adrichomius* confounds with *Gebab*, making one of two (as they are evidently distinguished, *Isaiah x. 27.*) of which word ^e *Gibba*, in another form *Gibbath*, he imagineth *Gibaath*, another city in this tribe, making two of one. The vicinity of this city also to *Rama* of *Benjamin*, appears, *Judg. xix. 13.* where the *Levite* with his wife, not able to reach to *Rama*, took up his lodging at *Gibba*. By that place of *1 Sam. xxii. 6.* it seems, that there was in this *Gibba* some tower or citadel, called *Rama*, where *Junius* reads, *in excelsu*, for *in Rama*:

^a It was no other than this *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, of which *Josh. 11. 8.* as appears by that which is added, *versus orientem*: for *Joshua* notes the three quarters, north, west, and east, to which he followed the *Canaanites*; tho' *Adrichomius*, and others, out of this place, imagine a *Mitpa*, or *Mispha* (as they write it) in the tribe of *Asher*. ^b Borrowing the name of a neighbour town in the confines of the kingdoms of *Judah* and *Israel*, between *Hai* and *Bethel*, *Josh. 7. 2.* and *18. 12.* ^c See *c. 9. 1etl. 1.* ^d Of this *Ramatha*, I understand the place *1 Mac. 11. 34.* where it is named for one of the three *presectures*, which *Demetrius* yields to the *Jews* out of the country of *Samaria*; this lying toward the east to *Jericho*, and *Lydda* toward the west; and *Aphærema* (of which even now we speak) lying in the midst, between the two other. A sixth *Rama* it seems there was in the tribe of *Simeon*, toward the south, and which *Josh. 19. 7, 8.* called *Ramah* of the south, and otherwise *Bahalath-beer*. ^e *Gibba* in construction, that is, governing a genitive case, is *Gibbath*, whence the *Vulgar* out of the *Septuagint* read *Josh. 24. 33.* *Gabaath Phinees*; for which *Junius* hath *Collis Phineas* (for this word is oft times an appellation, signifying a hill) but *Adrichomius* taking notice of this, builds his city *Gabaath* upon this text, and placeth it in *Benjamin*, when as the words adjoined note that this hill was in the mountains of *Ephraim*.

but it may be, that the name of the king's palace in this city was *Rama*, as it seems, that in *Rama* of *Samuel*, the name of the chief place where *Samuel* with the college of *prophets* abode, was *Nai-oth*. The great city of *Hai*, overthrown by *Josbua*, which *Josb. vii. 2.* is placed near *Beth-aven*, upon the east of *Bethel*, was in this tribe, as is proved, *Nehemiah vii. x. xxx.* tho' it be not named by *Josbua xviii.* for it was burned by him, and laid desolate, as it is, *Josb. viii. 28. In solitudinem in tumulum perpetuum.* Another city of chief note, reckoned *Josb. xviii. 25.* in this tribe, was *Gibbon*, the chief city of the *Hivites*, whose cunning, to bind the *Israelites* by oath to save their lives, is set down, *Josb. ix.* whence they were reckoned among the *Nethinæi*, or profelytes, and were bound to certain publick services in the house of God; which oath of saving these *Gibeonites*, broken in part after by *Saul*, was by God punished by a famine, *2 Sam. xxi. 1.* This *Gibeon*, or *Gibbon*, which *Almon* and *Jebab* (of both which we have spoken) and with *Hanothoth*, the native place of *Jeremiah* the prophet, were said, *Josb. xxi. 28.* to be given to the *Levites* by the *Benjamites*. Near to this *Hanothoth* was *Nob*, as appears *1 Kings ii. 26.* where *Abiathar* the priest, which was of *Nob*, before it was destroyed by *Saul*, is sent to his grounds at *Hanothoth*. It is reckoned in the tribe of *Benjamin*, *Nehemiah ix. 31.* and tho' in the time of *Saul*, the residing place of the ark was in *Kirjath-jearim*, yet by the the lamentable tragedy of bloodshed, which *Saul* raised in this place (as it is set down, *1 Sam. xxi. and xxii.*) in the judgment of *Junius*, it is proved, that the tabernacle was there for a time.

Micmas also in this tribe, *Nehemiah ix. 31.* was a place of fame, of which *Isaiah x. 28.* where also he nameth *Gallim* and *Migrom* in this tribe. In *Micmas*, *Saul* had his camp, *1 Sam. xiii. 2.* (when he left *Gibba* to *Jonathan*) and there also was *Jonathan Maccabeus's* abode, *1 Mac. ix. 73.* Of *Giscala* in *Galilee*, *Josephus* often maketh mention; but of any here in *Benjamin*, which they make the native place of *St. Paul*, whence, they say, when it was taken by the *Romans*, he sailed with his parents to *Tharsis*: Of this I find no good warrant. Other places of less importance I omit, and come to the city of *Jerusalem*, and the princes and governours of this city; a great part whereof was in the tribe of *Benjamin*, whence *Josb. xviii. 28.* it is named among the cities of *Benjamin*.

SECT. II.

Of divers memorable things concerning Jerusalem.

AT what time *Jerusalem* was built (which afterwards became the princess of all cities) it doth not appear. Some there are, who imagine, that *Melchisedec* was the founder thereof in *Abraham's* time. But ^b according to others, that city out of which *Melchisedec* encountred *Abraham* (in his return from the overthrow of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* kings or captains, when *Lot* was made prisoner) standeth by the river of *Jordan*, in the half tribe of *Manasseh*, bordering *Zabulon*, which was also called *Salem*, and by the *Greeks*, *Solima*.

Jerusalem (whensoever, or by whom built) was a principal city in *Josbua's* time; yet not so renowned as *Flazor* the metropolis (in those days and before) of all the *Canaanites*. *Adonizedek*, whom *Josbua* slew, was then king of *Jerusalem*. That it

was belonging to the *Jebusites* it is manifest: for how long soever they held it before *Moses's* time, they were masters and lords thereof almost four hundred years after him, even till *David* won it; and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the *Jebusæi* (the children of *Jebuseus*, the son of *Canaan*) built; after whom it was called *Jebus*. And so much did that nation rely on the strength of the place, as when *David* attempted it, they bragg'd, that their lame, and blind, and impotent people should defend it.

David, after he had, by God's assistance, possess'd it, and turned out the *Jebusites*, gave it an exceeding great increase of circuit; strengthened it with a citadel or castle, and beautified it with many palaces, and other buildings, changing the name from *Jebussalem*, the city of the *Jebusites*, to *Jerusalem*, which the *Greeks* call *Hierosolyma*. After *David's* time, ^d*Solomon* amplified, beautified, and strengthened it exceedingly: for, besides the work of the temple, which was no less admirable than renowned among all nations; the palaces, gates and walls, could not any where in the world be exempl'd: and besides that, it had an hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had sixty foot of depth, cut out of the very rock, and two hundred fifty foot of breadth, whereof the like hath seldom been heard of either since or before.

After the death of *Solomon*, and that the kingdom of the *Jews* was cut asunder, ^e*Shishac* king of *Egypt*, and his predecessor, having bred up for that purpose *Adad* the *Idumean*, and *Jeroboam*, *Solomon's* servant; and both married to *Egyptians*; the state by the one disturbed, by the other broken, ^f*Shishac* first invaded the territory of *Judah*, entered *Jerusalem* and sack'd it; and became master, not only of the riches of *Solomon*, but of all those spoils which *David* had gotten from *Adadazer*, *Tobu*, the *Ammonites* and other nations. It was again sack'd, and a part of the wall thrown down by *Joas* king of *Israel*, while ^g*Amaziab* the twelfth king thereof governed *Judah*.

Not long after, *Achaz*, the 15th king of *Juda*, impoverished the temple, and presented *Teglatphalassar* with the treasures thereof. And ^h*Manasseh* the son of *Ezekiah*, the son of *Achaz*, by the vaunts made by *Ezekiah* to the ambassadors of *Merodach*, lost the remain, and the very bottom of their treasures. It was again spoiled by the *Babylonians*, *Joachim* then reigning. But this ungrateful, idolatrous, and rebellious nation, taking no warning by these God's gentle corrections and afflictions, but persisting in all kind of impiety, filling the city even to the mouth with innocent blood, God raised up that great ⁱ*Babylonian* king, *Nabuchodonosor*, as his scourge and revenger, who making this glorious city and temple, with all the palaces therein, and the walls and towers which embraced them, even and level with the dust, carried away the spoils with the princes and people, and crush'd them with the heavy yoke of bondage and servitude full seventy years; insomuch, as *Zion* was not only become as a torn and plowed up field, *Jerusalem* a heap of stone and rubble, the mountain of the temple as a grove, or wood of thorns and briars; but (as ^k*Jerome* speaketh) even the birds of the air scorn'd to fly over it, or the beasts to tread on that defiled soil.

^a The word *Nethinim* or *Nethinæi*, is as much as *dati* (as it were *à Deo dati*) or as *Junius* expounds it, *dedititii*, is used, *1 Chron. 9. 2.* and in *Eldras* and *Nehemiah* often. ^b See in the latter half of *Manasseh*. ^c *2 Sam. 5. 6.* ^d *Jos. cont. App. 1. 1. Strabo, Geog. 1. 16.* ^e *2 Chron. 12.* ^f *2 Kings 14.* ^g *2 Kings 16.* ^h *1 Chron. 5. 16.* ⁱ *2 Kings 25.* ^j *2 Kings 19. 2 Par. 18.* ^k *Mich. 3. Hier. 25. 26. 29.*

Then seventy years being expired, according to the prophecy of ^a*Daniel*, and the *Jews*, by the grace of *Cyrus*, returned, the temple was again built, tho' with interruption and difficulty enough, and the city meanly inhabited, and without walls, or other defences, for some sixty and odd years, till ^b*Nebe-miab*, by the favour of *Artaxerxes*, rebuilt them. Then again was the temple and city spoiled by *Bago-fes*, or *Vagofes*, lieutenant of *Artaxerxes*; after, by ^c*Ptolomeus I*; then by *Antiochus Epiphanes*; and again by *Apollonius* his lieutenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not destroyed, nor robbed; tho' *Crassus*, in his *Parthian* expedition, took as much as he could of that which *Pompey* spared.

But the damages which it sustained by the violence of sacrilegious tyrants, were commonly recompensed by the industry or bounty of good princes, the voluntary contribution of the people, and the liberality of strangers. Before the captivity, the people of the land, thro' the exhortation of godly kings, made many and large offerings to repair the temple of *Solomon*. The wrong done by *Ptolomeus Lagi* to the second temple, was requited by the bounty of his son *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*. The mischief wrought by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and his followers, was amended partly by the great offerings which were sent to *Jerusalem* out of other nations. Finally, all the losses, which either the city or temple had endured, might well seem forgotten in the reign of ^d*Herod*, that usurping and wicked, but magnificent king, who amplified the city, new built the temple, and with many sumptuous works, did so adorn them, that he left them far more stately and glorious, than they had been in the days of *Solomon*.

SECT. III.

Of the destruction of Jerusalem, by the Romans.

IN this flourishing estate, it was, at the coming of our Saviour *Christ Jesus*; and after his death and ascension it so continued about forty years: but then did *Titus* the *Roman*, being stirred up by God to be the revenger of *Christ's* death, and to punish the *Jews* sinful ingratitude, encompass it with the *Roman* army, and became lord thereof. He began the siege at such time as the *Jews*, from all parts, were come up to the celebration of the passover; so as the city was then filled with many hundred thousands of all sorts, and no manner of provision or store for any such multitudes. An extreme famine, with the civil dissension, oppress'd them within the walls; a forcible enemy assailed them without. The *Idumeans* also, who lay in wait for the destruction of the *Jews* kingdom, thrust themselves into the city, on purpose to betray it, who also burnt the temple, when *Nabuchodonosor* took it. And to be short, there perished of all sorts, from the first besieging, to the consummation of the victory, ^eeleven hundred thousand souls; and the city was so beaten down, and demolished, as those which came afterwards to see the desolation thereof, could hardly believe that there had been any such place or habitation: only the three *Herodian* towers (works most magnificent, and overtopping the rest) were spared, as well for lodgings for the *Roman* garisons, as that thereby their victory might be the more notorious and famous: for by those buildings of strength and state remaining, after-ages might judge what the rest were; and their honour be the greater and more shining that there-over became victorious.

After this, such *Jews* as were scattered here and there in *Judæa*, and other provinces, began again to inhabit some part of the city; and by degrees to rebuild it, and to strengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and tributaries to the *Roman* state; but after sixty-five years, when they again offered to revolt, and rebel, *Ailius Adrianus* the emperor, slaughtered many thousands of them, and overturned those three *Herodian* towers, with all the rest, making it good which *Christ* himself had foretold; *That there should not stand one stone upon another*, of that ungrateful city. Afterwards, when his fury was appeased, and the prophecy accomplished, he took one part without the wall, wherein stood *Mount Calvary*, and the sepulchre of *Christ*, and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, he again made it a city of great capacity, and called it after his own name, *Ælia Capitolia*. In the gate toward *Bethel*, he caused a fow to be cut in marble, and set in the front thereof, which he did in despite of the *Jews* nation; making an edict, that they should not from thenceforth ever enter into the city, neither should they dare so much as to behold it from any other high place overtopping it.

But the Christian religion flourishing in *Palæstina*, it was inhabited at length by all nations, and especially by Christians; and so it continued five hundred years.

It was afterwards in the 636th year after *Christ*, taken by the ^f*Egyptian Saracens*, who held it 400 and odd years.

In the year 1099, it was regained by *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, by assault, with an exceeding slaughter of the *Saracens*; which ^g*Godfrey*, when he was elected king thereof, refused to be crowned with a crown of gold, because *Christ*, for whom he fought, was therein crowned with thorns. After this recovery, it remained under the successors of *Godfrey* eighty eight years: till in the year 1197, it was regained by *Saladine* of *Egypt*: and lastly, in the year 1517, in the time of *Selim*, the *Turks* cast out the *Egyptians*, who now hold it, and call it *Cuzum-barec*, or the Holy city. Neither was it *Jerusalem* alone, that hath so oftentimes been beaten down and made desolate, but all the great ages of the world have with their inhabitants, in several times and ages, suffered the same shipwreck. And it hath been God's just will, to the end others might take warning, if they would; not only to punish the impiety of men, by famine, by the sword, by fire, and by slavery; but he hath revenged himself of the very places they possess'd; of the walls and building; yea, of the soil, and the beasts that fed thereon.

For, even that land, sometime called holy, hath in effect lost all her fertility, and fruitfulness; witness the many hundreds of thousands, which it fed in the days of the kings of *Judah* and *Israel*; it being at this time all over, in effect, exceeding stony and barren. It also pleased God, not only to consume with fire from heaven, the cities of the *Sodomites*; but the very soil it self hath felt, and doth feel, the hand of God to this day. God would not spare the beasts that belonged to *Amalek*, no not any small number of them, to be sacrificed to himself; neither was it enough that *Achan* himself was stoned, but that his moveables were also consumed and brought to ashes.

^a Hier. 10. 3. trad. Heb. ^b Nehem. 12. 34, &c. ^c The first of the Egyptian kings after Alexander Macedon, who displaying his religion, came up to Jerusalem to offer sacrifice. Joseph. 12. Ant. 1. ^d M. J. C. pro Scylla. ^e Ed. 1. c. 4. 45. ^f Gul. Tyr. bell. sic. l. 14. c. 12. ^g Onuph. Chron. ^h Gul. Tyr. l. 8. c. 5. 11, 19, &c.

SECT. IV.

Of the vain and malicious reports of heathen writers, touching the ancient Jews.

OF the original of the Jews, prophane writers have conceived diversly and injuriously. *Quintilian* speaks infamously of them, and of their leader; who (saith he) gathered together a pernicious nation. *Diodore* and *Strabo* make them *Egyptians*. Others affirm, that while *Isis* governed *Egypt*, the people were so increased, as *Ierosolymus* and *Judas* led thence a great multitude of that nation, with whom they planted the neighbour regions; which might be meant by *Moses* and *Aaron*: for the name of *Moses* was accidental, because he was taken up and saved out of the waters. But *Justin*, of all others most malicious, doth derive the Jews from the *Syrian* kings; of whom *Damascus*, saith he, was the first; and to him succeeded *Abraham*, *Moses*, and *Israel*. He again supposeth (somewhat contrary to himself) that *Israel* had 10 sons, among whom he divided the land of *Juda*; so called of *Judas* his eldest, who had the greatest portion. The youngest of the sons of *Israel* he calleth *Joseph*; who being brought up in *Egypt*, became learned in magical arts, and in the interpretations of dreams, and signs prodigious, and this *Joseph*, saith he, was father to *Moses*: who with the rest, by reason of their foul diseases, and lest they should infect others, were banished *Egypt*. Further, he telleth how these men thus banished, when in the desarts they suffered extream thirst and famine, and therein found relief the 7th day, for this cause ever after observed the 7th day, and kept it holy; making it a law among themselves, which afterwards became a branch of their religion. He addeth also, that they might not marry out of their own tribes, lest discovering their uncleanness, they might also be expelled by other nations, as they were by the *Egyptians*. These and such like fables hath *Justin*.

Cornelius Tacitus, doth as grossly belie them in affirming, that in the inmost oratory of their temple, they had the golden head of an ass, which they adored. But herein *Tacitus* forgetteth himself, having in the 5th book of his own history truly confessed of the Jews, that they worshipped one only God: and thought it most prophane to represent the Deity by any material figure, by the shape of a man, or any other creature; and they had therefore in their temples, no image or representation, no not so much as in any city by them inhabited. Somewhat like this hath *Alexander Polyhistor*, in *Stephanus*; who also makes *Judas* with *Idumca*, the first parents of the Jews.

Claudius Iolaus draws them from *Judeus*, whose parents were *Sparton* and *Thebis*; whence it came, that the *Spartans* or *Lacedemonians*, challenged kindred of the *Hebrews*: but they did it as descended of *Abraham*, saith *Josephus*. Some of these reports seem to have been gathered out of divine letters; tho' wrested and perverted according to the custom of the heathen. For so they obscured and altered the story of the creation, of paradise, of the flood; and given new names to the children of *Adam* in the first age; to *Noah* and his sons, in the second; and so to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, *Moses*, and the rest of the fathers, and leaders of the *Hebrews*; all which feignings, as touching the Jews and their originals, *Josephus* against *Appion*, and *Tertullian* have sufficiently answered. For that the *Hebrews* were the children of *Arphaxad*

and *Heber*, no man doubteth: and the *Chaldeans* originally taking name either of *Heber*, the son of *Sale*, or else, saith *Montanus*, of wandering, as is before remembred. And therefore doth *Stephanus*, the *Greek* grammarian, derive the *Hebrews* or *Jews*, from *Arabon*; having mistaken the name of *Abraham*, who was the son of *Heber*, in the 6th descent. Their ancient names were first changed by the two grand-children of *Abram*; for after *Jacob*, otherwise *Israel*, the chief part were called *Israel*, another part after *Esau* or *Edom*, *Edomites*; at length the remnant of *Jacob*, being most of the tribe of *Juda*, honoured the name of *Judas*, the son of *Jacob*, and became *Judeans* or *Jews*; as also for a time in the name of *Ephraim* the son of *Joseph*, the chief of the patriarchs of the ten tribes; the rest of the ten tribes were comprehended, but were first rooted out when the kingdom of *Israel* fell. The *Judeans* continued their names, though they suffered the same servitude not long after, under *Nabuchodonosor*.

The government which this nation underwent, was first paternal: which continued till they served the *Egyptians*. They were secondly ruled by their captains and leaders, *Moses* and *Joshua*, by a policy divine. Thirdly, they subjected themselves to judges. Fourthly, they desired a king, and had *Saul* for the first: of whom and his successors, before we intreat, we are first to speak of their government under judges, after the death of *Joshua*; with somewhat of the things of fame in other nations about these times.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the world, from the death of Joshua, to the war of Troy; which was about the time of Jephtha.

SECT. I.

Of the Inter-regnum after Joshua's death: and of Othoniel.

WHEN *Joshua* was now dead, who with the advice of the 70 elders, and the high priest, held authority over the people, and ordered that common-wealth: it pleased God to direct the tribe of *Juda* (in whom the kingdom was afterwards established) to undertake the war against the *Canaanites*, over whom (with God's favour, and the assistance of *Simeon*) they became victorious.

In the first attempt which they made, they not only slew 10000, but made *Adonibezek* prisoner; the greatest and cruellest commander, both of the *Canaanites* and *Perizzites*. This tyrant's cruelty, as elsewhere hath been signified, they returned in the same kind upon his own head: and so by the torments which he now felt in his own person (before no otherwise known unto him, but by his malicious imagination) made him confess and acknowledge God's just judgment against himself.

The tribes of *Juda* and *Simeon* did also master and possess, during this *Inter-regnum* (or, as some think, before the death of *Joshua*) the cities of *Azotus*, *Askalon*, *Ekron*, and *Jerusalem*, which they burnt, and the *Jebusites* afterwards re-edified. They took also the cities of *Hebron*, *Debir*, or *Kiriath-jepher*, and *Zephatb*, afterwards *Horma*. And altho' it be not set down in express words, that any

^a Justin. l. 36.

^b Cited by Stephanus in Judea

^c Tert. in Apol

^d Calab. f. 63

one person commanded in chief over the people, as *Moses* and *Joshua* did; yet it seemeth that *Caleb* was of greatest authority amongst them, and that he with the advice of *Phinees* directed and ordered their wars. For if any think that they proceeded without a chief, the good success which followed their undertakings witnesseth the contrary. And it was *Caleb*, even while *Joshua* governed, as appears *Josh. x. 39.* that propounded the attempt of *Debir*, to the rest of the captains; for the performance of which enterprize, he promised his daughter *Achafab*: which he performed to *Othoniel* his younger brother after the conquest: whose behaviour in that service was such, as (next unto the ordinance of God) it gave him the greatest reputation among them, and it may be esteemed the second cause of his preferment and election for their first Judge soon after. But while those of *Juda* made war with their borderers, from whom they only recovered the mountainous countries (for they could not drive out the inhabitants of the vallies, ^a *because they had chariots of iron.*) The rest of the tribes sought also to enlarge and establish their own territories; in which war they laboured with variable success; for as the house of *Joseph* recovered ^b *Bethel* or *Luz*, from the *Hittites*, so did the *Amorites* recover from *Dan* all the plain countries; and forc'd them to save themselves in the mountains. And now the *Israelites* unmindful of God's benefits, and how often he had miraculously afore-time defended them, and made them victorious over their enemies (the elders being also consumed, who better advised them in the *Inter-regnum*) did not only join themselves in marriage with the heathen nations; but (that which was more detestable) they served the idols of *Baal*, and *Ashteroth*, with other the dead gods of the *Canaanites* and *Amorites*. And therefore did the Lord God whom they had provoked with their idolatry, deliver them into the hands of the *Aramites* of *Mesopotamia*; whom *Chusban Rishathaim* at that time commanded. But after they had felt the smart of God's displeasure against them 8 years, it pleased him to have compassion on his people, and to raise up ^c *Othoniel* to be their judge and leader; who by God assisted, delivered his brethren from oppression, and inforc'd the *Aramites* to return into their own desarts, and into *Mesopotamia* adjoining; after which the *Israelites* had peace 40 years, during all the time of *Othoniel's* government. This *Othoniel* is thought by *Tostatus* to have been the younger brother of *Caleb*, for as much as in the book of *Judges* he is twice called *Othoniel* the son of *Cenaz*, *Caleb's* younger brother. Others do rather interpret those words (*Caleb's* younger brother) as if they signified the meanest of his kindred. Indeed it is not likely, that *Caleb's* daughter should marry with her own uncle; yet it follows not therefore, that *Othoniel* should have been the meanest of the kindred. Wherefore we may better think, that he was the nephew of *Caleb* (as some learned men expound it) and as the very words of scripture seem to enforce. For *Caleb* was the son of *Jephunneh*, and *Othoniel* the son of *Cenaz*, *Caleb's* younger brother; that is, he was not brother to *Caleb*, but his younger brother's son; to whom it was not only lawful, but commendable, to marry with his cousin german *Caleb's* daughter.

How long it was from the death of *Joshua*, to the government of *Othoniel*, it cannot be found; but it seems to have been no short time: for many wars were made in that space against the people of the land. *Laiſh* was then taken (as is thought)

by the *Danites*; and the best writers are of opinion, that between the times of *Joshua* and *Othoniel*, that civil war broke out between the *Benjamites* and the rest of *Israel*, for the forcing to death of the *Lewite's* wife. For it is written, that in those days there was no king in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his own eyes. And as ^d *Juda* led the people against the *Canaanites*, during the *Inter-regnum*, so was he commanded to do against *Benjamin*, even by the Lord God, whose direction they craved, as wanting a judge to appoint what should be done, which sheweth it to have been when *Joshua* was dead, and before the government of *Othoniel*; especially, considering, that all other times wherein they wanted governours, were spent under such oppression of strangers, as would have given them no leave to have attended such a civil war; if their power had been as great, as it was in the managing of this action, wherein they so weakned the body of their estate, by effusion of blood, that in many ages they could not bring into the field such numbers, as formerly they had mustered against their bordering enemies.

SECT. II.

Of the memorable things of this age, of other nations; and of the difficulty in the computation of times.

There lived in this age of *Othoniel*, *Pandion*, or *Pandareus*, according to *Homer*, the 5th king of *Athens*; who began to rule in the 20th year of *Othoniel*, and governed 40 years. He was father to *Erietheus*: his daughters were *Progne* and *Philomela*, so greatly mentioned in fables.

Cadmus also about this time obtained *Thebes*; of whose daughter *Semele* was born, *Dionysius* or *Liber Pater*; under whom *Linus* the musician lived. In his time also the cities of *Melus*, *Paphus*, and *Tbarsus* were built.

Ida and *Daetylus* flourished in this age, who are said to have found out the use of iron: but *Genesis* hath taught us the contrary, and that ^e *Tubalcain* wrought cunningly both in iron and brass. Not long after this time, *Amphion* and *Zethus* governed *Thebes*; whom divers chronologers find in *Ehud's* time. But *St. Augustine* making a repetition of these fables, which were devised among the *Grecians*, and other nations, during the government of the judges, begins with *Triptolemus*, of whose parentage there is as little agreement. *Vives*, upon the 13th chapter of *St. Augustine de Civitate Dei*, and the 18th book, hath gathered all the opinions of this man's progeny, where he that desires his pedigree may find it. *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* make him native of *Attica*, and the son of *Eleusius* king of *Eleusina*: which *Eleusius*, by careful industry, had fed the people of that territory, in the time of a great famine. This, when upon the like occasion *Triptolemus* could not perform, fearing the fury of the people, he fled thence by sea in a kind of galley or long boat, which carried in her prow an engraven or carved serpent; who because he made exceeding great speed to return, and to relieve his people with corn, from some neighbour nation; it was feigned by the poets, that his coach was carried by serpents through the air.

Whether the times of these kings, which lived together with *Othoniel*, and after him with the rest of the judges, and kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, be precisely set down, I cannot avow; for the chronologers, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars; to examine all which,

^a *Judg. i. 19.* ^b *Judg. i. 25.* *Judg. i. 32.* ^c *Judg. 3. 10.* ^d *Judg. 17, 18, and 19.* ^e *Gen. 4. 22. B'cause some would*

would require the whole time of a long life ; and therefore I desire to be excused, if in these comparisons I err with others of better judgment. For whether *Eusebius*, and all that follow him, or his opposites (who made themselves so conversant with these ancient kings, and with the very year when they began to rule) have hit the mark of time, of all other the farthest off, and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the authors themselves, from whom the ancientest chronologers have borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their own works, but conjecture : secondly, because their own disagreement and contention in those elder days, with that of our own age among the labourers in times, is such, as no man among them hath yet so edified any man's understanding, save his own, but that he is greatly distracted, after what pattern to erect his buildings.

This disagreement is found not only in the reigns of heathen kings and princes ; but even in the computation of those times, which the indisputable authority of holy scripture hath summed up, as in that of *Abraham's* birth ; and after in the times of the judges, and the oppressions of *Israel*, in the times from the egression, to the building of *Solomon's* temple, in the *Persian* empire, the 70 weeks ; and in what not ? Wheresoever the account of times may suffer examination, the arguments are opposite, and contentions are such, as for ought that I see, men have sought by so many ways to uncover the sun, that the days thereby are made more dark, and the clouds more condens'd than before : I can therefore give no other warrant, than other men have done in these computations ; and therefore that such and such kings and kingdoms took beginning in this or that year, I avow it no otherwise, than as a borrowed knowledge, or at least a private opinion ; which I submit to better judgments. *Nam in priscis rebus veritas non ad unguem querenda* ; In ancient things we are not to require an exact narration of the truth, says *Diodore*.

SECT. III.

Of Ehud's time, and of Proserpina, Orithya, Tereus, Tantalus, Tityus, Admetus, and others that lived about these times.

AFTER the death of *Othoniel*, when *Israel* fell back to their former idolatry, God encouraged *Moab* to invade and suppress them ; to perform which, he joined the forces of *Ammon*, and *Amalek* unto his own, and so (as all kind of misery readily findeth out those whom God hath abandoned, or for a time withdrawn his help from, thereby to make them feel the difference between his grace and his displeasure) these heathen neighbouring nations, had an easy conquest over *Israel* ; whom God himself exposed to those perils ; within which they were so speedily folded up. In this miserable estate they continued full eighteen years, under *Eglon* king of the *Moabites*, and his confederates. Yet as the mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his ears from their crying repentance ; but raised up *Ehud* the son of *Gera* to deliver them ; by which weak man, tho' maimed in his right-hand, yet confident in the justness of his quarrel, and fearing that the *Israelites* were too few in numbers, to contend with the head of those valiant nations ; he resolved to attempt upon the person of *Eglon*, whom if he could but extinguish, he assured himself of the following victory ; especially giving his nation no time to re-establish their government, or to choose a king to command, and direct them in the wars. According to which resolution, *Ehud*

went on as an ambassador to *Eglon*, laden with presents from the *Israelites*, as to appease him, and obtaining private access upon the pretence of some secret to be revealed ; he pierced his body with a poniard, made on purpose, with a double edge ; and shutting the doors of his closet upon him, escaped.

It may seem that being confident of his good success, he had prepared the strength of *Israel* in readiness. For suddenly after his return, he did repass *Jordan*, and invading the territory of *Moab*, overthrew their army consisting of 10000 able and strong men ; whereof not any one escaped. After which victory, and that *Samgar* his successor had miraculously slain 600 *Philistines* with an ox goad ; the land and people of *Israel* lived in peace, unto the end of 80 years, from the death of *Othoniel* ; which term expired in the world's year 2691.

In the days of *Ehud*, *Naomi* with *Flimelech* her husband, and with her two sons, travelled into *Moab* ; and so the story of *Ruth* is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the 80 years which are given to *Ehud*, it was that *Orcus* king of the *Molossians*, otherwise *Pluto*, stole *Proserpina*, as she walked to gather flowers in the fields of *Hipponium* in *Sicilia* ; or (according to *Pausanias* in *Att.*) by the river *Cephissus*, which elsewhere he calleth *Chemus*, if he mean not two distinct rivers. This stealth being made known to *Pyrrhus*, with whom *Hercules* and *Theseus* joined themselves, they agreed together to recover her ; but *Pluto* or *Orcus* (whom others call *Aidonius*) had, as they say, a very huge dog, which fastned on *Pyrrhus*, and tore him in pieces, and had also worried *Theseus*, but that *Hercules* speedily rescued him ; and by strength took and mastered the dog *Cerberus* ; whereof grew the fable of *Hercules's* delivering of *Theseus* out of hell. But *Zeuxis*, as I take it, hath written this story, somewhat more according to the truth. For *Theseus* and *Pyrrhus*, saith he, attempted to steal *Proserpina* daughter to *Aidonius*, king of the *Molossians*, who had *Ceres* to wife, the mother of *Proserpina*. *Proserpina* being a general name also for all fair women. This purpose of theirs being known to *Aidonius*, *Theseus* and *Pyrrhus* were both taken ; and because *Pyrrhus* was the principal in this conspiracy, and *Theseus* drawn on by a kind of affection or inforcement, the one was given for food to *Aidonius's* great dog *Cerberus*, the other held prisoner ; till *Hercules* by the instigation of *Euristheus* delivered him by a strong hand. The *Molossi* which *Stephanus* writes with a single (S) were a people of *Epirus*, inhabiting near the mountains of *Pindus* ; of which mountains, *Oeta* is one of the most famous, where *Hercules* burnt himself. The river of *Acheron* (which the poets describe to be in hell) riseth out of the same hills. There is another nation of the *Molossi* in *Thessaly* ; but these are neighbours to the *Cassiopei*, saith *Plutarch* in his *Greek questions*.

The rape of *Orithya* the daughter of *Erietheus*, king of *Athens*, taken away by *Boreas* of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of *Ehud*. The poets ascribe this rape to the north-wind, because *Thrace* is situate north from *Athens*. In his time also *Tereus* ravished *Philomela*, of which the fable was devised of her conversion into a nightingale. For *Tereus* having married her sister *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athens* to see her sister, tore'd her in the passage, and withal cut out her tongue that she might not complain ; persuading *Progne's* wife, that *Philomela* died in the mid-way ; all which her brother-in-law's merciless behaviour towards her, *Philomela* express'd by her needle upon

on cloth, and sent it to *Progne*. In revenge whereof *Progne* caused her only son *Itys* to be cut in pieces, and set before *Tereus* her husband, so dress'd as it appear'd to be some other ordinary food; of which when he had eaten his fill, she caused his head, hands, and feet, to be presented unto him; and then fled away with such speed towards *Athens*, where her father *Pandion* yet lived, as the poets feigned, that she was turned into a swallow. The place where it was performed, *Strabo* finds to be *Daulis* in *Phocis*; and the tomb of *Tereus*, * *Pausanias* hath built near the rocks *Mergi*, in the territory of *Athens*. By which, as also by the name *Daulis*, where these things are supposed to have been done (whence also *Philomela* is called *Daulias ales*) it appears that it is true, which *Thucydides* notes by way of digression in his ^b *Peloponnesian* war, that this *Tereus* was not king in that which is now called *Thracia*, or in *Odrysæ* (as the poets call him *Odrysus*) but that *Phocis*, a country in *Greece* not far from *Attica*, a city whereof is called *Daulia*, was in *Pandion's* time inhabited by *Thracians*; of which this *Tereus* was king: whence *Pandion*, to have amity with his neighbours, made him his son-in-law; as it is good to believe, saith *Thucydides*, that *Pandion* king of *Athens* made that alliance with a neighbour king from whom he might have succour, rather than with any *Tereus*, that should have held the kingdom of *Odrysæ*, which was greatly distant from thence. The occasion that the poets chose a swallow for *Progne* to be turned into, may seem to have been, partly because, as *Pausanias* says, *Daulide nec nidificant, dec habitant in tota circum regione birundines*; As if a swallow remembring the wrong that was there done to her, and her sister, did for ever after hate that place.

Near this time *Melampus* (who is said to have understood the voices of birds and beasts) flourished, being also esteemed for an excellent physician. He restored to their former health the daughters of ^c *Prætus* king of the *Argives*, who (as the poets please) were made mad by *Juno*; and thinking themselves to be kine, fled into the woods, fearing to be constrained to the plough; for in those countries, where the ground was light, they did use often to plough with kine.

In the 47th year of *Ebud*, *Tros* began to reign in *Dardania*, and gave it his own name; about which time *Phemone*, the chief priest of ^d *Apollo* in *Delphos*, devised the heroical verse.

Of the same date was *Tantalus*, king of *Lydia*; whom *Eusebius* makes king of *Phrygia*; and also of that part of which the people were anciently *Mæones*. Of *Tantalus* was devised the fable, that some poets have applied to the passion of love, and some to the covetous that dare not enjoy his riches. ^e *Eusebius* calls this *Tantalus* the son of *Jupiter*, by the nymph *Pleta*; *Diaconus* and *Didymus* in *Zeze*, give him another mother. He was said to be the son of *Jupiter*, as some will have it; because he had that planet in his ascendent, betokening wisdom and riches. It is said that when he made a feast to the gods, having nothing more precious, he caused his own son to be slain and dress'd for the banquet; of whom *Ceres* eat part of one of the shoulders; whereby was signified, that those men which seek after divine knowledge, prefer nothing on earth before it; no not the care of their own children, of all else the most dearest. And where it was devised, that he had always water and fruit offered to his lips, and yet suffered the torment of hunger and thirst, it was meant thereby, that tho' he abounded (by reason of his riches)

in all delicacy of the world, yet his mind being otherwise, and to higher desires transported, he enjoy'd no pleasure at all by the rest. Of whom *Ovid*:

Querit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captat
Tantalus, hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.

Here *Tantalus* in water seeks
for water, and doth miss,
The fleeting fruit he catcheth at,
his long tongue brought him this,

This punishment, they say, was inflicted upon him, for that he discovered the secrets of the gods: that is, because he taught wisdom and virtue to mortal men; which story *Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly express'd in verse. Others expound this fable otherwise, and say, that *Tantalus*, tho' he excelled in riches, yet being thirsty of more abundance, was never satisfied. Of whom *Horace* against covetousness:

Tantalus a labiis sitiens fugientia captat
Flumina. Quid rides? mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur.

The thirsting *Tantalus* doth catch
at streams that from him flee.
Why laughest thou? the name but chang'd,
the tale is told of thee.

Others conceive, where it is feigned of *Tantalus*, that he gave the *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* of the gods to vain and unworthy men, that he was therefore by them in that sort punished. Of which *Natalis* out of *Pindarus*.

Immortalitatem quod furatus,
Coætaniis convivis
Nectar Ambrosiamque dedit.

Because that stealing immortality,
He did both *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* give
To guests of his own age to make them live.

Whereby it was meant, that the secrets of divinity, ought not to be imparted to the unpure *Vulgar*. For as the cleanest meats in a foul stomach, are therein corrupted; so the most high and reserved mysteries are often perverted, by an unclean and defiled mind.

To you it is given (saith Christ in *St. Mark* iv. 11.) to know the mystery of the kingdom of God, but unto them that are without all things be done in parables. So is it said of him in *Mark* iv. 34. that he expounded all things to his disciples apart. And therefore doth *Gregory Nazianzen* infer upon a place of *St. Paul*; ^f *Quod si Paulo licuisset effari ea, quorum ipsi cognitionem cælum tertium & usque ad illud progressio suppeditavit, fortasse de Deo nobis aliquid amplius conslaret*; If *Paul* might have uttered the things, the knowledge whereof the third heavens, and his going thither, did bring unto him, peradventure we might know somewhat more of God.

Pythagoras, saith *Reuclin*, thought it not the part of a wise man, *Asino lyram exponere, aut mysteria, quæ ita reciperet, ut suis tubam, & fidem græculus, & unguenta scarabæus*; quare silentium indixit discipulis, ne vulgo divinorum arcana patefacerent, quæ meditando facilius, quam loquendo apprehendantur; To set an ass to a harp, or to learn mysteries, which he would handle as a swine cloth a trumpet, or a jay a vial, or scarabees and unclean flies sovereign ointment: wherefore he commanded silence to his disciples, that they should not disclose divine

* Lib. 9. Pau. in Att. b Thuc. l. 2. c Pauf. l. 1. Homer. Odyss. 11. d Pauf. e Euseb. præp. Evang. l. 2. Zeze
hitt. 10. Chil. 5. f Greg. in Orat. de recta ratione dis. de Deo. 2 Cor. 12.

mysteries to the common sort, which are easier learnt by meditation, than by babbling. And therefore did the *Egyptians* communicate their mysteries among their priests in certain hieroglyphick letters, to the end that their secrets might be hidden from the vulgar; and that they might bestow the more time in the contemplation of their covered meanings.

But to proceed with the cotemporaries of *Aod*, or *Ehud*, with him it is also said, that *Tityus* lived whom *Apollo* slew, because he sought to force his mother *Latona*. *Euphorion* hath it thus, that *Tityus* was the son of *Elara*, the daughter of *Orchomenus*; which *Elara* being beloved of *Jupiter*, to avoid *Juno's* revenge, he hid *Elara* in the earth, where she was delivered of *Tityus*; whose mother dying, and himself therein nourished, he was therefore called the son of the earth. *Pausanias* speaking of the grave of this giant, affirms that his body occupied the third part of a furlong. But *Tibullus* hath a louder lie of his stature out of *Homer*.

*Porrectusque novem Tityus per jugera terræ,
Assiduas atro viscere pascit aves.*

Nine furlongs stretch'd lies *Tityus*,
who for his wicked deeds
The hungry birds with his
renewing liver daily feeds.

This *Strabo* doth thus expound; that *Apollo* killing this cruel and wicked tyrant of *Panopea*, a city in *Phocis*, it was feigned by the poets to the terror of others, that he was still eaten in hell by birds, and yet still lived, and had his flesh renewed.

Admetus king of *Theffaly* lived also in this age, whom, it is said, that *Apollo* first served as a herdsman, and afterwards for his excellent wit was by him advanced; but having slain *Hyacinthus*, he cross'd the *Hellepont*, and fled into *Phrygia*; where, together with *Neptune*, he was entertained by *Laomedon*, and got his bread by working in brick, for building of the walls of *Troy*, not by making the bricks leap into their places by playing on his harp; according to him in *Ovid* which saith:

*Ilion aspicias, firmataque turribus altis,
Maenia Apollinæ strueta Canore lyræ.*

Strong *Ilion* thou shalt see
with walls and towers high,
Built with the harp of wife
Apollo's harmony.

Thus the poets; but others, that he laboured with his hands, as hired in this work. And that he also laboured at the building of the *Labyrinth* in *Greece*, all the *Megarians* witness, saith *Pausanias*.

In these days also of *Ehud*, or (as some find it) in the days of *Deborah*, lived *Perseus* the son of *Jupiter* and *Danae*, by whose soldiers (as they failed out of *Peloponnesus* to seek their adventure on *Africa* side) *Medusa* the daughter and successor of *Phorcus*, being weakly accompanied as she hunted near the lake *Triton*, was surpriz'd and slain; whose beauty when *Perseus* beheld, he caused her head to be embalmed, and carried into *Greece*: the beauty whereof was such, and so much admired, and the beholders so astonished which beheld it, as thereof grew the fiction, that all that looked on *Medusa's* head, were turned into stones.

Cecrops, the second of that name, and 7th king of *Athens*, and *Acrisius* the 13th, or after *Eusebius* the 14th king of the *Argives*, began also their

reigns, as it is said, in the time of this judge; of which the first ruled 40 years; and the second, 31 years. Also *Bellerophon* lived in this age, being the son of *Glaucus*, the son of *Sisyphus*; who incited by *Antea* or *Sthenobia* the wife of *Prætus* of the *Argives*, to accompany her, but refusing it, she accused him to her husband that he offered to force her: whereupon *Prætus* sent *Bellerophon* into *Lycia*, about some affairs of weight, between him and his son-in-law *Jobates*; giving secret order to *Jobates* to dispatch him: but *Jobates* thinking it dishonourable to lay violent hands on him, employed him against *Chymæra*, a monster, vomiting or breathing fire. Now the gods (as the report is) pitying his innocency, sent him the wing'd horse *Pegasus*, sprung up of the blood of *Medusa*, formerly slain by the soldiers of *Perseus* in *Africa*, to transport; a horse that none other could master or bridle but *Minerva*: upon which beast *Bellerophon* overcame *Chymæra*, and performed the other services given him in charge; which done, as he returned toward *Lycia*, the *Lycians* lay in ambush to have slain him; but being victorious also over all these, he arrived to *Jobates* in safety; whom *Jobates* for his eminent virtues honoured, first, with one of his daughters, and afterward with his kingdom: after which he grew so insolent, as he attempted to fly up to heaven upon his *Pegasus*; whose pride *Jupiter* disclaiming, caused one of his stinging flies so to vex *Pegasus*, as he cast off *Bellerophon* from his back, into the valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blind, of which burthen *Pegasus* being discharged (as the fable goeth) flew back to heaven; and being fed in *Jupiter's* own stable, *Aurora* begg'd him of *Jupiter* to ride on before the sun. This tale is diversely expounded, as first by some, That it pleaseth God to relieve men in their innocent, and undeserved adversity, and to cast down those which are too high-minded: according to that which is said of *Bellerophon*; that when he was exposed to extremum hazard, or rather certain death, he found both deliverance and honour; but waxing over-proud and presumptuous in his glorious fortunes, he was again thrown down into the extremity of sorrow and ever-during misery. Secondly, By others, That under the name of *Chimæra*, was meant a cruel pirate of the *Lycians*, whose ship had in her prow a lion, a goat in the mid-ship, and a dragon in the stern, of which three beasts this monster *Chymæra* was said to be compounded, whom *Bellerophon* pursued with a kind of galley of such swiftness, that it was called the flying horse; to whom the invention of sails (the wings of a ship) are also attributed. Many other expositions are made of this tale by other authors; but it is not unlikely, that *Chymæra* was the name of a ship, for so *Virgil* calleth one of the greatest ships of *Aineas*.

Ion also, from whom the *Athenians* (being ignorant of the antiquity of their parent *Javan*) derive their name from *Iones*, is said to have been about *Ehud's* time: *Homer* calls them *laones*, which hath a near resemblance to the word *Javan*. Perhaps it might be so, that *Ion* himself took name from *Javan*; it being a custom observable in the histories of all times, to revive the ancient name of a forefather, in some of the principal of his issue.

The invasion of *India* by *Liber Pater*, is by some reported as done in this age: But *St. Augustine* makes him far more ancient; placing him between the coming out of *Egypt*, and the death of *Joshua*.

About the end of the 80 years, ascribed to *Ehud*, and *Samgar*, *Pelops* flourished: who gave name to *Peloponnesus* in *Greece*, now called *Morea*.

^a Hom. Odyf. 11. ^b Paus. in Att. ^c Triton a lake of Africa, which Pliny calleth Pallantia. ^d Euseb. in Chron. ^e Plutarch. in claris mulier. ^f L. 5. Æneid. ^g Homer in hymno ad Apoll. Lib. 18. c. 12. de Civ. Dei 1. 18. c. 15.

SECT. IV.

Of Deborah, and her contemporaries.

AFTER *Israel* had lived in peace and plenty to the end of these 80 years, they again began to forget the Giver of all goodness, and many of those being worn out, which were witnesses of the former misery, and of God's deliverance by *Ehud*, and after him by *Samgar*, the rest began to return to their former neglect of God's commandments. For as plenty and peace are the parents of idle security; so is security as fruitful in begetting and bringing forth both danger and subversion; of which all estates in the world have tasted by interchange of times. Therefore, when their sins were again ripe for punishment, *Jabin* king of *Hazor*, after the death of *Ehud*, invaded the territory of *Israel*, and having in his service 900 iron chariots, besides the rest of his forces, he held them in subjection twenty years, till it pleased God to raise up *Deborah*, the prophetess, who encouraged *Barac* to levy a force out of *Nephthalim*, and *Zabulon*, to encounter the *Canaanites*. That the men of *Nephthalim* were more forward than the rest in this action, it may seem to have proceeded, partly from the authority that *Barac* had among them, being of the same tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grievances, which in them was more sensible, than in others, because *Hazor* and *Haroseth* the chief holds of *Jabin*, were in *Nephthalim*. So in the days of *Jephtha*, the *Gileadites* took the greatest care, because the *Ammonites*, with whom the war was, press'd most upon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleased God by the left hand of *Ehud* to deliver *Israel* from the *Moabites*; and by the counsel and courage of a woman, to free them from the yoke of *Canaan*, and to kill the valiant *Sisera* by *Jael* the *Kenite's* wife: so was it his will at other times, to work the like great things by the weakest means. For the mighty *Affyrian Nabuchodonosor*, who was a king of kings, and resistless, he overthrew by his own imaginations the causers of his brutish melancholy; and changed his matchless pride into the base humility of a beast. And to prove that he is the Lord of all power, he sometimes punisheth by invisible strength, as when he slaughtered the army of *Sennacherib* by his angel; or as he did the *Egyptians* in *Moses's* time: sometimes by dead bodies, as when he drowned *Pharaoh* by the waves of the sea, and the *Canaanites* by hail-stones in the time of *Joshua*: sometimes by the ministry of men, as when he overthrew the four kings of the east, *Chedorlaomer* and his companions, by the household servants of *Abraham*. He caused the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* to set upon their own confederates the army of the *Edomites*; and having slain them to kill one another in the sight of *Jehoshaphat*; and of the like to these a volume of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did *Deborah* the prophetess speak unto *Barac* in these words: ^b But this journey that thou takest, shall not be for thine honour, for the Lord shall sell *Sisera* into the hand of a woman. In which victory all the strength of the *Canaanite Jabin* fell to the ground, even to the last man: in the end of which war, it seemeth that *Jabin* himself also perished, as appeareth by *Judges* iv. 24.

After all which *Deborah* giveth thanks to God, and after the acknowledgment of all his powerfulness, and great mercies, she sheweth the weak estate

whereunto *Israel* was brought for their idolatry by the *Canaanites*, and other bordering nations in these words: ^c Was there a shield or spear seen among forty thousand in *Israel*? She also sheweth how the *Israelites* were severed and amazed, some of them confined over *Jordan*, and durst not join themselves to the rest; as those of *Reuben* in *Gilead*; that the *Asherites* kept the sea-coast, and forsook their habitations towards the land; and the children of *Dan* who neighboured the sea, crept into their ships for safety, shewing thereby that all were dispersed, and all in effect lost. She then curieth the inhabitants of *Meroz*, who dwelling near the place of the battle (belike fearing the success) came not out to assist *Israel*, and then blesteth *Jael* the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, who nailed *Sisera* in her tent; shewing the ancient affection of that race to the *Israelites*. For tho' the family of *Heber* were enforced in that miserable time of subjection, to hold correspondence with *Jabin* the *Canaanite*; yet when occasion offered them means, they witnessed their love and faith to their ancient friends. Lastly, She derideth the mother of *Sisera*, who promised her son the victory in her own hopes; and fancied to herself, and described the spoils both of garments and maidens by him gotten. For conclusion, she directeth her praises and thanks to God only victorious.

From the beginning of *Jabin's* oppression, to the end of that peace which *Deborah* and *Barac* purchased unto *Israel*, there passed 40 years. In which time the kingdom of *Argos*, which had continued 544 years was translated to *Mycenae*. The translation of this kingdom, *Vives*, out of *Pausanias*, writeth to this effect: After *Danaus*, *Lynceus* succeeded in *Argos*, after whom the children of *Abas* the son of *Lynceus* divided the kingdom; of which *Acrisus*, being eldest, held *Argos* itself: *Prætus* his brother possess'd *Ephyra* or *Corinth*, and *Tyrinthos*, and other cities, with all the territory towards the sea, there being many monuments in *Tyrinthos* which witness *Prætus's* possession, faith ^d *Pausanias*.

Now *Acrisus* was foretold by an oracle, that he should be slain by the son of his daughter *Danae*; whereupon he caused her to be inclosed in a tower, to the end that no man might accompany her. But the lady being exceeding fair, it is feigned that *Jupiter* turned himself into a golden shower, which falling into her lap, begat her with child: the meaning whereof was, that some king's son, or other worthy man, corrupted her keepers with gold, and enjoyed her, of whom *Perseus* was born; who, when he grew to man's estate, either by chance (faith *Ctesias*) or in shewing his grandfather the invention of the *Discus*, or leaden ball, slew him unwillingly. After this, *Perseus*, to avoid the infamy of parricide in *Argos*, changed kingdoms with his uncle *Prætus*; and built *Mycenae*. This imprisonment of *Danae* *Sophocles* reporteth otherwise; and says, that she was enclosed in a brazen vault, under the king's hall, with her nurse and keepers. Upon this close custody *Horace* hath this witty observation.

Inclusam Danaen, turris abenea,

Robustæque fores, & vigilum Canum

Tristes excubie, munierant satis

Nocturnis ab adulteris:

Si non Acrisium virginis abditæ

Custodem pavidum Jupiter & Venus

Risissent, fore enim tutum iter & patens,

Converso in pretium Deo.

^a Chron. 20.

^b Judg. 4. 9.

^c Judg. 5. 18.

^d Pausan. in Corinthiacis.

*Aurum per medios ire satellites,
Et perrumpere amat saxa, potentius
Ictu fulmineo.* —————

The brazen towers with doors close bar'd,
And watchful bandogs frightful guard,
Kept safe the maidenhead
Of *Danae* from secret love :
Till smiling *Venus*, and wife *Jove*
Beguil'd her father's dread.
For chang'd into a golden shower,
The God into her lap did pour
Himself, and took his pleasure.
Thro' guards and stony walls to break,
The thunder-bolt is far more weak,
Than is a golden treasure.

The first kings of the Argives were these :

Inachus the first king, who began to reign in the first year of *Jacob*, and the sixty-first of *Isaac*; from which time, to the end of *Sthenelus*, *Castor* mis-reckoneth 400 years. This kingdom before the translation, *Eusebius* accounteth to have stood 544 years, others but at 417. *Io* was the daughter of this *Inachus*, whom the *Egyptians* called *Isis*.

*PHORONEUS,
APIS,
ARGUS,
PIRASUS,
PHORBAS,
TRIOPAS,
CROTOPUS,
STHENE LUS,
DANAUS,
LYNCEUS.
ABAS,
ACRISIUS,
PELOPUS.*

After the translation to *Mycæna*, *Mar. Scotus* finds these kings:

*PERSEUS,
STHENE LUS,
EURISTHEUS.*

Atræus } The sons *Pelops* by *Hippodamia* ;
and } *Atræus* by *Europe* had *Agamemnon* and
Thyestes, } *Menelaus*.

*AGAMEMNON,
ÆGYSTHUS,
ORESTES,
TISAMENUS,
PENTHILUS, and
COMETES.*

Of these kings *Mercator* and *Bunting* leave out the two first, and the last; beginning with *Euristheus*; and ending with *Penthilus*. In *Tisamenus's* time the *Heracidae* returned into *Peloponnesus*, of which hereafter.

The cotemporaries of *Barac* and *Deborah*, were *Midas*, who reigned in *Phrygia*; and *Ilus*, who built *Ilium*; with others mentioned in our chronological table, as cotemporaries with *Deborah*.

SECT. V.

Of *Gideon*, and of *Dædalus*, *Sphinx*, *Minos*, and others that lived in this age.

DE *DEBORAH* and *Barac* being dead; the *Midianites* assisted by the *Amalekites* infested *Is-*

rael. For: when under a judge, who had held them in the fear of the Lord, they had enjoyed any quiet or prosperity; the judge was no sooner dead, than they turned to their former impious idolatry. Therefore now the neighbouring nations did so master them in a short time (the hand of God being withheld from their defence) as to save themselves, they crept into caves of the mountains, and other the like places of hardest access: their enemies possessing all the plains and fruitful vallies; and in harvest time by themselves, and the multitude of their cattle, destroying all that grew up, covering the fields as thick as grasshoppers; which servitude lasted seven years.

Then the Lord by his angel stirred up ^b *Gideon* the son of *Joash*, afterwards called *Jerubbaal*; whose fear and unwillingness, and how it pleased God to hearten him in his enterprize, it is both largely and precisely set down in the holy scriptures: as also how it pleased God by a few select persons, ^c namely 300 out of 32000 men, to make them know that he only was the Lord of hosts: each of these 300, by *Gideon's* appointment, carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, instruments of more terror than force, with which he gave the great army of their enemies an alarm; who hearing so loud a noise, and seeing (at the crack of so many pitchers broken) so many lights about them, esteeming the army of *Israel* to be infinite, and stricken with a sudden fear, they all fled without a stroke stricken; and were slaughtered in great numbers, two of their princes being made prisoners and slain. In his return the *Ephraimites* began to quarrel with *Gideon*, because he made war without their assistance, being then greedy of glory, the victory being gotten; who (if *Gideon* had failed and fallen in the enterprize) would no doubt have held themselves happy by being neglected. But *Gideon* appeasing them with a mild answer, followed after the enemy, in which pursuit being tired with travel, and weary even with the slaughtering of his enemies, he desired relief from the inhabitants of *Succoth*, to the end that (his men being refreshed) he might overtake the other two kings of the *Midianites*, which had saved themselves by flight. For they were four princes of the nations which had invaded and wasted *Israel*; to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeeb*, which were taken already, and *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* which fled.

Gideon being denied by them of *Succoth*, sought the like relief from the inhabitants of *Penuel*, who in like sort refused to succour him. To both of these places he threatened therefore the revenge, which in his return from the prosecution of the other two princes he performed; to wit, that he would tear the flesh of those of *Succoth* with thorns and briars, and destroy the inhabitants and city of *Penuel*. Now why the people of these two cities should refuse relief to their brethren the *Israelites*, especially after so great a victory, if I may presume to make conjecture; it seems likely, first, that those cities set over *Jordan*, and in the way of all invasions to be made by the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Midianites* into *Israel*, had either made their own peace with those nations, and were not spoiled by them: or else they knowing that *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* were escaped with a great part of their army, might fear their revenge in the future. Secondly, It may be laid to the condition and dispositions of these men, as it is not rare to find of the like humour in all ages. For their are multitudes of men, especially of those which follow the wars, that both envy and malign others, if they

^a Judg. 6. ^b Judg. 6. 8. ^c Judg. 6. and 7.

perform any praise-worthy actions, for the honour and safety of their own country, tho' themselves may be assured to bear a part of the smart of contrary success. And such malicious hearts can rather be contented that their prince and country should suffer hazard and want, than that such men as the mil-like, should be the authors or actors of any glory or good to either.

Now *Gideon*, how or wheresoever it were that he refreshed himself, and his weary and hungry soldiers, yet he followed the opportunity, and pursued his former victory to the utmost: and finding *Zeba* and *Zalmunna* in ^b *Karkor* (suspecting no farther attempt upon them) he again surprized them, and slaughtered those 15000 remaining; having put to the sword in the former attempt 120000, and withal he took *Zeba* and *Zalmunna* prisoners; whom, because themselves had executed *Gideon's* brethren before at *Tabor*, he caused to be slain: or (as it is written) at their own request slew them with his own hands: his son, whom he first commanded to do it, refusing it; and in his return from the consummation of this marvellous victory, he took revenge of the elders of *Succoth*, and of the citizens of *Peniel*: forgiving no offence committed against him, either by strangers or by his brethren the *Israelites*. But such mercy as he shewed to others, his own children found soon after his death, according to that which hath been said before. The debts of cruelty and mercy are never left unsatisfied; for as he slew the seventy elders of *Succoth*, with great and unusual torments, so were his own seventy sons, all but one, murdered by his own bastard *Abimelech*. The like analogy is observed by the *Rabines*, in the greatest of the plagues which God brought upon the *Egyptians*, who having caused the male children of the *Hebrews* to be slain, others of them to be cast into the river and drowned: God rewarded them even with the like measure, destroying their own first-born by his angel, and drowning *Pharaoh* and his army in the *Red sea*. And hereof a world of examples might be given, both out of the scriptures, and other histories.

In the end so much did the people reverence *Gideon* in the present for this victory, and their own deliverance, as they offered him the sovereignty over them, and to establish him in the government; which he refused, answering, *I will not reign over you, neither shall my child reign over you, but the Lord shall*, &c. But he desired the people, that they would bestow on him the golden ear-rings, which every man had gotten. For the *Ismaelites*, neighbours, and mix'd with the *Midianites*, used to wear them: the weight of all which was a thousand and seven hundred shekles of gold, which makes of ours, 2380 pounds, if we follow the account of the shekle vulgar. And because he converted that gold into an ephod, a garment of gold, blew silk, purple, scarlet, and fine linen, belonging to the high priest only, and set up the same in his own city of *Ophra*, or *Ephra*, which drew *Israel* to idolatry, the same was the destruction of *Gideon* and his house.

There was another kind of ephod besides this of the high priests which the *Levites* used, and so did *David* when he danced before the ark; and *Samuel* while he was yet young, which was made of linen only.

Now if any man demand, how it was possible for *Gideon* with 300 men to destroy 120000 of their enemies; and afterwarpe 15000 which remained, we may remember, that altho' *Gideon* with 300

gave the first alarm, and put the *Midianites* in rout and disorder: yet all the rest of the army came into the slaughter, and pursuit; for it is written; *That the men of Israel being gathered together out of Nephtali, and out of Asher, and out of Manasseh, pursued after the Midianites*: for this army *Gideon* left in the tents behind him, when he went down to view the army of his enemies, who with the noise of his 300 trumpets came after him to the execution.

There lived with *Gideon*, *Ægeus* the son of *Pandion*, who reigned in *Athens*; *Euristheus* king of *Mycenæ*, *Atræus* and *Thyestes* the sons of *Pelops*, who bare dominion over a great part of *Peloponnesus*, and after the death of *Euristheus* the kingdom of *Mycenæ* fell into the hand of *Atræus*. This is that *Atræus* who holding his brother in jealousy, as an attempter both of his wife and crown, slew the children of *Thyestes*, and causing their flesh to be dress'd did therewith feast their father. But this cruelty was not unrevenged. For both *Atræus* and his son *Agamemnon* were slain by a base son of *Thyestes*, yea the grand-children, and all the lineage of *Atræus* died by the same sword.

In *Gideon's* time also those things were supposed to have been done, which are written of *Dædalus* and *Icarus*. *Dædalus*, they say, having slain his nephew *Attalus*, fled to *Minos* king of *Crete* for succour, where for his excellent workmanship he was greatly esteemed, having made for *Minos* a labyrinth like unto that of *Egypt*. Afterwards he was said to have framed an artificial cow for *Pasiphaë* the queen, that she, being in love with a fair bull, might, by putting herself into the cow, satisfy her lust, a thing no less unnatural than incredible, had not that shameless emperor *Domitian*, exhibited the like beastly spectacle openly before the people of *Rome* in his amphitheatre; on purpose as may seem to verify the old fable. For so it appears by those verses of *Martial*, wherein the flattering poet magnifieth the abominable shew as a goodly pageant in those vicious times.

*Junctam Pasiphaën Dilecto credite tauro
Vidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem.
Nec se miratur Cæsar, longæva vetustas
Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.*

But concerning that which is reported of *Pasiphaë*, *Servius* makes a less dishonest construction of it, thinking that *Dædalus* was of her counsel, and her pandar for the enticing of a secretary of *Minos* called *Taurus*, which signifieth a bull, who begat her with child, and that she being delivered of two sons, the one resembling *Taurus*, the other her husband *Minos*, it was feigned that she was delivered of the monster *Minotaur* half a man, and half a bull. But this practice being discovered, and *Dædalus* appointed to be slain, he fled out of *Crete* to *Cocalus* king of *Sicily*; in which passage he made such expedition, as it was feigned that he fashioned wings for himself, and his son to transport them. For whereas *Minos* pursued him with boats, which had oars only, *Dædalus* framed sails both for his own boat, and for his sons, by which he out-went those that had him in chase. Upon which new invention, *Icarus* bearing himself overbold, was over-borne and drowned.

It is also written of *Dædalus*, that he made images that could move themselves, and go, because he carved them with legs, arms, and hands; whereas those that preceded him, could only present the body and head of those men, whom they carved to

^a *A place in Balaan, as it is thought*, Judg. 8. 10. ^b Judg. 8. 21. ^c Exod. 28. Judg. 8. 28 ^d Judg. 7. 23.

counterfeit, and yet the workmanship was esteemed very rare. But *Plutarch*, who had seen some of those that were called the images of *Dædalus*, found them exceeding rude.

With ^a *Gideon* also flourished *Linus* the *Theban*, the son of *Apollo*, and *Terpsichore*, who instructed *Thamaris*, *Orpheus*, and *Hercules*. He wrote of the creation, of the sun and moon's course, and of the generation of living creatures, but in the end he was slain by *Hercules* his scholar with his own harp.

Again, in this age those things spoken of ^b *Sphinx* and *Oedipus* are thought to have been performed. This *Sphinx* being a great robber by sea and land, was by the *Corinthian* army, led by *Oedipus*, overcome. But that which was written of her propounding of riddles to those whom she mastered, was meant by the rocky and inaccessible mountain near *Thebes* which she defended, and by *Oedipus* dissolving her problem, his victory over her. She was painted with wings, because exceeding swift, and with the body of a lion for her cruelty. But that which *Palephatus* reports of *Sphinx* were more probable, did not the time disprove it, for he calls her an *Amazonite*, and the wife of *Cadmus*; who when by her help he had cast *Draco* out of *Thebes* (neglecting her) he married the sister of *Draco*, which *Sphinx* taking in despicable part, with her own troop she held the mountain by *Thebes*, from whence she continued a sharp war upon the *Thebans*, till by *Oedipus* overthrown. About this time did *Minos* thrust his brother out of *Crete*, and held sharp war with the *Megarians* and *Athenians*, because his son *Androgeus* was slain by them. He possess'd himself of *Megara* by the treason of *Scylla*, daughter of *Nisus* the king. He was long master of the sea, and brought the *Athenians* to the tribute of delivering him every year seven of their sons; which tribute *Theseus* released, as shall be shewed when I come to the time of the next judge *Thola*. In the end he was slain at ^c *Camerinus* or *Camicus* in *Sicilia* by *Cocalus* the king, while he pursued *Dædalus*; and was esteemed by some to be the first law-giver to those islands.

To this time are referred many deeds of *Hercules*, as the killing of *Antæus* the giant, who was said to have 60 and odd cubits of length, which tho' *Plutarch* doth confirm, reporting that there was such a body found by *Sertorius* the *Roman* in *Libya*, where *Hercules* slew *Antæus*; yet for my self I think it but a loud lye. That *Antæus* was of great strength, and a cunning wrestler, ^d *Eusebias* affirmeth; and because he cast so many men to the ground, he was feigned to be the son of the earth. *Pliny* saith, that he inhabited near the gardens *Hesperides* in *Mauritania*. ^e *St. Augustine* affirms, that this *Hercules* was not of *Greece*; but of *Libya*; and the ^f *Hydra* also which he overcame, *Plato* expoundeth to be a subtil sophister.

SCET. VI.

Of the expedition of the Argonauts.

ABout the 11th year of *Gideon*, was that famous expedition of the *Argonauts*; of which many fabulous discourses have been written, the sum of which is this.

Pelias the son of *Neptune*, brother by the mother's side to *Aison*, who was *Jason's* father, reigning in *Iolcus*, a town of *Theffaly*, was warned by the oracle of *Apollo* to take heed of him that wore but

one shoe. This *Pelias* afterwards sacrificing to *Neptune*, invited *Jason* to him, who coming hastily, lost one shoe in passing over a brook: Whereupon *Pelias* demanded of him what course he would take (supposing he was able) against one of whom an oracle should advise him to take heed? To which question when *Jason* had briefly answered, that he would send him to *Colchus*, to fetch the golden fleece: *Pelias* immediately commanded him to undertake that service. Therefore *Jason* prepared for the voyage, having a ship built by *Argus*, the son of *Phryxus*, by the counsel of *Pallas*: wherein he procured all the bravest men of *Greece* to sail with him: as *Typhis* the master of the ship, *Orpheus* the famous poet, *Castor* and *Pollux* the sons of *Tyndarus*, *Telamon* and *Peleus* sons of *Æacus*, and fathers of *Ajax* and *Achilles*, *Hercules Theseus*, *Zetes* and *Calais* the two-winged sons of *Boreas*, *Amphiaraus* the great sooth-sayer, *Meleager* of *Calidon* that slew the great wild boar, *Ascalaphus* and *Jalmenus* or *Almenus* the sons of *Mars*, who were afterwards at the last war of *Troy*, *Laertes* the father of *Ulysses*, *Atalanta* a warlike virgin, *Idas* and *Lynceus* the sons of *Aphareus*, who afterwards in fight with *Castor* and *Pollux* slew *Castor* and wounded *Pollux*, but were slain themselves, *Lynceus* by *Pollux*, *Idas* by *Jupiter* with lightning.

These and many other went with *Jason* in the ship *Argo*; in whose prow was a table of the beech of *Dodona*, which could speak. They arrived first at *Lemnos*; the women of which island, having slain all the males, purposing to lead an *Amazonian* life, were nevertheless contented to take their pleasure of the *Argonauts*. Hence they came to the country about *Cyzicus*, where dwelt a people called *Doliones*, over whom then reigned one *Cyzicus*, who entertained them friendly; but it so fell out, that loosing thence by night, they were driven by contrary winds back into his port, neither knowing that it was the same haven, nor being known by the *Doliones*, to be the same men; but rather taken for some of their bordering enemies, by which means they fell to blows, insomuch that the *Argonauts* slew the most part of the *Doliones*, together with their king *Cyzicus*; which when by day-light they perceived, with many tears they solemnized his funeral. Then departed they again, and arrived shortly in *Mysia*, where they left *Hercules* and *Polyphemus* the son of *Elates*, who went to seek *Hyllas* the darling of *Hercules*, that was ravished by the nymphs.

Polyphemus built a town in *Mysia*, called *Cios*, wherein he reigned. *Hercules* returned to *Argos*: from *Mysia* the *Argonauts* sailed into *Bitynia*, which then was peopled by the *Bebryces* the ancient inhabitants of the country, over whom *Amycus* the son of *Neptune* was then king. He being a strong man, compelled all strangers to fight with him, at whorl-batts, in which kind of fight he had slain many, and was now himself slain by *Pollux*. The *Bebryces* in revenge of his death slew all upon *Pollux*, but his companions rescued him, with great slaughter of the people. They sailed from hence to *Salmydessus*, a town in *Thrace* (somewhat out of their way) wherein *Phineus* a sooth-sayer dwelt, who was blind and vexed with the harpyes. The harpyes were said to be a kind of birds, which had the faces of women and soul long claws, very filthy creatures, which when the table was furnished for *Phineus*, came flying in, and devouring or carrying away the greatest part of the victuals, did so defile the rest, that they could not be endured.

^a Herind. Plat. Pauf. l. 9. ^b Strab. l. 6. ^c Arist. pol. 1. ^d Euseb. in Chr. ^e Aug. de Civitate Dei, l. 19 c. 12. Euf. in Chr.

When therefore the *Argonauts* craved his advice and direction for their voyage: you shall do well (quoth he) first of all to deliver me from the harpyes, and then afterwards to ask my counsel. Whereupon they caused the table to be covered, and meat set on; which was no sooner set down, than that presently in came the harpyes, and played their accustomed pranks; when *Zetes* and *Calais* the winged young men saw this, they drew their swords, and pursued them thro' the air; some say, that both the harpyes and the young men died of weariness in the fight, and pursuit. But *Apollonius* saith, that the harpyes did covenant with the youths, to do no more harm to *Phineus*, and were thereupon dismissed. For this good turn *Phineus* gave them informations of the way, and advertised them withal of the dangerous rocks, called *Symplegades*, which by force of winds running together, did shut up the passage; wherefore he willed them to put a pigeon before them in the passage; and if that passed safe, then to adventure after her; if not, then by no means to hazard themselves in vain. They did so, and perceiving that the pigeon had only lost a piece of her tail, they observed the next opening of the rocks, and then rowing with all their might, passed thro' safe, only the end of the poop was bruised.

From thenceforward (as the tale goeth) the *Symplegades* have stood still; for the Gods, say they, had decreed that after the passage of a ship, they should be fixed. Thence the *Argonauts* came to the *Mariandyni*, a people inhabiting about the mouth of the river *Parthenius*, where *Lycus* the king entertained them courteously. Here *Idmon* a sooth-sayer of their company was slain by a wild boar; also here *Typhis* died, and *Anceus* undertook to steer the ship. So they passed by the river *Thermodon*, and mount *Caucasus*, and came to the river *Phasis*, which runs thro' the land of *Colchus*. When they were entred the haven, *Jason* went to *Æetes* the king of *Colchus*, and told him the commandment of *Pelias*, and cause of his coming; desiring him to deliver the golden fleece, which *Æetes*, as the fable goeth, promised to do, if he alone would yolk together two brazen-hoof'd bulls, and ploughing the ground with them, sow dragons teeth, which *Minerva* had given to him, being part of those which *Cadmus* did sow at *Thebes*. These bulls were great and fierce, and breathed out fire; *Vulcan* had given them to *Æetes*.

Whilst *Jason* was in a great perplexity about this task, *Medæa*, the daughter of *Æetes*, fell into a most vehement love of him, so far forth, that being excellent in magic, she came privily to him, promising her help, if he would assure her of his marriage. To this *Jason* agreed, and confirmed his promise by oath. Then gave she to him a medicine, wherewith she bad him to anoint both his body and his armour, which would preserve him from their violence; further she told him, that armed men would arise out of the ground, from the teeth which he should sow, and set upon him. To remedy which inconvenience, she bid him throw stones amongst them, as soon as they came up thick, whereupon they would fall together to blows, in such wise that he might easily slay them. *Jason* followed her counsel; whereto when the event had answered, he again demanded the fleece. But *Æetes* was so far from approving such his desire, that he devised how to destroy the *Argonauts*, and burn their ship; which *Medæa* perceiving, went to *Jason*, and brought him by night to the fleece, which hung upon an oak in the grove of *Mars*, where they say it was kept by a dragon, that never slept. This dragon was by the magic of *Medæa* cast in-

to a sleep: so taking away the golden fleece, she went with *Jason* into the ship *Argo*: having with her, her brother *Abfyrtus*.

Æetes understanding the practices of *Medæa*, provided to pursue the ship; whom when *Medæa* perceived to be at hand, she slew her brother, and cutting him in pieces, she scattered his limbs in divers places; of which *Æetes* finding some, was fain to seek out the rest, and suffer his daughter to pass: the parts of his son he buried in a place, which thereupon he called *Tomi*; the Greek word signifieth division. Afterwards he sent many of his subjects to seek the ship *Argo*, threatening that if they brought not back *Medæa*, they should suffer in her stead. In the mean while the *Argonauts* were driven about the seas, and were come to the river *Eridanus*, which is *Po* in *Italy*.

Jupiter offended with the slaughter of *Abfyrtus*, vexed them with a great tempest, and carried them they knew not whither; when they came to the islands *Abfyrtides*, there the ship *Argo* (that there might want no incredible thing in this fable) spake to them, and said, that the anger of *Jupiter* should not cease, till they came to *Ausonia*, and were cleansed by *Circe* from the murder of *Abfyrtus*. Now they thereupon sailing between the coasts of *Libya*, and *Gallia*, and passing thro' the sea of *Sardinia*, and along the coast of *Heitruvia*, came to the isle of *Æea*, wherein *Circe* dwelt, who cleansed them. Thence they sailed by the coast of the *Syrens*, who sung to allure them into danger; but *Orpheus* on the other side sung so well that he stay'd them. Only *Butes* swam out unto them, whom *Venus* ravished, and carried to *Lylibæum* in *Sicily* to dwell.

Having pass'd the *Syrens*, they came between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, and the stragling rocks which seemed to cast out great store of flames and smoke. But *Thetis* and the *Nereides*, convey'd them safe thro' at the appointment of *Juno*. So they coasted *Sicily* where the beeves of the sun were, and touched at *Corcyra* the island of the *Phæaces*, where king *Alcinous* reigned. Mean while the men of *Colchus*, that had been sent by *Æetes* in quest of the ship *Argo*, hearing no news of it, and fearing his anger if they fulfilled not his will, betook themselves to new habitations; some of them dwelt in the mountains of *Corcyra*, others in the islands *Abfyrtides*, and some coming to the *Phæaces*, there found the ship *Argo*, and demanded *Medæa* of *Alcinous*, whereunto *Alcinous* made answer, that if she were not *Jason's* wife they should have her, but if she were already married, he would not take her from her husband. *Arete*, the wife of *Alcinous*, hearing this, married them: wherefore they of *Colchus* not daring to return home, stay'd with the *Phæaces*; so the *Argonauts* departed thence, and after a while came to *Crete*. In this island *Minos* reigned, who had a man of brass given to him (as some of the fablers say) by *Vulcan*. This man had one vein in his body reaching from the neck to the heel, the end whereof was closed up with a brazen nail, his name was *Talus*, his custom was to run thrice a day about the island for the defence of it. When he saw the ship *Argo* pass by, he threw stones at it; but *Medæa* with her magic destroy'd him. Some say, that she slew him by potions, which made him mad; others, that promising to make him immortal, she drew out the nail that stop'd his vein, by which means all his blood ran out, and he died; others there are that say, he was slain by *Pæan*, who wounded him with an arrow in the heel. From hence the *Argonauts* sailed to *Ægina*, where they were fain to fight for fresh water. And lastly from *Ægina* they sailed by *Eubæa* and *Le-*

cris home to *Iolcos*, where they arrived, having spent four whole months in the expedition.

Some there are, that by this journey of *Jason*, understand the mystery of the philosopher's stone, called the golden fleece; to which also other super-
fine chymists draw the 12 labours of *Hercules*. *Suidas* thinks, that by the golden fleece, was meant a golden book of parchment, which is of sheep's-skin, and therefore called golden, because it was taught therein how other metals might be transmuted. Others would signify by *Jason*, wisdom, and moderation, which overcometh all perils; but that which is most probable is the opinion of *Dercilus*, that the story of such a passage was true, and that *Jason* with the rest went indeed to rob *Colchos*, to which they might arrive by boat. For not far from *Caucasus* there are certain steep falling torrents, which wash down many grains of gold, as in many other parts of the world, and the people there inhabiting use to set many fleeces of wool in those descents of waters, in which the grains of gold remain, and the water passeth thro'; which *Strabo* witnesseth to be true. The many rocks, straits, sands, and currents, in the passage between *Greece* and the bottom of *Pontus*, are poetically converted into those fiery bulls, the armed men rising out of the ground, the dragon cast asleep, and the like. The man of brass, the *Syrens*, *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, were other hazards and adventures which they fell into in the *Mediterranean* sea, disguised, as the rest, by *Orpheus*, under poetical morals; all which *Homer* afterwards used (the man of brass excepted) in the description of *Ulysses's* travels on the same inland seas.

S E C T. VII.

Of Abimelech, Tholan, and Jair, and of the Lapythæ, and of Theseus, Hippolytus, &c.

AFTER the death of *Gideon*, *Abimelech's* base son, begotten on a concubine of the *Sechemites*, remembering what offers had been made to his father by the people, who desired to make him and his their perpetual princes; and, as it seemeth, supposing (notwithstanding his father's religious modesty) that some of his brethren might take on them the sovereignty, practised with the inhabitants of *Sechem* (of which his mother was native) to make election of himself, who being easily moved with the glory, to have a king of their own, readily condescended; and the better to enable *Abimelech*, they borrowed^a 70 pieces of silver of their idol *Baalberith*, with which treasure he hired a company of loose and desperate vagabonds, to assist his first detestable enterprise, to wit, the slaughter of his 70 brethren the sons of *Gideon*, begotten on his wives, of which he had many, of all which none escaped but ^b*Jotham* the youngest, who hid himself from his present fury; all which he executed on one stone, a cruelty exceeding all that hath been written of in any age. Such is human ambition, a monster that neither feareth God (tho' all-powerful, and whose revenges are without date and for everlasting) neither hath it respect to nature, which laboureth the preservation of every being; but it rageth also against her, tho' garnished with beauty which never dieth, and with love that hath no end. All other passions and affections, by which the souls of men are tormented, are by their contraries oftentimes resisted or qualified. But ambition, which begetteth every vice, and is it self the child and darling of

Satan, looketh only towards the ends by it self set down, forgetting nothing (how fearful and inhuman soever) which may serve it; remembering nothing, whatsoever justice, piety, right or religion, can offer and alledge on the contrary. It ascribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts, to the error or weakness of the undertakers, and rather praiseth the adventure than feareth the like success. It was the first sin that the world had, and began in angels, for which they were cast into hell, without hope of redemption. It was more ancient than man, and therefore no part of his natural corruption. The punishment also preceded his creation, yet hath the devil, which felt the smart thereof, taught him to forget the one, as out of date, and to practise the other, as besitting every age and condition.

Jotham, the youngest of *Gideon's* sons, having escaped the present peril, sought by his best persuasions to alienate the *Sechemites*, from the assisting of this merciless tyrant, letting them know, that those which were virtuous, and whom reason and religion had taught the safe and happy estate of moderate subjection, had refused to receive as unlawful, what others had not power to give, without direction from the King of kings; who from the beginning (as to his own peculiar people) had appointed them by whom and how to be governed. This he taught them by the olive, which contented it self with its fatness, the fig-tree with sweetness, and the vine with the good juice it had; the bramble only, who was most base, cut down all the rest, and accepted the sovereignty. He also foretold them by a prophetic spirit, what should befall them in the end, and how a fire should come out of the bramble, and consume the cedars of *Libanon*.

Now (as it is an easy matter to call those men back, whom rage without right led on) *Gaal* the son of *Ebed* withdrew the citizens of *Sechem*, from the service of *Abimelech*; who therefore after some assaults entred the place, and mastered it; and in conclusion fired the town, wherein their idol *Baalberith* was worshipped, and put all the people of all sorts to the slaughter. Lastly, in the assault of the castle or tower of *Teber*, himself was wounded in the head with a stone thrown over the wall by a woman, and finding himself mortally bruised, he commanded his own page to pierce his body, thereby to avoid the dishonour of being slain by so feeble a hand.

While *Abimelech* usurped the government, the *Lapithæ* and *Centaurs* made war against the *Thebans*. These nations were descended of *Apollo*, and were the first in those parts that devised to manage horses, to bridle and to fit them: insomuch as when they first came down from the mountains of *Pindus*, into the plains, those which had never seen horsemen before, thought them creatures compounded of men and horses; so did the *Mexicans* when *Ferdinando Cortes* the *Spaniard* first invaded that empire.

After the death of *Abimelech*, *Thola* of *Issachar* governed *Israel* 23 years, and after him *Jair* the *Gileadite* 22 years, who seemeth to be descended of *Jair*, the son of *Manasseh*, who in *Moses's* time conquered a great part of *Gilead*, and called the same after his own name, ^d*Ilaboth Jair*. For to this *Jair* there remained ^ethirty of those cities, which his ancestor had recovered from the *Amorites*. Of these judges, because there is nothing else written, it is an argument, that during all

^a Judg. 9. 4. ^b Judg. 9. 5. ^c Palsephatus, l. 1. de incredib. ^d Deut. 3. 14. Numb. 12. 41. ^e Judg. 10.

their times, *Israel* lived without disturbance and in peace.

When *Jair* judged *Israel*, *Priamus* began to reign in *Troy*, who at such time as *Hercules* sack'd *Ilium*, was carried away captive with his sister *Hesione* into *Greece*, and being afterwards redeemed for ransom, he rebuilt and greatly strengthened, and adorned *Troy*; and so far enlarged his dominions, as he became the supream lord in effect of all *Asia* the less. He married *Hecuba* the daughter of *Cisseus* king of *Thrace*, and had in all (saith ^a *Cicero*) fifty sons, whereof seventeen by *Hecuba*, of whom *Paris* was one; who attempting to recover his aunt *Hesione*, took *Helena* the wife of *Menelaus*, the cause of the war which followed.

Theseus, the 10th king of *Athens*, began likewise to reign in the beginning of *Jair*: some writers call him the son of *Neptune* and *Aethra*; but *Plutarch*, in the story of his life, finds him begotten of *Aegeus*, of whom the *Grecian* sea between it and *Asia* the less took name. For when *Minos* had mastered the *Athenians*, so far as he forced them to pay him seven of their sons every year for tribute, whom he inclosed within a labyrinth, to be devoured by the monster *Minotaur*; because belike the sons of *Taurus*, which he begat on *Pasiphae* the queen, had the charge of them: among these seven *Theseus* thrust himself, not doubting by his valour to deliver the rest, and to free his country of that slavery, occasioned for the death of *Androgeus*, *Minos*'s son.

And having possess'd himself of *Ariadne*'s affection, who was *Minos*'s daughter, he received from her a bottom of thread, by which he conducted himself through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the labyrinth, made in all like that of the city of crocodiles in *Egypt*; by means whereof having slain the *Minotaur*, he found a ready way to return. But whereas his father *Aegeus* had given order, that if he came back with victory and in safety, he should use a white sail in sign thereof, and not that mournful black sail, under which they left the port of *Athens*. This instruction being either forgotten or neglected, *Aegeus* descrying the ship of *Theseus* with a black sail, cast himself over the rocks down into the sea, afterwards called of his name *Aegeum*.

One of the first famous acts of *Theseus*, was the killing of *Scyron*, who kept a passage between *Megara* and the *Peloponnesian Isthmus*, and threw all whom he mastered into the sea, from the high rocks. Afterwards he did the like to *Cercyon*, by wrestling, who used by that art to kill others. He also rid the country of *Procrustes*, who used to bend down the strong limbs of two trees, and fastened by cords such as he took, part of them to one, and part to the other bough, and by their springing up tore them asunder. So did he root out *Periphetes*, and other mischievous thieves and murderers. He overthrew the army of the *Amazons*, who after many victories and vastations, entred the territory of *Athens*. *Theseus* having taken their queen *Hippolyta* prisoner, begat on her *Hippolytus*; with whom afterwards his mother-in-law *Phaedra* falling in love, and he refusing to abuse his father's bed, *Phaedra* perswaded *Theseus* that his son offered to force her; after which it is feigned, that *Theseus* besought *Neptune* to revenge this wrong of his son's, by some violent death. *Neptune*, taking a time of advantage, sent out his sea-calves, as *Hippolytus* passed by the sea-shore, and so affrighted his horses, as casting the coach over, he was (by being intangled therein) torn in pieces; which miserable and

undeserved destiny, when *Phaedra* had heard of, she strangled her self. After which it is feigned, that *Diana* entreated *Aesculapius* to set *Hippolytus*'s pieces together, and to restore him to life; which done, because he was chaste, she led him with her into *Italy*, to accompany her in her hunting and field sports.

It is probable that *Hippolytus*, when his father sought his life, thinking to escape by sea, was affronted thereat, and received many wounds in forcing his passage and escape, which wounds *Aesculapius*, to wit, some skillful physician or chirurgeon, healed again; after which he pass'd into *Italy*, where he lived with *Diana*, that is, the life of a hunter, in which he most delighted. But of those ancient profane stories, *Plutarch* saith well, that as cosmographers in their descriptions of the world, where they find many vast places, whereof they knew nothing, fill the same with strange beasts, birds, and fishes, and with mathematical lines; so do the *Grecian* historians and poets imbroider and intermix the tales of ancient times with a world of fictions and fabulous discourses. True it is, that *Theseus* did many great things in imitation of *Hercules*, whom he made his pattern, and was the first that gathered the *Athenians* from being dispersed in thin and ragged villages: in recompence whereof, and for devising them laws to live under, and in order, he was, by the beggarly, mutable, and ungrateful multitude, in the end banished. Some say, *per ostracismum*, by the law of lots, or names written on shells, which was a device of his own.

He stole *Helen* (as they say) when she was 15 years old, from *Aphidna*, which *Cyllar* and *Pollux* overturned, when they followed after *Theseus*, to recover their sister. ^b *Strabo* and *Pausanias* write, that *Theseus* begat her with child at *Argos*, where she erected a temple to *Luctina*; but her age makes the tale unlikely to be true, and so doth *Ovid*, *Non tamen ex facio praedictum tantum petitum*, &c. The rape ^c *Eusebius* finds in the list of ^d *Jair*, who governed *Israel* 22 years, to whom succeeded *Jephtha* or *Jepte* 6 years, to whom *Ibzan*, who ruled 7 years, and then *Habdon* 3 years; in whose time was the fall of *Troy*. So as, if *Theseus* had a child by her in the 1st of *Jair* (at which time we must count her no less than 15 years old; for the women did not commonly begin so young as they do now) she was then at least 52 years old, at the destruction of *Troy*; and when she was stolen by *Paris* 38; but herein the chronologers do not agree. Yet ^e *Eusebius* and *Bunting*, with *Italicarnassus* do in effect consent, that the city was entred, and burnt in the first year of *Demophon* king of *Athens*, the successor of *Mnestheus*, the successor of *Theseus*, 17 days before the summer tropick; and that about the 11th of *September* following, the *Trojans* cross'd the *Hellepont* into *Thrace*, and wintered there; and in the next spring that they navigated into *Sicilia*, where wintering the second year, the next summer they arrived at *Laurentum*, and builded *Lavinium*. But ^f *St. Augustine* hath it otherwise, that when *Polyphides* governed *Sicyon*, *Mnestheus* *Athens*, *Tautanes* *Assyria*, *Habdon* *Israel*, then *Aeneas* arrived in *Italy*, transporting with him in 20 ships the remainder of the *Trojans*; but the difference is not great; and hereof more at large in the story of *Troy* at hand.

In *Sicyona* *Phaestus* the two and twentieth king, reigned eight years, beginning by the common account in the time of *Thola*. His successors, *Adrastus*, who reigned four years, and *Polyphides*, who

^a In Tusc. ^b Strab. l. 9. Paus. in Con. ^c In Epist. Helen. ^d Judg. 10. 3. ^e Bant. Chron. Euseb. Chron. Hal. l. 1. ^f Ang. de Civitate Dei, l. 18. c. 19.

reigned thirteen, are accounted to the time of *Jair*; so is also *Mneſtheus* king of *Athens*, and *Atreus*, who held a great part of *Peloponnesus*. In *Aſſyria*, during the government of theſe two peaceable judges, *Mitreus*, and after him *Tautanes*, reigned. In *Egypt* *Amenophis*, the ſon of *Ramſes*, and afterwards *Annemenes*.

SECT. VIII.

Of the war of Thebes which was in this age.

IN this age was the war of *Thebes*, the moſt ancient that ever *Greek* poet or hiſtorian wrote of. Wherefore the *Roman* poet *Lucretius*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truly againſt the *Peripateticks*) that the world had a beginning, urgeth them with this objection.

— — — *Si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Rerumque & mundi, ſemperque æterna fuere;
Cur ſupra bellum Thebanum, & funera Trojæ,
Non alias alii quoque res cecinere poetæ.*

If all this world had no original,
But things have ever been as now they are:
Before the ſiege of *Thebes* or *Troy's* laſt fall,
Why did no poet ſing ſome elder war.

It is true, that in theſe times *Greece* was very ſavage, the inhabitants being often chaced from place to place, by the captains of greater tribes; and no man thinking the ground whereon he dwelt, his own, longer than he could hold it by ſtrong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercourſe they uſed little, neither did they plant many trees, or ſow more corn than was neceſſary for their ſuſtenance. Money they had little or none; for it is thought that the name of money was not heard in *Greece*, when *Homer* did write, who meaſures the value of gold and braſs by the worth in cattle; ſaying, that the golden armour of *Glaucus*, was worth 100 beeves, and the copper armour of *Dicomedes* worth nine.

Robberies by land and ſea were common and without ſhame, and to ſteal horſes or kine was the uſual exerciſe of their great men. Their towns were not many, whereof thoſe that were walled were very few, and not great. For *Mycenæ* the principal city in *Peloponnesus* was a very little thing, and it may well be thought, that the reſt were proportionable; briefly, *Greece* was then in her infancy, and tho' in ſome ſmall towns of that half iſle of *Peloponnesus*, the inhabitants might have enjoyed quietneſs within their narrow bounds; as likewise did the *Athenians*, becauſe their country was ſo barren, that none did care to take it from them; yet that the land in general was very rude, it will eaſily appear to ſuch as conſider what *Thucydides* the greateſt of their hiſtorians hath written to this effect, in the preface to his hiſtory. Wherefore, as in theſe latter times, idle chroniclers uſe, when they want good matter, to fill whole books with reports of great froſts, or dry ſummers, and other ſuch things which no man cares to read; ſo did they, who ſpoke of *Greece* in her beginnings, remember only the great floods which were in the times of *Ogyges*, and *Deucalion*; or elſe rehearſe ſables of men changed into birds, of ſtrange monſters, of adultery committed by their Gods, and the mighty men which they begat; without writing ought that favoured of humanity, before the time of the war of *Thebes*; the brief whereof is this.

Oedipus the ſon of *Laius* king of *Thebes*, having been caſt forth when he was an infant, becauſe an oracle foretold what evil ſhould come to paſs by him,

did afterwards in a narrow paſſage contending for the way, ſlay his own father, not knowing either then, nor long after, who he was. Afterwards he became king of *Thebes*, by marriage of the queen *Jocasta*, called by *Homer*, *Od. 11. Epicaſte*; on whom, not knowing her to be his mother, he begat two ſons, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But when in proceſs of time, finding out by good circumſtances, who were his parents, he underſtood the grievous murder and inceſt he had committed, he tore out his own eyes for grief, and left the city. His wife and mother did hang herſelf. Some ſay, that *Oedipus* having his eyes pulled out, was expelled *Thebes*, bitterly curling his ſons, becauſe they ſuffered their father to be caſt out of the town, and aided him not. Howſoever it were, his two ſons made this agreement, that the one of them ſhould reign one year, and the other another year, and ſo by courſe reign interchangeably; but this appointment was ill obſerved. For when *Polynices* had, after a year's government, reſigned the kingdom to his brother; or (according to others) when *Eteocles* had reigned the firſt year, he reſuſed to give over the rule to *Polynices*. Hereupon *Polynices* fled unto *Argos*, where *Adrastus* the ſon of *Talaas* then reigned, unto whoſe palace coming by night, he was driven to ſeek lodging in an out-houſe on the back-ſide.

There he met with *Tydeus* the ſon of *Oeneus*, who was fled from *Calydon*; with whom ſtriving about their lodging, he fell to blows. *Adrastus* hearing the noiſe, came forth and took up the quarrel. At which time perceiving in the ſhield of *Tydeus* a boar, in that of *Polynices* a lion, he remembered an old oracle, by which he was adviſed to give his two daughters in marriage to a lion and a boar; and accordingly he did beſtow his daughter *Argia* upon *Tydeus*, and *Deipyle* upon *Polynices*, promiſing to reſtore them both to their countries. To this purpoſe levying an army, and aſſembling as many valiant captains as he could draw to follow him, he was deſirous, among others, to carry *Amphiaraus*, the ſon of *Oicleus*, a great ſoothſayer and a valiant man, along with him. But *Amphiaraus*, who is ſaid to have foreſeen all things, knowing well that none of the captains ſhould eſcape, ſave only *Adrastus*, did both utterly reſuſe to be one in that expedition, and perſuaded others to ſtay at home. *Polynices* therefore dealt with *Eriphyle* the wife of *Amphiaraus*, offering unto her a very fair bracelet, upon condition that ſhe ſhould cauſe her husband to aſſiſt him. The ſoothſayer knowing what ſhould work his deſtiny, forbade his wife to take any gift of *Polynices*. But the bracelet was in her eyes ſo precious a jewel, that ſhe could not reſuſe it. Therefore, whereas a great controverſy, between *Amphiaraus* and *Adrastus*, was by way of compromise put unto the deciſion of *Eriphyle*, either of them being bound by ſolemn oath to ſtand to her appointment: ſhe ordered the matter ſo, as a woman ſhould, that loved a bracelet better than her husband. He now finding that it was more eaſy to foreſee than avoid deſtiny, ſought for ſuch comfort as revenge might afford; giving in charge to his ſons, that when they came to full age, they ſhould kill their mother, and make ſtrong war upon the *Thebans*.

Now had *Adrastus* aſſembled all his forces, of which the ſeven chief leaders were, himſelf, *Amphiaraus*, *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon* (inſtead of whom ſome name *Mecisteus*) all *Argives*, with *Polynices* the *Theban*, *Tydeus* the *Aetolian*, and *Parthenopeus* the *Arcadian*, ſon of *Meleager* and *Atalanta*. When the army came to the *Nemean* wood, they met a woman, whom they deſired to help them to ſome water, ſhe having a child in her arms, laid

laid it down, and led the *Argives* to a spring ; but ere she returned, a serpent had slain the child. This woman was *Hyppipyle* the daughter of *Thoas* the *Lemnian*, whom she would have saved when the women of the isle slew all the males by conspiracy, intending to lead an *Amazonian* life. For such her piety, the *Lemnian* wives did sell her to pirates, and the pirates to *Lycurgus* lord of the country about *Nemæa*, whose young son *Opheltes*, or *Archemorus*, she did nurse, and lost, as is shewed before. When upon the child's death she hid herself for fear of her master, *Amphiaraus* told her sons where they should find her ; and the *Argives* did both kill the serpent which had slain the child, and in memory of the chance, did institute solemn funeral games called *Nemæan*, wherein *Adrastus* won the prize with his swift horse *Arion*, *Tydeus* with whorlbat, *Amphiaraus* at running and quoiting, *Polynices* at wrestling, *Parthenopæus* at shooting, and one *Laodocus* in darting. This was the first institution of the *Nemæan* games, which continued after famous in *Greece* for very many ages. There are who think, that they were ordained in honour of one *Ophellus*, a *Lacedemonian*. Some say by *Hercules*, when he had slain the *Nemæan* lion : but the common opinion agrees with that which is here set down.

From *Nemæa*, the *Argives* marching onwards, arrived at *Citheron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them sent ambassador to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of covenants between him and *Polynices*. This message was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who was thoroughly resolved to hold what he had, as long as he could : which *Tydeus* perceiving, and intending partly to get honour, partly to try what mettle was in the *Thebans*, he made many challenges, and obtained victory in all of them, not without much envy and malice of the people, who laid fifty men in ambush, to intercept him at his return to the army, of which fifty he slew all but one, whom he sent back to the city, as a reporter and witness of his valour. When the *Argives* understood how resolved *Eteocles* was, they presented themselves before the city, and encamped round about it. *Thebes* is said to have had at that time seven gates, which belike stood not far asunder, seeing that the *Argives* (who afterward when they were very far stronger could scarce muster up more thousands than *Thebes* had gates) did compass the town. *Adrastus* quartered before the gate *Homoloides*, *Capaneus* before the *Ogygean*, *Tydeus* before *Crenis*, *Amphiaraus* at *Proetis*, *Hippomedon* at *Anchais*, *Parthenopæus* at *Electra*, and *Polynices* at *Hyppista*. In the mean season, *Eteocles* having armed his men, and appointed commanders unto them, took advice of *Tiresias* the soothsayer, who promised victory to the *Thebans*, if *Menæcius* the son of *Creon*, a principal man of the city, would vow himself to be slain in honour of *Mars* the God of war. So full of malice and pride is the devil, and so envious at his Creator's glory, that he not only challengeth honours due to God alone, as oblations and sacrifices, with all divine worship, but commandeth us to offer our selves, and our children unto him, when he hath sufficiently clouded mens understandings, and bewitched their wills with ignorance and blind devotion. And such abominable sacrifice of men, maids, and children hath he exacted of the *Syrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Gauls*, *Germans*, *Cyprians*, *Egyptians*, and of many other, if not of all nations, when thro' ignorance or fear they were most filled with superstition. But as they grew more wise, so did he wax less impudent in cunning, tho' not less malicious in desiring the continuance of such

barbarous inhumanity. For king *Dipphilus* in *Cyprus*, without advice of any oracle, made the idol of that country rest contented with an ox instead of a man. *Tiberius* forbade human sacrifices in *Africk* ; and crucified the priests in the groves where they had practised them. *Hercules* taught the *Italians* to drown men of hay instead of the living, yet among the savages in the *West-Indies*, these cruel offerings have been practised of late ages ; which as it is a sufficient argument, that *Satan's* malice is only covered and hidlen by this subtilty among civil people : so may it serve as a probable conjecture of the barbarisms then reigning in *Greece*. For *Menæcius*, as soon as he understood that his death might purchase victory to his people, bestowed himself (as he thought) upon *Mars*, killing himself before the gates of the city. Then was a battle fought, wherein the *Argives* prevailed so far at the first, that *Capaneus* advancing ladders to the walls, got up upon the rampart ; whence, when he fell, or was cast down, or (as writers have it) was stricken down by *Jupiter* with a thunder-bolt, the *Argives* fled. Many on each part were slain in this battle, which caused both sides to desire that *Eteocles* and *Polynices* might try out the quarrel in single fight ; where the two brethren accordingly slew each other.

Another battle was fought after their deaths, wherein the sons of *Astacus* behaved themselves very valiantly : *Ismarus*, one of the sons, slew *Hippomedon*, which was one of the seven princes ; *Parthenopæus* being another of the seven (who was said to have been so fair, that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was slain by *Amphidicus*, or, as some say, by *Periclymenus* the son of *Neptune* ; and the valiant *Tydeus* by *Menalippus* ; yet ere *Tydeus* died, the head of *Menalippus* was brought unto him by *Amphiaraus*, which he cruelly tore open, and swallowed up the brains. Upon which fact, it is said, that *Pallas* who had brought from *Jupiter* such remedy for his wounds, as should have made him immortal, refused to bestow it upon him ; whereby, perhaps, was meant, that his honour, which might have continued immortal, did perish through the beastly rage that he shewed at his death.

The host of the *Argives* being wholly discomfited, *Adrastus* and *Amphiaraus* fled ; of whom *Amphiaraus* is said to have been swallowed quick into the earth, near to the river *Ismenus*, together with his chariot, and so lost out of mens sight, being peradventure overwhelmed with dead carcases or drowned in the river ; and his body never found, nor greatly sought for. *Adrastus* escaped on his good horse *Arion*, and came to *Athens* ; where sitting at an altar, called the altar of mercy, he made supplication for their aid to recover their bodies. For *Creon* having obtained the government of *Thebes*, after the death of *Eteocles*, would not suffer the bodies of the *Argives* to be buried ; but caused *Antigona*, the only daughter then living of *Oedipus*, to be buried quick, because she had sought out and buried the body of her brother *Polynices*, contrary to *Creon's* edict. The *Athenians* condescending to the request of *Adrastus*, did send forth an army under the conduct of *Theseus*, which took *Thebes*, and restored the bodies of the *Argives* to sepulchre ; at which time *Evadne* the wife of *Capaneus*, threw herself into the funeral fire, and was burnt willingly with her husband. But it little contented the sons of those captains which were slain at *Thebes*, that any less revenge should be taken of their fathers death, than the ruin of the city ; wherefore ten years after having levied forces, *Aegialeus* the son of *Adrastus*, *Diomedes* of *Tydeus*,
Pro-

Promachus of *Parthenopæus*, *Sibnelus* of *Capaneus*, *Thersander* of *Polynices*, and *Euripylus* of *Mecisteus*, marched thither under the conduct of *Alcæon* the son of *Amphiaraus*; with whom also went his brother *Amphilochus*. *Apollo* promised victory if *Alcæon* were their captain, whom afterwards by another oracle he commanded to kill his own mother.

When they came to the city, they were encountered by *Laodamas* the son of *Eteocles*, then king of the *Thebans* (for *Creon* was only tutor to *Laodamas*) who tho' he did valiantly in the battle, and slew *Ægialeus*, yet was he put to the worst, and driven to fly, or (according to *Apollodorus*) slain by *Alcæon*. After this disaster the citizens began to desire composition; but in the mean time they convey'd themselves with their wives and children away from thence by night, and so began to wander up and down, till at length they built the town called *Esiæa*. The *Argives*, when they perceived that their enemies had quitted the town, entering into it, sacked it, threw down the walls, and laid it waste; howbeit it is reported by some, that the town was saved by *Thersander*, the son of *Polynices*, who causing the citizens to return, did there reign over them. That he saved the city from utter destruction, it is very likely, for he reigned there, and led the *Thebans* to the war of *Troy*, which very shortly after ensued.

SECT. IX.

Of Jephtha, and how the three hundred years which he speaketh of, Judg. xi. 28. are to be reconciled with the places, Acts xiii. 20. 1 Kings vi. 1. together with some other things touching chronology about these times.

AFTER the death of *Jair* (near about whose times these things happened in *Greece*, and during whose government, and that of *Thola*, *Israel* lived in peace and in order) they revolted again from the law and service of God, and became more wicked and idolatrous than ever. For whereas in the former times they worshipped ^a*Baal* and *Asteroth*, they now became followers of all the heathen nations adjoining, and imbraced the idols of the *Aramites*, of the *Zidonians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*; with those of the *Philistines*. And as it before pleased God to correct them by the *Aramites*, by the *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*; so now he scourged them by the ^b*Ammonites*, and afterwards by the *Philistines*.

Now among the *Israelites*, those of *Gilead* being most oppress'd, because they bordered upon the *Ammonites*, they were forc'd to seek *Jephtha*, whom they had formerly despised and cast from them, because he was base born; but he (notwithstanding those former injuries) participating more of godly compassion, than of devilish hatred and revenge, was content to lead the *Gileadites* to the war, upon condition that they should establish him their governour after victory. And when he had disputed with *Ammon* for the land, disproved *Ammon's* right, and fortified the title of *Israel* by many arguments, the same prevailing nothing, he began the war; and being strengthened by God, overthrew them; and did not only beat them out of the plains, but forc'd them over the mountains of *Arabia*, even to ^c*Minnith*, and *Abel* of the vineyards, cities express'd heretofore in the description of the holy land. After which victory it is said, that he performed the vain vow, which

he made, to sacrifice the first living creature he encountered, coming out of his house to meet him; which happened to be his own daughter, and only child, who with all patience submitted herself, and only desired two months time to bewail her virginity on the mountains of *Gilead*; because in her the issues of her father ended; but the other opinion that she was not offered, is more probable, which ^d*Borraus* and others prove sufficiently.

After these things the children of *Israel*, of the tribe of *Ephraim*, either envious of *Jephtha's* victory, otherwise making way to their future calamity, and to the most grievous slavery that ever *Israel* suffered, quarrelled with *Jephtha*, that they were not called to the war, as before-time they had contested with *Gideon*. *Jephtha* hereupon forc'd to defend himself against their fury, in the encounter slew of them ^e42000, which so weaken'd the body of the land, as the *Philistines* had an easy conquest of them all not long after: *Jephtha*, after he had judged *Israel* 6 years died; to whom succeeded *Ibzan*, who ruled 7 years: after him *Elon* was their judge 10 years: in all which time *Israel* had peace. *Eusebius* finds not *Elon*, whom he calleth *Adon*, for in the *Septuagint*, approved in his time, this judge was omitted.

Now before I go on with the rest, it shall be necessary upon the occasion of *Jephtha's* account of the times *Judg. xi. 28.* (where he says that *Israel* had then possess'd the east side of *Jordan* 300 years) to speak somewhat of the times of the judges, and of the differing opinions among the divines and chronologers: there being found three places of scripture, touching this point, seeming repugnant, or disagreeing: the first is in this dispute between *Jephtha* and *Ammon*, for the right and possession of *Gilead*: the second is that of *St. Paul, Acts xiii.* the third is that which is in the 1st of *Kings*. *Jephtha* here challengeth the possession of *Gilead* for 300 years: *St. Paul* giveth to the judges, as it seems, from the end of *Joshua*, to the last of *Heli*, 450 years. In the 1st of *kings* it is taught, that from the departing of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, to the foundation of *Solomon's* temple, there were consumed 480 years. To the first, *Beroaldus* findeth *Jephtha's* 300 years to be but 266 years, to wit, 18 of *Joshua*, 40 of *Othoniel*, 80 of *Aod* and *Samgar*, 40 of *Deborah*, 40 of *Gideon*, 3 of *Abimelech*, 23 of *Thola*, and 22 of *Jair*: but *Jephtha* (saith *Beroaldus*) putteth or proposeth a certain number, for an uncertain: *Sic ut dicat annum agi prope trecentesium, ex quo nullus litem ea de removerit Israeli*; So he speaketh (saith he) as meaning, that then it was about or well nigh the three hundredth year, since *Israel* possessed those countries, no man making question of their right. *Codoman* on the contrary finds more years than *Jephtha* named by 65, to wit, 365, whereof 71 were spent in *Israel's* captivity, at several times, of which (as *Codoman* thinketh) *Jephtha* forbore to repeat the whole sum, or any great part, lest the *Ammonite* should have justly objected, that 71 of those years, the *Israelites* were in captivity and vassals to their neighbour princes, and therefore knowing that to name 300 years, it was enough for prescription, he omitted the rest.

To justify this account of 365 years, besides the 71 years of captivity or affliction, to be added to *Beroaldus's* 266, he addeth also 28 years more, and so maketh up the sum of 365. These 28 years he findeth out thus; 20 years he gives to the seniors between *Joshua* and *Othoniel*; and where

^a Judg. 10. ^b The persecution of the Ammonites lasted 18 years, and ended in the year of the world 2820, in which year Jephtha began. Judg. 11. ^c Judg. 11. 33. ^d Bor. in Judg. ^e Judg. 12. ^f Id facit numero cento pto incerto proposito.

Beroaldus alloweth but 18 years to *Joshua's* government, *Codoman* accounts that his rule lasted 26 according to *Josephus*; whereas *St. Augustine* and *Eusebius* give him 27, *Melanchthon* 32. The truth is, that this addition of 28 years is far more doubtful than the other of 71. But tho' we admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of some part of the years of affliction (to wit, 34 years of the 71) if we add them to the 266 years of *Beroaldus*, which reckoneth none of these, we have the just number of 300 years. Neither is it strange, that *Jephtha* should leave out more than half of these years of affliction: seeing, as it is already said, the *Ammonites* might except against these 71 years, and say, that during these years, or at least a good part of them, the *Israelites* had no quiet possession of the countries in question. *Martin Luther* is the author of a third opinion, making those 300 years remembred by *Jephtha*, to be 306, which odd years, saith he, *Jephtha* omitteth. But because the years of every judge as they reigned, cannot make up this number of 306, but do only compound 266, therefore doth *Luther* add to this number, the whole time which *Moses* spent in the deserts of *Arabia Petraea*; which 40 years of *Moses*, added to the number which *Beroaldus* findeth of 266, make indeed 306.

But I see nothing in the text to warrant *Luther's* judgment herein; for in the dispute between *Jephtha* and *Ammon* for the land of *Gilead*, it is written in the person of *Ammon* in these words: ^a *Because Israel took my land, when they came up from Egypt, from Arnon unto Jaboc, &c. now therefore restore those lands quietly or in peace.* So by this place it is plain, that the time is not to be accounted from *Moses's* departure out of *Egypt*; but from the time that the land was posses'd. For it is said, *Quia cepit Israel terram meam*; Because *Israel* took my land; and therefore the beginning of this account, is to be referred to the time of the taking: which *Jephtha's* answer also confirmeth in these words; ^a *When Israel dwelt in Heshbon and in her towns, and in Aroer and in her towns, and in all the cities that are by the coast of Arnon, 300 years: why did ye not then recover them in that space?* So as this place speaks it directly, that *Israel* had inhabited and dwelt in the cities of *Gilead* 300 years; and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents, that *Israel* had to possess it, it seemeth somewhat strained to me; for we do not use to reckon the time of our conquests in *France*, from our princes intents or purposes, but from their victories and possessions.

Junius nevertheless likes the opinion of *Luther*, and says, that this time of 300 years hath reference, and is to take beginning from the first of *Jephtha's* narration; when he makes a brief repetition of *Moses's* whole journey; to wit, at the 16th verse of the xith chapter of *Judges* in our translation in these words; ^b *But when Israel came up from Egypt, &c.* And therefore *Moses's* 40 years (as he thinks) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305 years; and not only the time in which *Israel* posses'd *Gilead*, according to the text, and *Jephtha's* own words; of which I leave the judgment to others; to whom also I leave to judge, whether we may not begin the 480 years, from the deliverance out of *Egypt* to the temple, even from the first departure out of *Egypt*, and yet find a more probable reconciliation of *St. Paul's* and *Jephtha's* account with this

reckoning, than any of those that as yet have been signified. For first, touching *Jephtha's* 300 years of possession of the east side of *Jordan*, it is to be remembered, that for a good while before the *Israelites* possessed it, *Sehon* and *Og* had dispossessed *Moab* and *Ammon* thereof; so that when the *Israelites* had conquered *Sehon* and *Og*, the right of possession, which they had, passed to *Israel*; and so *Jephtha* might say, that they had possessed those countries 300 years, reckoning 266 years of their own possession, and the rest of the possession of the two kings *Sehon* and *Og*, whose right the *Israelites* had by the law of conquest.

The second place disputed is this of *St. Paul*, *Acts* xiii. that from the end of *Joshua*, to the beginning of *Samuel*, there pass'd 450 years. And this place *Luther* understandeth also besides the letter, as I find his opinion cited by *Funclius Krentseuius*, and *Beza*, for I have not read his commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of *Moses*, to the last year of *Heli*, but 357 years; and this he doth the better to approve the times from the egression out of *Egypt* to the building of the temple, which in *1 Kings* vi. is said to be 480 years.

Now for as much as *St. Paul* (as it seems) finds 450 years from the death of *Joshua*, to the last of *Heli*, and leaves but 30 years for *Saul* and *Samuel*, who governed 40, for *David* who ruled 40, and for *Solomon* who wore the crown three whole years ere the foundation of the temple was laid; therefore *Luther* takes it, that there was an error in the scribe, who wrote out this piece of scripture of *St. Paul*, to wit, ^c *Then afterwards he gave unto them judges about 450 years, unto the time of Samuel the prophet*; the words *then afterwards*, being clearly referred to the death or after the death of *Joshua*, as shall be hereafter proved. But where *St. Luke*, rehearsing the words of *St. Paul*, wrote 350 years (saith *Luther*) the scribe in the transcription being deceived, by the affinity of those two *Greek* words, whereof the one signifieth 300, and the other 400, wrote *Tetracosiois* for *Triacosiois* 400 years for 300 years, and 450 for 350. This he seeketh to strengthen by many arguments; to which opinion *Beza* in his great annotations adhereth. A contrary judgment to this hath *Codoman*; where *Luther* and *Beza* begin at *Moses's* death, he takes his account from the death of *Joshua*, and from thence to the beginning of *Samuel* he makes 430 years, to wit, of the judges (not reckoning *Sampson's* years) 319, and of years of servitude and affliction under strangers 111. The reason why he doth not reckon *Sampson's* 20 years, is, because he thinks that they were part of the 40 years, in which the *Philistines* are said to have oppressed *Israel*. For it is plain, that during all *Sampson's* time, they were lords over *Israel*. So then of the judges, besides the 111 years of servitude, *Codoman* reckoneth (as I have said) 319 years, which two sums put together make 430 years, and whereas *St. Paul* nameth 450 years, he finds 20 years to make up *St. Paul's* number, to have been spent after the death of *Joshua* by the seniors, before the captivity of *Chusban*, or the election of *Othniel*; which 20 years added to 430, make 450, according to *St. Paul*. To approve this time of elders, he citeth two places of scripture, namely, the xxivth of *Joshua*, and the 2d of *Judges*, in each of which places it is written, that *Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of*

^a *Judg.* 11. 28. ^b *Junius* in the 11th of *Judg.* note. ^c *Read the 24th of Joshua, and 2 Judg.* 7. *Funcl.* *Chron.* fol. 4. *Beza* in his annotations upon the 13th of the *Acts*, ver. 20. ^d *Acts* 13. 20. ^e *Judg.* 13. *Judg.* 15. 11.

the elders that over-lived Joshua, so as to these times of the elders, *Codoman* giveth 20 years, which make as before 450, according to *St. Paul*. Neither would it breed any great difficulty in this opinion, if here also the 20 years of the seniors, between *Joshua* and *Othniel*, should be deny'd. For they which deny these years, and make *Othniel's* 40 to begin presently upon the death of *Joshua*, as in the beginning of this reckoning they have 20 years less than *Codoman*, so towards the end of it (when they reckon the years of affliction, apart from the years of the judges) in the number of *Sampson's* years, and of the 40 years of the *Philistines* oppressing the *Israelites*, they have 20 years more than *Codoman*. For they reckon these 40 years of oppression, all of them apart from *Sampson's* 20, but *Codoman* as is said makes *Sampson's* 20 to be the one half of the 40 of the *Philistines* oppressions; so that if the 20 years of the seniors be not allowed to *Codoman*, then he may reckon (as the letter of the text seems to enforce) that the *Philistines* in an *Inter-regnum*, before *Sampson* judged *Israel*, vexed the *Israelites* 40 years, besides the 20 while *Sampson* was their judge, and so the reckoning will come to 450 years between the end of *Joshua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, tho' we admit not of an *Inter-regnum* of the seniors, between *Joshua* and *Othniel*: for if the times of their affliction be sum'd, they make 111 years, to which if we add the years of the judges, which are 339, we have the just sum of 450. And this computation, either one way or other, may seem to be much more probable, than theirs that correct the text, altho' we should admit of their correction thereof, and read with them 350 for 450. For whereas they conceive that this time of 350 years, is to begin immediately, or soon after the death of *Moses*; certainly the place of *St. Paul* doth evidently teach the contrary, tho' it be received for true, that there was *vitium scriptoris* in the rest. For these be *St. Paul's* words; *And about the time of 40 years, God suffered their manners in the wilderness; and he destroyed seven nations in the land of Canaan, and divided their land to them by lot. Then afterwards he gave unto them judges about 450 years, unto the time of Samuel the prophet.* So as first in the 18th verse he speaketh of *Moses*, and of his years spent in the wilderness, then in the 19th verse he cometh to the acts of *Joshua*; which were that he destroy'd 7 nations in the land of *Canaan*, and divided their land to them by lot. In the 20th verse it followeth; *Then afterwards he gave them judges about 450 years, &c.* And therefore to reckon from the death of *Moses*, is wide of *St. Paul's* meaning, so far as my weak understanding can pierce it. The only inconvenience of any weight in the opinion of *Codoman* touching this place in the *Acts*, is that it seems irreconcilable with the account *1 Kings* vi. 11. For if indeed there were spent 450 years between the end of *Joshua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, certainly there must needs be much more than 480 years between the beginning of the *Israelites* journeying from *Egypt*, and the foundation of the temple by *Solomon*. To this difficulty *Codoman* answereth, that these 480 years *1 Kings* vi. 1. must begin to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their journeying from *Egypt*, which he makes to be 25 years after the beginning of *Othniel's* government; from whence if we cast the years of the judges, with the years of servitude (which sums according to his ac-

count, of which we have already spoken, make 397 years) and so to these years add the 40 of *Samuel* and *Saul*, and the 40 of *David*, and the 3 of *Solomon*, we shall have the just sum of 480 years. Neither is it hard, saith he, that the *An-nus egressionis*, *1 Reg.* vi. 1. should be understood *Egressionis non incipientis sed finitæ*, the year of their coming out of *Egypt* (for so it is in the original) or the year after they came out of *Egypt*, may well be understood for the year after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandering from thence. For so we find that things, which were done 40 years after they had set foot out of *Egypt*, are said to have been done in their going out of *Egypt*, as *Psalms* cxiv. *When Israel came out of Egypt, Jordan was driven back.* And *Deut.* iv. 45. *These are the testimonies which Moses spake when they came out of Egypt.* And thus far it seems we may very well agree with *Codoman*, for the interpretation of the words *ab exitu*, to be as much as *quum exivissent*, or *ab exitu finito*: for if *Junius*, *Deut.* iv. 45. do well read *quum exivissent*, for *in exitu*, as it seems that herein he doth well, why may not we also, to avoid contradiction in the scripture, expound *ab exitu* to be *postquam exivissent*?

The next point to be cleared is, how their journeying should be said, not to have had end until the 25th year after the victory of *Othniel*. To this *Codoman* answereth, that then it had no end till when all the tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not until this time; at which time the *Danites* at length seated themselves, as it is declared, *Judg.* xviii. For doubtless to this time the expedition may most conveniently be referred. And thus without any great inconvenience to him appearing, doth *Codoman* reconcile the account of *Jephtha*, *Judg.* xviii. 1. and *St. Paul*, with that in *1 Kings* vi. Now whereas it is said, that the expedition of the *Danites* was, when there was no king in *Israel*: To this *Codoman* answereth, that it is not necessary that we should suppose that *Othniel* lived all those 40 years of rest, of which *Judg.* iii. 11. So that by the 25 years after his victory, either he might have been dead, or at least, as *Gideon* did, he might have refused all sovereignty; and so either way it might truly be said, that at this time (to wit, the 25th year after *Othniel's* victory) there was no king in *Israel*. This opinion of *Codoman*, if it were as consonant to other chronologers grounding their opinions on the plain text, where it is indisputable, as it is in it self round enough and coherent, might perhaps be received as good; especially considering that the speeches of *St. Paul* have not otherwise found any interpretation, maintaining them as absolutely true, in such manner as they found and are set down. But seeing that he wanteth all help of authority, we may justly suspect the supposition whereupon his opinion is grounded; it being such as the consent of many authors would hardly suffice to make very probable. For who hath told *Codoman*, that the conquest of *Laiſh*, by the tribe of *Dan*, was performed in the five and twentieth year of *Othniel*? Or what other probability hath he than his own conjecture, to shew that *Othniel* did so renounce the office of a judge after five and twenty years, that it might then be truly said there was no king in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his own eyes.

Now concerning the rehearsal of the law by *Moses*, and the stopping of *Jordan*, they might

indeed be properly said to have been, when *Israel* came out of *Egypt*; like as we say, that king *Edward* I. was crowned when he came out of the *Holy Land*; for so all journies with their accidents commonly take name from the place, either whence or whither they tend. But I think he can find no such phrase of speech in scripture, as limiteth a journey by an accident, or saith, by converting the proposition, when *Jordan* was turning back, *Israel* came out of *Egypt*. Indeed most improper it were to give date unto actions commenced long after, from an expedition finished long before; namely to say, that king *Edward*, at his arrival out of *Palæstina*, did win *Scotland*, or died at *Carlisle*. How may we then believe, that enterprize performed so many years after the division of the land (which followed the conquest at the journey's end) should be said to have been at the time of the departure out of *Egypt*? Or who will not think it most strange, that the most notable account of time, serving as the only guide for certain ages in sacred chronology, should not take name and beginning, from that illustrious deliverance out of *Egypt*, rehearsed often by God himself among the principal of his benefits to *Israel*, whereof the very day and month are recorded in scripture (as likewise are the year and month wherein it expired) and the form of the year upon that occasion changed; but should have reference to the surprizing of a town by 600 men, that robb'd a chappel by the way, and stole from thence idols to be their guides, as not going to work in God's name? For this accident, whereupon *Codoman* buildeth, hath either no time given to it, or a time far different from that which he supposeth, and is indeed rather by him placed in such a year, because it best stood with his interpretation so to have it, than for any certainty or likelihood of the thing itself.

Wherefore we may best agree with such as affirm, that the apostle *St. Paul* did not herein labour to set down the course of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpose) but only to shew that God, who had chosen *Israel* to be his people, delivered them out of bondage, and ruled them by judges and prophets, unto the time of *Saul*; did raise up our Lord *Jesus Christ* out of the seed of *David* the king, in whose succession the crown was established, and promise made of a kingdom that should have no end. Now in rehearsing briefly thus much, which tended as a preface to the declaration following (wherein he sheweth Christ to have been the true *Messias*) the apostle was so far from labouring to make an exact calculation of time (the history being so well known, and believed of the *Jews* to whom he preached) that he spake as it were at large of the 40 years consumed in the wilderness, whereof no man doubted; saying, that God suffered their manners in the wilderness about 40 years. In like manner he proceeded, saying, that from the division of the land unto the days of *Samuel* the prophet, in whose time they required to have a king, there passed about 450 years. Neither did he stand to tell them, that 111 years of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339 years of the *Judges*; for this had been an impertinent digression from the argument which he had in hand. Wherefore it is a work not so needful as laborious, to search out of this place, that which the apostle did not here intend to teach, when the sum of 480 years is so expressly and purposefully set down.

Now that the words of *St. Paul* (if there be no fault in the copy thro' error of some scribe) are not so curiously to be examined in matter of chronology, but must be taken as having reference to the memory and apprehension of the vulgar, it is evident by his ascribing in the same place 40 years to the reign of *Saul*; whereas it is manifest, that those years were divided between *Saul* and *Samuel*, yea, that far the greater part of them were spent under the government of the prophet, howsoever they are here included in the reign of the king. As for those, that with so much cunning forsake the general opinion, when it favoureth not such exposition, as they bring out of a good mind, to help where the need is not over great; I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The words of *St. Paul* were sufficiently justified by *Beroaldus*, as having reference to a common opinion among the scribes in those days, that the 111 years of servitude were to be reckoned apart from the 339 years ascribed to the judges; which account the apostle would not in this place stand to contradict, but rather chose to speak as the vulgar, qualifying it with a *Quasi*, where he saith, *Quasi quadringentis & quinquaginta annis*; As it were four hundred and fifty years. But *Codoman* being not thus contented, would needs have it to be so indeed; and therefore disjoins the members to make the account even. In so doing he dasheth himself against a notable text; whereupon all authors have builded (as well they might and ought) that purposely and precisely doth cast up the years from the departure out of *Egypt*, unto the building of *Solomon's* temple, not omitting the very month itself.

Now (as commonly the first apprehensions are strongest) having already given saith to his own interpretation of *St. Paul*, he thinketh it more needful to find some new exposition for that, which is of itself most plain, than to examine his own conjecture, upon a place that is full of controversy. Thus by expounding, after a strange method, that which is manifest by that which is obscure, he loseth himself in those ways, wherein before him never man walked. Surely if one should urge him to give reason of these new opinions, he must needs answer, that *Othoniel* could not govern above 25 years, because then was the taking of *Laiſh*, at which time there was no king in *Israel*: that the *Danites* must needs have taken *Laiſh* at that time, because else we could not reckon backwards from the foundation of the temple, to any action that might be termed the coming of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, without excluding the years of servitude; and that the years of servitude must needs be included, for that otherwise he himself should have spent his time vainly, in seeking to pleasure *St. Paul* with an exposition. Whether this ground be strong enough to uphold a paradox, I leave it to the decision of the judicious reader.

And now to proceed in our story. To the time of *Jephthah* are referred the death of *Hercules*, the rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, and the provisions which her husband *Menelaus*, reigning then in *Sparta*, and his brother *Agamemnon* king of *Mycenæ*, made for her recovery. Others refer this rape of *Helen* to the fourth year of *Ibzan*; from which time, if the war of *Troy* (as they suppose) did not begin till the third of *Ailon* or *Elon*, yet the *Greeks* had six years to prepare themselves; the rule holding not true in this war, *Longa preparatio belli celerem affert victoriam*; That a long preparation begets a speedy victory; for the *Greeks* consumed 10 years in the

the attempt; and *Troy* as it seems was entred, sack'd and burnt in the third year of *Habdon*.

Three years after *Troy* was taken, which was in the sixth year of *Habdon*, *Aeneas* arrived in *Italy*. *Habdon* in the eighth year of his rule died, after he had been the father of 40 sons and 30 grand-children. And whereas it is supposed, that the 40 years of *Israel's* oppression by the *Philistines* (of which *Judg.* xiii. 1.) took beginning from the ninth year of *Jair*, and ended with the last of *Habdon*; I see no great reason for that opinion. For *Ephraim* had had little cause of quarrel against *Jephtha*, for not calling them to war over *Jordan*, if the *Philistines* had held them in servitude in their own territories; and if *Ephraim* could have brought 42000 armed men into the field, it is not likely that they were then oppress'd; and had it been true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather have fought against the *Philistines*, with so powerful an army, for their own deliverance, than against their own brethren the *Israelites*? But *Ammon* being overthrown, it seemed at that time, that they feared no other enemy. And therefore these 40 years must either be supplied elsewhere, as in the time of *Sampson*, and afterwards; or else they must be referred to the *Inter-regnum* between the death of *Habdon*, and the deliverance of *Israel* by *Sampson*, such as it was.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the war of Troy.

S E C T. I.

Of the genealogy of the kings of Troy, with a note touching the ancient poets how they have observed historical truth.

TH E war at *Troy*, with other stories hereupon depending (because the ruin of this city, by most chronologers is found in the time of *Habdon*, judge of *Israel*, whom in the last place I have mentioned) I rather choose here to intreat of in one intire narration, beginning with the lineal descent of their princes, than to break the story into pieces, by rehearsing a-part in divers years the diversity of occurrents.

The history of the ancient kings of *Troy* is uncertain, in regard both of their original, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that *Teucer* and *Dardanus* were the two founders of that kingdom. This is the opinion of *Virgil*; which if he (as *Reineccius* thinks) took from *Berosus*, it is the more probable; if *Annius* borrowed it of him, then it rests upon the authority of *Virgil*, who saith thus:

** Creta Jovis magni medio jacet insula ponto:
Mons Idaeus ubi, & gentis cunabula nostrae.
Centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna:
Maximus unde pater (si rite audita recordor)
Teucus Rhæteas primum est advectus ad oras:
Optavitque locum regno. Nondum Ilium & arces
Pergamæ steterant; habitabant vallibus imis.
Hinc mater cultrix Cybele, Corybantiaque æra,
Idæumque nemus.*

In the main sea the isle of *Crete* doth lie:
Where *Jove* was born, thence is our progeny.

There is mount *Ida*; there in fruitful land
An hundred great and goodly cities stand.
Thence (if I follow not mistaken fame)
Teucer the eldest of our grand-fires came
To the *Rhætean* shores; and reigned there
Ere yet fair *Ilium* was built, and ere
The towers of *Troy*; their dwelling-place they
fought
In lowest vales. Hence *Cybel's* rights were
brought:
Hence *Corybantian* cymbales did remove:
And hence the name of our *Idæan* grove.

Thus it seems by *Virgil*, who followed surely good authority, that *Teucer* first gave name to that country, wherein he reigned ere *Troy* was built by *Dardanus*; of which *Dardanus* in the same book he speaks thus:

*Est locus Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebæ.
Oenotrii coluere viri, nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.
Hæ nobis propriæ sedes, hinc Dardanus ortus:
Jasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum.*

Hesperia the *Grecians* call the place;
An ancient fruitful land, a warlike race.
Oenotrians held it, now the latter progeny
Gives it their captain's name, and calls it *Italy*.
This seat belongs to us, hence *Dardanus*,
Hence came the author of our stock, *Jasius*.

*^b Atque equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis)
Auruncos ita ferre senes, his ortus ut agris
Dardanus Idæas Phrygiæ penetravit ad urbes,
Threiciamque Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.
Hinc illum Coryti Tyrrheni ab sede profectum
Aurea nunc folio stellantis regia cæli
Accipit, &c.*

Some old *Auruncans*, I remember well
(Though time have made the same obscure) would
tell
Of *Dardanus*, how born in *Italy*;
From hence he into *Phrygia* did flee.
And leaving *Tuscaine* (where he erst had
place)
With *Corytus* did sail to *Samothrace*;
But now enthronized he sits on high,
In golden palace of the starry skie.

But contrary to this, and to so many authors, approving and confirming it, *Reineccius* thinks that these names, *Troes*, *Teuceri*, and *Thracæ*, are derived from *Tiras* or *Tbiras* the son of *Japhet*; and that the *Dardanians*, *Mysians*, and *Ascanians*, mix'd with the *Trojans*, were German nations, descended from *Asbkenaz*, the son of *Gomer*: of whom the country, lake, and river of *Ascanius* in *Asia* took name. That *Asbkenaz* gave name to those places and people, it is not unlikely; neither is it unlikely that the *Ascanii*, *Dardani*, and many others, did in after-times pass into *Europe*; that the name of *Teucer* came of *Tiras*, the conjecture is somewhat hard. Concerning *Teucer*, whereas *Strabo* makes him an *Athenian*, I find none that follow him in the same opinion. *Virgil* (as is before shewed) reporteth him to be of *Crete*,

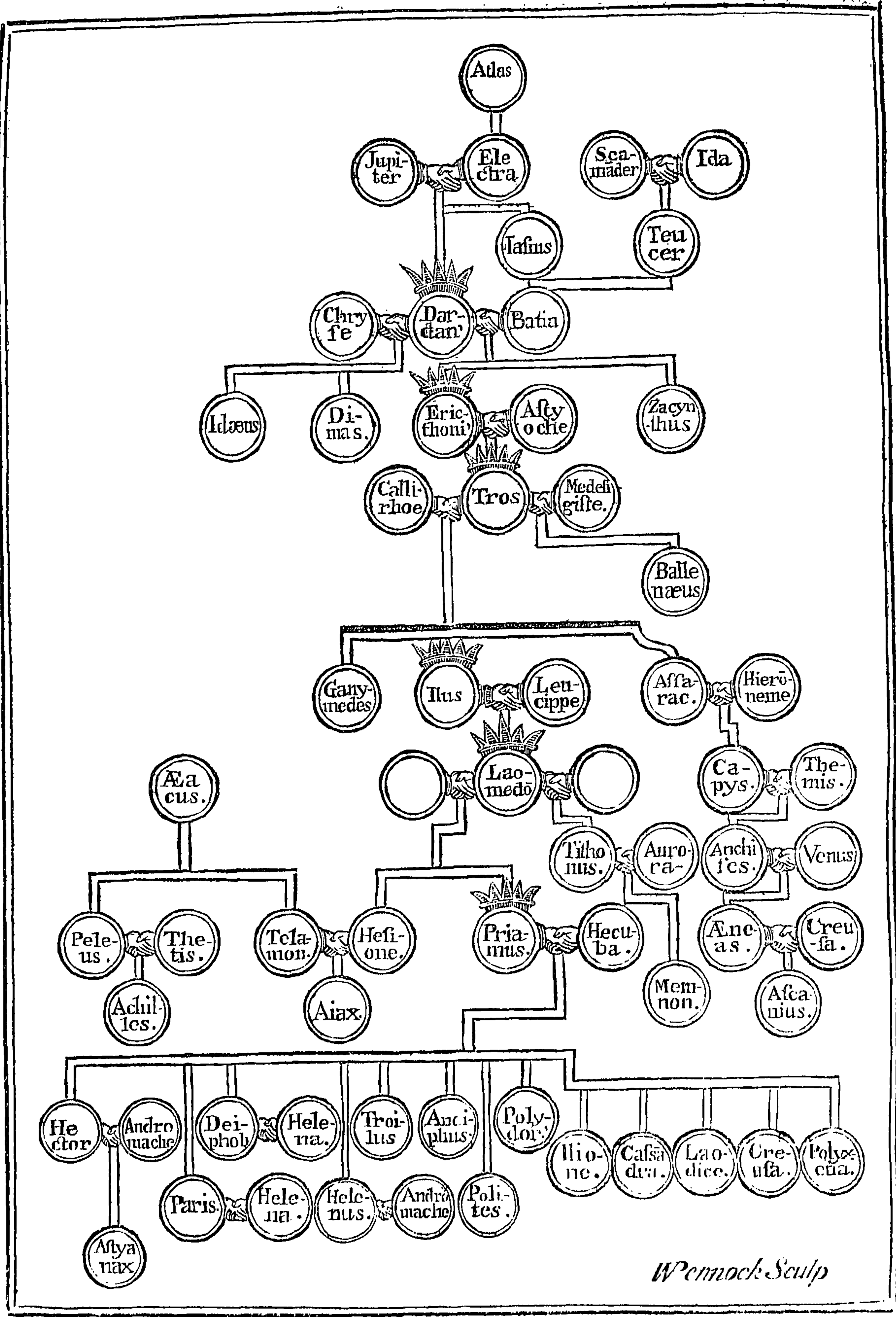
* *Aeneid.* 3.

^b *Aeneid.* 1. 7.

whose authority is the more to be regarded, because he had good means to find the truth, which it is probable that he carefully sought, and in this did follow; seeing it no way concerned *Augustus* (whom other-whiles he did flatter) whether *Teucer* were of *Crete* or no. *Reineccius* doth rather embrace the opinion of *Diodorus* and others, that think him a *Phrygian*, by which report he was the son of *Scamander* and *Ida*, lord of the country, not founder of the city; and his daughter or niece *Batia*, was the second wife of *Dardanus*, founder of *Troy*. *Reineccius* further thinks, that *Atlas* reigned in *Samothracia*, and gave his daughter *Electra* to *Corytus*, or *Coritus*; and that these were parents to *Chryse*, first wife to *Dardanus*. *Virgil* holds otherwise, and the common tradition of poets makes *Dardanus* the son of *Electra* by *Jupiter*, which *Electra* was the daughter of *Atlas*, and wife to *Coritus* king of *Hetruria*, to whom she bare *Jasius*. *Annius* out of his *Berosus* finds the name of *Camboblascon*, to whom he gives the addition of *Coritus*, as a title of dignity, making him father of *Dardanus* and *Jasius*; and further

telling us very particularly of the faction between these brethren, which grew to such heat, that finally *Dardanus* killed his brother, and thereupon fled into *Samothrace*. The obscurity of the history gives leave to *Annius* of saying what he list. I that love not to use such liberty, will forbear to determine any thing herein. But if *Dardanus* were the son of *Jupiter*, it must have been of some elder *Jupiter*, than the father of those that lived about the war of *Troy*. So it is likewise probable, that *Atlas* the father of *Electra*, was rather an *Italian* than an *African*, which also is the opinion of *Boccace*. For (as hath often been said) there were many *Jupiters*, and many of almost every name of the gods; but it was the custom to ascribe to some one the acts of the rest, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble my self, with making any narrow search into these fabulous antiquities, but set down the pedigree according to the general fame; allowing to *Teucer* such parents as *Diodorus* gives, because others give him none, and carrying the line of *Dardanus* in manner following.

* Boccace. de gen. Deor. l. 4. c. 31.



Concerning the beginning and continuance of the Trojan kingdom, with the length of every king's reign, I have chosen good authors to be my guides, that in a history, whereon depends the most ancient computation of times among the *Greeks*, I might not follow uncertainties, ill cohering with the consent of writers, and general passage of things elsewhere done. And first for the destruction of *Troy*, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that city whilst it stood, it is reckoned by ^a*Diodorus* to be 780 years more ancient than the begin-

ning of the 94th olympiad. Whereas therefore 372 did pass between the beginning of the olympiads, the first year of the 94th, it is manifest, that the remainder of 780, that is 408 years went between the destruction of *Troy*, and the first institution of those games by *Iphitus*, if the authority of ^b*Diodorus* be good proof, who elsewhere tells us, that the return of the *Heraclidae*, which was eighty years after the fall of *Troy*, was 328 years before the first olympiad.

^a Diod. l. 14 ^b Diod. in pref.

Hereunto agrees the authority of ^a*Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, who placing the foundation of *Rome* in the first of the seventh olympiad, that is four and twenty years after the beginning of those games, accounts it 432 later than the fall of *Troy*. ^b*Solinus* in express words makes the institution of the olympiads by *Iphitus*, whom he calleth *Iphiclus*, 408 years later than the destruction of *Troy*. The sum is easily collected by necessary inference out of divers other places in the same book. Hereunto doth ^c*Eusebius*, reckoning exclusively agree: and *Eratostratus* (as he is cited by ^d*Clemens Alexandrinus*) makes up out of many particulars, the same total sum, wanting but one year, as reckoning likewise exclusively.

The other collections of divers writers that are cited by *Clemens* in the same place, do neither cohere any way, nor depend upon any collateral history, by which they may be verified.

The destruction of *Troy* being in the year before the olympiads four hundred and eight, we must seek the continuance of that from the beginning to the end out of *Eusebius*, who leads us from *Dardanus* onwards thro' the reigns of four kings, by the space of two hundred and five and twenty years, and after of *Priamus*, with whom also at length it ended. As for the time which passed under *Laomedon*, we are fain to do as others have done before us, and take it upon trust from *Amnius's* authors; believing *Minotus* so much the rather, for that in his account of the former kings reigns, and of *Priamus*, he is found to agree with *Eusebius*, which may give us leave to think that *Amnius* hath not herein corrupted him. But in this point we need not to be very scrupulous: for seeing that no history or account of time depends upon the reigns of the former kings, but only upon the ruin of the city under *Priamus*, it may suffice that we are careful to place that memorable accident in the due year.

True it is, that some objections appearing weighty, may be alledged in maintenance of different computations, which, with the answers, I purposely omit, as not willing to dispute of those years, wherein the *Greeks* knew no good form of a year; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all writers, whereof this destruction of *Troy* was one of the most renowned.

The first enterprize that was undertaken by general consent of all *Greece* was the last war of *Troy*, which hath been famous even to this day, for the numbers of princes and valiant commanders there assembled: the great battles fought with variable success: the long indurance of the siege; the destruction of that great city; and the many colonies planted in sundry countries; as well by the remainder of the *Trojans*, as by the victorious *Greeks* after their unfortunate return. All which things, with innumerable circumstances of special note, have been delivered unto posterity, by the excellent wits of many writers, especially by the poems of that great *Homer*, whose verses have given immortality to the action, which might else perhaps have been buried in oblivion, among other worthy deeds done both before and since that time. For it is true which *Horace* saith:

*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi, sed omnes illachrimabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longa
Nocte: carent quia vate sacro.*

Many by valour have deserv'd renown

Ere *Agamemnon*: yet lie all oppress'd

Under long night, unwept for and unknown:

For with no sacred poet were they blest.

Yet so it is, that whilst these writers have with strange fables, or (to speak the best of them) with allegories far strained, gone about to enlarge the commendations of those noble undertakers: they have both drawn into suspicion that great virtue which they sought to adorn, and filled after-ages with almost as much ignorance of the history, as admiration of the persons. Wherefore it is expedient that we seek for the knowledge of such actions, in histories; learning their qualities who did manage them, of poets, in whose works are both profit and delight: yet small profit to those which are delighted otherwise; but such as can either interpret their fables, or separate them from the naked truth, shall find matter in poems, not unworthy to be regarded of historians. For those things excepted, which are gathered out of *Homer*, there is very little, and not without much disagreement of authors, written of this great war. All writers consent with *Homer*, that the rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, the son of *Priamus*, was the cause of taking arms: but how he was hereunto emboldened, it is doubtful.

S E C T. II.

Of the rape of Helen: and strength of both sides for the war.

H*erodotus* fetcheth the cause of this rape from very far: saying, that whereas the *Phenicians* had ravished *Io*, and carried her into *Egypt*, the *Greeks* to be revenged on the *Barbarians*, did first ravish *Europa* whom they brought out of *Phenicia* into *Creta*, and afterwards *Midea*, whom they fetch'd from *Colchus*, denying to restore her to her father, till such time as they might be satisfy'd for the rape of *Io*. By these deeds of the *Greeks*, *Paris* (as the same *Herodotus* affirms) was emboldened to do the like; not fearing such revenge as ensued. But all this narration seems frivolous. For what had the king of *Colchus* to do with the injury of the *Phenicians*? or how could the *Greeks*, as in revenge of *Io*, plead any quarrel against him, that never had heard the name of *Phenicians*? *Thucydides*, a writer of unquestionable sincerity, maketh it plain, that the name of *Barbarians* was not used at all in *Homer's* time, which was long after the war of *Troy*; and that the *Greeks* themselves were not then called all by one names *Hellenes*, as afterwards. So that it were unreasonable to think, that they should have sought revenge upon all nations as barbarous, for the injury received by one: or that all people else should have esteemed of the *Greeks*, as of a people opposed to all the world; and that even then when as the *Greeks* had not yet one common name among themselves. Others with more probability say, that the rape of *Helen* was to procure the re-delivery of *Hesione*, king *Priamus's* sister, taken formerly by *Hercules*, and given to *Telamon*. This may have been true. For *Telamon* (as it seems) was a cruel man, seeing his own son *Teucer* durst not come in his sight, after the war of *Troy*, but fled into *Cypri*, only because his brother (*Ajax* which *Teucer* could not remedy) had slain himself. Yet, were it so that *Hesione* was ill

^a Dionys. Halic. Antiqu. l. 2.

^b Solin. Polihist. c. 2.

^c Euseb. de prep. Evang. l. 10. c. 3.

^d Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. intreated

intreated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely, that *Priamus* her brother would seek to take her from her husband, with whom she had lived about thirty years, and to whom she had born children, which were to succeed in his dominion. Whereupon I think that *Paris* had no regard either to the rape of *Europa*, *Medea*, or *Hesione*: but was merely incited by *Venus*, that is, by his lust, to do that which in those days was very common. For not only *Greeks* from *Barbarians*, and *Barbarians* from *Greeks*, as *Herodotus* discourseth, but all people were accustomed to steal women and cattel, if they could by strong hand or power get them; and having stollen them, either to sell them away in some far country, or keep them to their own use. So did *Theseus* and *Pirithous* attempt *Proserpina*; and so did *Theseus* (long before *Paris*) ravish *Helen*. And these practices, as it appears in *Thucydides*, were so common, that none durst inhabit near unto the sea, for fear of piracy, which was accounted a trade of life no less lawful than merchandise: wherefore *Tyndareus* the father of *Helen*, considering the beauty of his daughter, and the rape which *Theseus* had made, caused all her wooers, who were most of the principal men in *Greece*, to bind themselves by solemn oath, that if she were taken from her husband, they should with all their might help to recover her. This done, he gave free choice of a husband to his daughter, who chose *Menelaus*, brother to *Agamemnon*: So the cause which drew the *Greeks* unto *Troy*, in revenge of *Helen's* rape, was partly the oath which so many princes had made unto her father *Tyndareus*. Hereunto the great power of *Agamemnon* was not a little helping; for *Agamemnon*, besides his great dominions in *Peloponnesus*, was lord of many islands: he was also rich in money, and therefore the *Arcadians* were well contented to follow his pay, whom he embarked for *Troy* in his own ships, which were more than any other of the *Greek* princes brought to that expedition.

Thus did all *Greece*, either as bound by oath, or led by the reputation and power of the two brethren, *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*; or desirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterprise; take arms against the *Trojans*. The *Greeks* fleet was (by *Homer's* account) 1200 sail, or thereabouts: but the vessels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build ships with decks; only they used (as *Thucydides* saith) small ships, meet for robbing on the sea; the least of which carried fifty men, the greatest 120, every man (except the captains) being both a mariner and a soldier. By this proportion it appears that the *Grecian* army consisted of 100000 men, or thereabouts. This was the greatest army that ever was raised out of *Greece*: and the greatness of this army, doth well declare the strength and power of *Troy*, which ten whole years did stand out against such forces: yet were the *Trojans* which inhabited the city not the tenth part of this number, as *Agamemnon* said in the 2d of *Homer's Iliads*; but their followers and aids were very many and strong. For all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Mysia*, and the greatest part of *Asia* the less, took part with the *Trojans*, the *Amazons* also brought them succour. And *Rhesus* out of *Thrace*, and *Memnon* out of *Assyria* (tho' some think out of *Ethiopia*) came to their defence.

SECT. III.

Of the Grecians journey, and embassy to Troy; and of Helena's being detained in Egypt; and of the sacrificing of Iphigenia.

Wherefore the *Greeks*, unwilling to come to trial of arms, if things might be compounded by treaty, sent *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* ambassadors to *Troy*; who demanded *Helen* and the goods that were taken with her out of *Menelaus's* house. What answer the *Trojans* made hereunto it is uncertain. *Herodotus* from the report of the *Egyptian* priests makes it very probable that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his return to *Troy*. The sum of his discourse is this:

Paris, in his return with *Helena*, being driven by foul weather upon the coast of *Egypt*, was accused for the rape of *Helen* by some bondmen of his, that had taken sanctuary. *Proteus*, then king of *Egypt*, finding the accusation true by examination, detained *Helen*, and the goods taken with her, till her husband should require them: dismissing *Paris* without further punishment, because he was a stranger. When therefore the *Greeks* demanding *Helen* had answer, that she was in *Egypt*: they thought themselves deluded, and thereupon made the war, which ended in the ruin of *Troy*. But when after the city taken, they perceived indeed she had not been there, they returned home, sending *Menelaus* to ask his wife of *Proteus*. *Homer*, and the whole nation of poets (except *Euripides*) vary from this history, thinking it a matter more magnificent and more graceful to their poems, for their retaining of a fair lady, than that they endured all by force, because it lay not in their power to deliver her. Yet in the fourth of his *Odyssey*, *Homer* speaks of *Menelaus's* being in *Egypt*, before he returned home to *Sparta*; which voyage it were not easily believed, that he made for pleasure: and if he were driven thither by contrary winds, much more may we think that *Paris* was likely to have been driven thither by foul weather. For *Paris*, immediately upon the rape committed, was enforced to fly, taking such winds as he could get, and rather enduring any storm, than to commit himself to any haven in the *Greek* seas; whereas *Menelaus* might have put into any port in *Greece*, and there have remained with good entertainment, until such time as the wind had come about, and served for his navigation.

One great argument *Herodotus* brings to confirm the saying of the *Egyptian* priests, which is, that if *Helen* had been at *Troy*, it had been utter madness for *Priamus* to see so many miseries befall him during the war, and so many of his sons slain for the pleasure of one, who neither was heir to the kingdom (for *Hector* was elder) nor equal in virtue to many of the rest. Besides, it may seem that *Lucian* spake not more pleasantly than truly, when he said that *Helen*, at the war of *Troy*, was almost as old as queen *Hecuba*, considering that she had been ravished by *Theseus* the companion of *Hercules*, who took *Troy* when *Priamus* was very young; and considering further, that she was sister to *Castor* and *Pollux* (she and *Pollux* being said by some to have been twins) who sailed with the *Argonauts*, having *Telamon* the father of *Ajax* in their company before the time that *Hesione* was taken; on whom *Telamon* begat *Ajax*, that was a principal commander in the *Trojan* war. But whether it were so, that the *Trojans* could not, or would not, restore *Helen*, so it was that the ambassadors returned ill contented, and not very well intreated; for there wanted not some that advised to have them slain. The *Greeks*

hereupon

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hereupon incensed, made all haste towards *Troy*: at which time *Calchas* (whom some say to have been a runagate *Trojan*, tho' no such thing be found in *Homer*) filled the captains and all the host with many troublesome answers and divinations. For he would have *Agamemnon's* daughter sacrificed to appease *Diana*, whose anger he said withstood their passage. Whether the young lady was sacrificed, or whether (as some write) the goddess was contented with a hind, it is not needful here to be disputed of. Sure it is, that the malice of the devil which awaits for all opportunities, is never more importunate than where mens ignorance is most. *Calchas* also told the *Greeks*, that the taking of *Troy* was impossible till some fatal impediments were removed: and that till ten years were pass'd, the town should hold out against them. All which notwithstanding, the *Greeks* proceeded in their enterprize, under the command of *Agamemnon*, who was accompanied with his brother *Meneleus*, *Achilles* the most valiant of all the *Greeks*, his friend *Patroclus*, and his tutor *Phoenix*; *Ajax* and *Teucer* the sons of *Telamon*; *Idomeneus*, and his companion *Meriones*; *Nestor*, and his sons *Antilochus*, and *Thrasymedes*; *Ulysses*; *Mnestheus*, the son of *Petereus*, captain of the *Athenians*; *Dionides* the son of *Tydeus*, a man of singular courage; the wise and learned *Palamedes*; *Ascalaphus*, and *Ialmenus*, the sons of *Mars*, who had sailed with the *Argonauts*; *Philoctetes* also, the son of *Pæan*, who had the arrows of *Hercules*, without which *Calchas* said that the city could not be taken; *Ajax* the son of *Oileus*, *Peneleus*, *Thoas*, *Eumelus*, *Tisandrus*, *Eurypilus*, *Athamas*, *Sthenelus*, *Tlepolamus*, the son of *Hercules*; *Podalyrius*, and *Machaon*, the sons of *Esculapius*: *Epeus*, who is said to have made the wooden horse, by which the town was taken; and *Protesilaus*, who first leap'd on shore, neglecting the oracle that threatned death to him that landed first.

SECT. IV.

Of the acts of the Grecians at the siege.

THESE and many other of less note, arriving at *Troy*, found such sharp entertainment, as might easily persuade them to think that the war would be more than one year's work. For in the first encounter they lost *Protesilaus*, whom *Hector* slew, and many others, without any great harm done to the *Trojans*; save only that by their numbers of men, they won ground enough to incamp themselves in, as appeareth in *Thucydides*. The principal impediment which the *Greeks* found, was want of victuals, which grew upon them by reason of their multitude, and the smallness of their vessels, wherein they could not carry necessaries for such an army. Hereupon they were compelled to send some part of their men, to labour the ground in *Cheroneſſe*: others to rob upon the sea for the relief of the camp. Thus was the war protracted nine whole years, and either nothing done, or if any skirmishes were, yet could the town receive little loss by them, having equal numbers to maintain the field against such *Greeks* as continued the siege, and a more safe retreat, if the enemy got the better.

Wherefore *Ovid* saith, that from the first year till the tenth, there was no fighting at all: and *Heraclides* commends as very credible the report of *Herodotus*: That the *Greeks* did not lie before *Troy* the first nine years; but only did beat up and down the seas, exercising their men, and enriching themselves, and so by wasting the enemy's

country, did block up the town, unto which they returned not until the fatal time drew near, when it should be subverted.

This is confirmed by the enquiry which *Priamus* made, when the *Greek* princes came into the field, the tenth year, for he knew none of them, and therefore sitting upon an high tower (as *Homer*, *Iliad*. 3. tells) he learned their names of *Helen*: which tho' it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all have been supposed that he should be ignorant of them, if they had shewed themselves before the town so many years together. Between these relations of *Thucydides* and *Herodotus*, the difference is not much, the one saying that a few of the *Greeks* remained in the camp before *Troy*, whilst the rest made purveyance by land and sea: the other, that the whole army did spend the time in wasting the sea-coasts. Neither do the poets greatly disagree from these authors: for they make report of many towns and islands wasted, and the people carried into captivity; in which actions *Achilles* was employed, whom the army could not well, nor would have spared, if any service of importance had been to be performed before the city. Howsoever it was, this is agreed by general consent, that in the beginning of that summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the camp, and a great pestilence arose among the *Greeks*: which *Homer* saith, that *Apollo* sent in revenge of his priest's daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refused to let go for any ransom: but *Heraclides*, interpreting the place, saith, that by *Apollo* was meant the sun: who raised pestilent fogs, by which the army was infected, being lodged in a moorish piece of ground. And it might well be that the camp was over-pestered with those who had been abroad, and now were lodged all close together: having also grounded their ships within the fortifications.

About the same time much contention arose between *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the booty, whereof *Agamemnon*, as general, having first chosen for his part, a captive woman, and *Achilles*, in the second place, chosen for himself another, then *Ajax*, *Ulysses*, and so the rest of the chief captains in order. When the soothsayer *Calchas* had willed that *Agamemnon's* woman should be restored to her father, *Apollo's* priest, that so the pestilence might cease, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage, and say, that he alone would not lose his part of the spoil, but would either take that which had been given to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Ajax*, or to *Ulysses*. Hereupon *Achilles* defied him, but was fain to suffer all patiently, as not able to hold his concubine by strong hand, nor to revenge her loss, otherwise than by refusing to fight, or to send forth his companies. But the *Greeks*, encouraged by their captains, presented themselves before the city without him and his troops.

The *Trojans* were now relieved with great succours, all the neighbour countries having sent them aid: partly drawn to that war by their commanders, who assisted *Priamus* for money, wherewith he abounded when the war began (as appears by his words in *Homer*) or for love of himself and his sons, or hope of marriage with some of his many and fair daughters; partly also (as we may well guess) incited by the wrongs received of the *Greeks*, when they wasted the countries adjoining unto *Troy*: so that when *Hector* issued out of the town, he was little inferior to his enemies in numbers of men, or quality of their leaders. The principal captains in the *Trojan* army, were *Hector*, *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helonus*, and the other sons of *Priamus*:

Priamus: *Aeneas*, *Antenor*, and his sons *Polydamus*, *Sarpedon*, *Glaucus*, *Astus*, and the sons of *Pantheus*, besides *Rhesus*, who was slain the first night of his arrival, *Memnon*, queen *Penthesilea*, and others who came towards the end of the war. Between these and the *Greeks* were many battles fought: the greatest of which were, that at the tomb of king *Ilus* upon the plain; and another at the very trenches of the camp, wherein *Hector* brake thro' the fortifications of the *Greeks*, and began to fire their ships; at which time *Ajax*, the son of *Telamon*, with his brother *Teucer*, were in a manner the only men of note, that remaining unwounded, made head against *Hector* when the state of the *Greeks* was almost desperate.

Another battle (for so antiquity calls it) or rather the same renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who having obtained leave, drew forth *Achilles's* troops, relieving the weary *Greeks* with a fresh supply. *Agamemnon*, *Diomedes*, *Ulysses*, and the rest of the princes, tho' sore wounded, yet were driven to put on armour, and with help of *Patroclus*, repelled the *Trojans* very hardly. For in that fight *Patroclus* was lost, and his body, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought back into the camp; the armour of *Achilles* which he had put on, being torn from him by *Hector*. It was the manner of those wars, having slain a man, to strip him and hale away his body, not restoring it without ransom, if he were one of mark. Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foot, slightly armed, and commonly followed the success of their captains; who rode not upon horses, but in chariots, drawn by two or three horses, which were guided by some trusty followers of theirs, which drove up and down the field, as they were directed by the captains, who by the swiftness of their horses presenting themselves where need required, threw first their javelins, and then alighting fought on foot, with swords and battle-axes, retiring into the ranks of the footmen, or else returning to their chariots when they found cause, and so began again with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were lost or broken. Their arms defensive were helmets, breast-plates, boots of brass or other metal, and shields commonly of leather, plated over. The offensive were swords and battle-axes at hand; and stones, arrows or darts when they fought at any distance. The use of their chariots (besides the swiftness) was to keep them from weariness, whereto the leaders were much subject, because of their armour, which the strongest and stoutest wore heaviest: also that from them they might throw their javelins downwards with the more violence. Of which weapon I find not that any carried more than one or two into the field: wherefore they were often driven to return to their tents for a new one, when the old was gone. Likewise of armours they had little change or none; every man (speaking of the chief) carried his own compleat, of which if any piece were lost or broken, he was driven to repair it with the like if he had any fitting, taken from some captain whom he had slain and stripped: or else to borrow of them that had by such means gotten some to spare. Whereas therefore *Achilles* had lost his armour which *Hector* (as is said before) had taken from the body of *Patroclus*, he was fain to await the making of new, ere he could enter the fight: whereof he became very desirous, that he might revenge the death of *Patroclus* his dear friend.

At this time *Agamemnon* reconciled himself unto *Achilles*, not only restoring his concubine *Briseis*, but giving him very great gifts, and excusing for-

mer matters as well as he might. In the next battle *Achilles* did so behave himself, that he did not only put the *Trojans* to the worst, but also slew the valiant *Hector*, whom (if *Homer* may herein be believed) he chased three times about the walls of *Troy*. But great question may be made of *Homer's* truth in this narration. For it is not likely that *Hector* would stay alone without the city (as *Homer* doth report of him) when all the *Trojans* were fled into it: nor that he could leap over the rivers of *Xanthus* and *Simois*, as he must have done in that flight: nor that the *Trojans* perceiving *Hector* in such an extremity, would have forbore to open some of their gates and let him in. But this is reported only to grace *Achilles*, who having (by what means soever) slain the noble *Hector*, did not only carry away his dead body, as the custom then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thrusting leathern thongs into them, tied him to his chariot, and dragg'd him shamefully about the field, selling the dead body to his father *Priamus* for a very great ransom. But his cruelty and covetousness were not long unrevenged; for he was shortly after slain with an arrow by *Paris*, as *Homer* says, in the *Scean* gate, or as others in the temple of *Apollo*, whither he came to have married *Polyxena* the daughter of *Priamus*, with whom he was too far in love, having slain so many of her brethren, and his body was ransomed (as *Lycophron* saith) at the self-same rate that *Hector's* was by him sold for. Not long after this, *Penthesilea* queen of the *Amazons* arrived at *Troy*; who, after some proof given of her valour, was slain by *Pyrrius* the son of *Achilles*.

S E C T. V.

Of the taking of Troy, the wooden horse, the book of Dares and Dictys, the colonies of the relicks of Troy.

Finally, after the death of many worthy persons, on each side, the city was taken by night, as all writers agree: but whether by the treason of *Aeneas* and *Antenor*; or by a wooden horse as the poets, and common fame (which followed the poets) have delivered, it is uncertain. Some write, that upon one of the gates of *Troy* called *Scean*, was the image of a horse, and that the *Greeks* entering by that gate, gave occasion to the report, that the city was taken by an artificial horse. It may well be, that with some wooden engine which they called an horse, they either did batter the walls, as the *Romans* in after-times used to do with the ram: or scaled the walls upon the sudden, and so took the city. As for the hiding of men in the hollow body of a wooden horse, it had been a desperate adventure, and serving to no purpose. For either the *Trojans* might have perceived the deceit, and slain all those princes of *Greece*, that were inclosed in it (which also by such as maintain this report they are said to have thought upon) or they might have left it a few days without (for it was unlikely that they should the very first day both conclude upon the bringing it into the town, and break down their walls upon the sudden to do it) by which means they who were shut into it, must have perished for hunger, if they had not by issuing forth unseasonably discovered the invention. Whereas further it is said, that this horse was so high and great, that it could not be brought into the town thro' any of the gates, and that therefore the *Trojans* were fain to pull down a part of their wall, to make way for it, thro' which breach the *Greek* did afterwards enter: it is hereby manifest, that the inclosing of so many principal men was altogether

together needfuls, considering that without their help there was way sufficient for the army, so that the surprizing of any gate by them was now to no purpose.

John Baptista Gramay, in his history of *Asia*, discouraging of this war, saith, that the *Greeks* did both batter the wall with a wooden engine, and were also let into the city by *Antenor*, at the *Scæan* gate: the townsmen sleeping and drinking without fear or care, because the fleet of the *Grecians* had hoisted sail, and was gone the day before to the isle of *Tenedos*, thereby to bring the *Trojans* into security. That the city was betrayed, the books of *Dares* and *Dictys* must prove, which whether we now have the same that were by them written, it may be suspected; for surely they, who have made mention of these writers in ancient times, would not, as they did, have followed the reports of *Homer* and others quite contradictory in most points to these two authors, without once taking notice of the opposition, which they, having served in that war, made against the common report: had it not been that either those books were even in those times thought frivolous; or else contained no such repugnancy to the other authors as now is found in them.

Also concerning the number of men slain in this war which *Dares* and *Dictys* say to have been above 600000 on the *Trojan* side, and more than 800000 of the *Greeks*, it is a report merely fabulous; forasmuch as the whole fleet of the *Greeks* was reckoned by *Homer*, who extolled their army and deeds as much as he could, to be somewhat less than 1200 sail, and the army therein transported over the *Greek* seas, not much above 100000 men, according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common fashion of men to extol the deeds of their ancients: for which cause both *Homer* magnified the captains of the *Greeks*, that served in the war; and *Virgil* with others were as diligent in commending and extolling the *Trojans* and their city, from which the *Romans* descended. Yea, the *Athenians* long after, in the war which *Xerxes* the *Persian* king made against all *Greece*, did not forbear to vaunt of the great cunning which *Mnestheus* the son of *Peteus* had shewed, in marshalling the *Grecian* army before *Troy*: whereupon, as if it had been a matter of much consequence, they were so proud, that they refused to yield unto *Gelon*, king of almost all *Sicily*, the admiralty of their seas, notwithstanding that he promised to bring 200 good fighting ships, and 30000 men for their defence.

The like vanity possessed many other cities of *Greece*, and many nations in these parts of the world, which have striven to bring their descent from some of the princes, that warred at *Troy*: all difficulties or unlikelihoods in such their pedigree notwithstanding. But those nations which indeed, or in most probability came of the *Trojans*, were the *Albanes* in *Italy*; and from them the *Romans*, brought into that country by *Aineas*: the *Venetians* first seated in *Padua*, and the country adjoining by *Antenor*: the *Chaonians* planted in *Epirus* by *Helenus*, the son of king *Priamus*. To which *Hellenicus* addeth that the posterity of *Hector* did resemble such of the *Trojans* as were left, and reigned over them about *Troy*.

SECT. VI.

Of the distresses and dispersions of the Greeks returning from Troy.

Concerning the *Greek*, they tasted as much misery as they had brought upon the *Trojans*. For *Thucydides* notes, that by reason of their long

abode in the siege, they found many alterations when they returned: so that many were driven by their borderers from their ancient seats: many were expelled their countries by faction: some were slain anon after their arrival: others were debarred from the sovereignty among their people, by such as had staid at home. The cause of all which may seem to have been the dispersion of the army which weakened much by the calamities of that long war, was of little force to repel injuries, being divided into so many pieces under several commanders, not very well agreeing. For (besides other quarrels arising upon the division of the booty, and the like occasions) at the time when they should have set sail, *Agamemnon* and his brother fell out, the one being desirous to depart immediately, the other to stay and perform some sacrifices to *Minerva*. Hereupon they fell to hot words, half the fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the rest of them sailing to the isle of *Tenedos*; where when they arrived, they could not agree among themselves, but some returned back to *Agamemnon*; others were dispersed, each holding his own course. But the whole fleet was sore vexed with tempests: for *Pallas* (as *Homer* saith) would not be persuaded in haste.

They who returned safe were *Nestor*, and *Pyrchus*, whom *Crestes* afterwards slew: also *Idomeneus* and *Philoctetes*, who nevertheless, as *Virgil* tells, were driven soon after to seek new seats: *Idomeneus* among the *Salentines*, and *Philoctetes* at *Petilia* in *Italy*. *Agamemnon* likewise returned home, but was forthwith slain by his wife, and by the adulterer *Egyffbus*, who for a while after usurped his kingdom. *Menelaus* wandering long upon the seas, came into *Egypt*, either with *Helen*, or (as may rather seem) to fetch her. *Ulysses*, after ten years, having lost all his company, got home in poor estate, with much ado recovering the mastership of his own house. All the rest either perished by the way, or were driven into exile, and fain to seek out new habitations.

Ajax, the son of *Oileus*, was drowned; *Teucer* fled into *Cyprus*; *Diomedes* to king *Daunus*, who was lord of the *Iapyges* in *Apulia*; some of the *Locrians* were driven into *Asiick*, others into *Italy*, all the east part whereof was called *Magna Grecia*, by reason of so many towns which the *Greeks* were driven to erect upon that coast. Finally it appears in *Homer*, that the *Grecian* ladies, whose husbands had been at the war of *Troy*, were wont to call it, the place where the *Greeks* suffered misery, and the unlucky city not to be mentioned. And thus much for *Troy*, and those that warred there: the overthrow of which city, as hath been said, happened in the time of *Abaddon* judge of *Israel*, whom *Samson* after a vacancy or *Inter-regnum* for certain years succeeded.

CHAP. XV.

Of Samson, Eli and Samuel.

SECT. I.

Of SAMSON.

THE birth and acts of *Samson* are written at large in the 13, 14, 15, and 16th of *Judges*; and therefore I shall not need to make a repetition thereof. But these things I gather out of that story. First, That the angel of God forbade the wife of *Manoah* the mother of *Samson*, to drink wine or strong drink, or to eat any unclean meat, after she was conceived with child, because

because those strong liquors hinder the strength, and as it were wither and shrink the child in the mother's womb. Tho' this were even the counsel of God himself, and delivered by his angel, yet it seemeth that many women of this age have not read, or at least will not believe this precept; the most part forbearing nor drinks, nor meats, how strong or unclean soever, filling themselves with all sorts of wines, and with artificial drinks far more forcible: by reason whereof, so many wretched feeble bodies are born into the world, and the races of the able and strong men in effect decayed.

Secondly, It is to be noted, that the angel of God refused the sacrifice which *Manoah* would have offered him, commanding him to present it unto the Lord: and therefore those that profess divination by the help of angels, to whom also they sacrifice, may assuredly know that they are devils who accept thereof, and not good angels, who receive no worship that is proper to God.

Thirdly, This *Samson* was twice betrayed by his wives, to wit, by their importunity and deceitful tears: by the first he lost but a part of his goods: by the second his life. *Quem nulla vis superare potuit, voluptas evertit*; Whom no force could overthrow, voluptuousness overturned.

Fourthly, We may note, that he did not in all deliver *Israel* from the oppression of the *Philistines*; tho' in some sort he revenged, and defended them: for notwithstanding that he had slain 30 of them in his first attempt, burnt their corn in harvest time, and given them a great overthrow instantly upon it: yet so much did *Israel* fear the *Philistines*, as they assembled 3000 men out of *Judah* to besiege *Samson* in the rock or mountain of *Etam*, using these words: *Knowest thou not that the Philistines are rulers over us?* After which they bound him, and delivered him unto the *Philistines*, for fear of their revenge; tho' he was no sooner loosened, but he gave them another overthrow, and slew 1000 with the jaw-bone of an ass.

Lastly, Being made blind, and a prisoner by the treason of his wife, he was content to end his own life, to be avenged of his enemies, when he pulled down the pillars of the house at the feast whereto they sent for *Samson*, to deride him, till which time he bare his affliction with patience: but it was truly said of *Seneca*; *Patientia sæpe læsa vertitur in furorem*; Patience often wounded is converted into fury: neither is it at any time so much wounded by pain and loss, as by derision and contumely.

SECT. II.

Of Eli, and of the ark taken, and of Dagon's fall, and the sending back of the ark.

THE story of *Eli* the priest, who succeeded *Samson*, is written in the beginning of *Samuel*; who foretold him of the destruction of his house, for the wickedness of his sons, which he suppressed not, neither did he punish them according to their deserts: * whose sins were horrible, both in abusing the sacrifice, and profaning and polluting the holy places: tho' *Levi Ben Gerson*, to extenuate this filthy offence of forcing the women by the sons of *Eli*, hath a contrary opinion. In this time therefore it pleased God to cast the *Israelites* under the swords of the *Philistines*; of whom there perished in the first encounter 4000, and in the second battle 50000 footmen; among whom the sons of *Eli* being slain, their father (hearing the

lamentable success) by falling from his chair, brake his neck. He was the first that obtained the high-priesthood of the stock of *Ithamar* the son of *Aaron*, before whose time it continued successively in the race of *Eleazer* the eldest brother of *Ithamar*: for *Aaron* was the first, *Eleazer* the second, *Phinees* the son of *Eleazar* the third, *Abisue* the son of *Phinees* the fourth, his son *Bocci* the fifth, *Ozi* the son of *Bocci* the sixth, and then *Eli*, as *Josephus* and *Lyranus* out of divers *Hebrew* authors have conceived. In the race of *Ithamar* the priesthood continued after *Eli* to the time of *Solomon* who cast out *Abiathar*, and established *Zadok* and *Abimaaz* and their successors. The ark of God which *Israel* brought into the field, was in this battle taken by the *Philistines*. For as *David* witnesseth, *Psal.* lxxviii. *God greatly abhorred Israel, so that he forsook the habitation of Shilo: even the tabernacle where he dwelt among men, and delivered his power into captivity, &c.*

Now as it pleased God at this time, that the ark whereby himself was represented, should fall into the hands of the heathen, for the offences of the priests and people: so did he permit the *Chaldeans* to destroy the temple built by *Solomon*; the *Romans* to overthrow the second temple; and the *Turks* to overthrow the *Christian* churches in *Asia* and *Europe*. And had not the *Israelites* put more confidence in the sacrament, or representation, which was the ark, than in God himself, they would have observed his laws, and served him only: which whensoever they did, they were then victorious. For after the captivity they had no ark at all, nor in the times of the *Maccabees*; and yet for their piety it pleased God to make that family as victorious, as any that guarded themselves by the sign instead of the substance. And that the ark was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an ensign, *David* witnessed when he fled from *Abisalom*. For when the priests would have carried the ark with him; he forbade it, and caused it to be returned into the city, using these words. *If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again: if not, let him do to me as seemeth good in his eyes.*

The *Trojans* believed, that while their *Palladium*, or the image of *Minerva*, was kept in *Troy*, the city should never be overturned: so did the *Christians* in the last fatal battle against *Saladine*, carry into the field, as they were made believe, the very cross whereon *Christ* died, and yet they lost the battle, their bodies and the wood. But *Chrysostom* upon *St. Matthew* (if that be his work) giveth a good judgment, speaking of those that wore a part of *St. John's* gospel about their necks, for an amulet or preservative. *Si tibi ea non profunt in auribus, quomodo proderunt in collo?* If those words do not profit men in their ears (to wit, the hearing of the gospel preached) how should it profit them by hanging it about their necks? For it was neither the wood of the ark, nor the wood of the cross, but the reverence of the father, that gave the one for a memory of his covenant: and the faith in his son, which shed his blood on the other for redemption, that could or can profit them and us, either in this life or after it.

The *Philistines* returning with the greatest victory and glory which ever they obtained, carried the ark of God with them to *Azotus*, and set it up in the house of *Dagon* their idol: but that night the idol fell out of his place, from above

* 1 Sam. 2. 22. b 1 Kings 2. 27. and 1 Chron. 6. c 1 Sam. 5. 6. d 2 Sam. 15. 25, 26.

to the ground, and lay under the ark. The morning following they took it up, and set it again in his place, and it fell the second time, and the head brake from the body, and the hands from the arms, shewing that it had nor power nor understanding in the presence of God; for the head fell off, which is the seat of reason and knowledge, and the hands (by which we execute strength) were sundred from the arms. For God and the devil inhabit not in one house, nor in one heart. And if this idol could not endure the representation of the true God, it is not to be marvelled, that at such time as it pleased him to cover his only begotten with flesh, and sent him into the world, that all the oracles wherein the devil derided and betrayed mortal men, lost power, speech, and operation at the instant. For when that true light, which had never beginning of brightness, brake thro' the clouds of a virgin's body, shining upon the earth, which had been long obscured by idolatry, all those foul and stinking vapours vanished. *Plutarch* rehearseth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great god *Pan*, as he stileth him; where (as ignorant of the true cause) he searcheth his brains for many reasons of so great an alteration: yet finds he none out but frivolous. For not only this old devil did then die as he supposed, but all the rest, as *Apollo*, *Jupiter*, *Diana*, and the whole rabble became speechless.

Now while the *Philistines* triumphed after this victory, God struck them with the grievous disease of the *Hemorrhoides* of which they perished in great numbers: for it is written the Lord destroyed them. It was therefore by general consent ordered, that the ark should be removed from *Azotus* to *Gath* or *Geth*, another of the five great cities of the *Philistines*; to prove, as it seemeth, whether this disease were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediately: but when it was brought to *Gath*, and received by them, the plague was yet more grievous and mortal. ^a*For the hand of the Lord was against the city with a very great destruction, and he smote the men of the city both small and great, &c.* And being not yet satisfied, they of *Gath* sent the ark to *Ekron* or *Accaron*, a third city of the *Philistines*: but they also felt the same smart, and cried out that themselves and their people should be slain thereby; *For there was a destruction and death throughout all the city.* In the end, by the advice of their priests, the princes of the *Philistines* did not only resolve to return the ark, but to offer gifts unto the God of *Israel*, remembering the plague which had fallen on the *Egyptians*, when their hearts were hardened to hold the people of God from their inheritance, and from his service by strong hand. Wherefore confessing the power of the God of *Israel* to be almighty, and that their own idols were subject thereunto, they agreed to offer a sin-offering, using these words; *So ye shall give glory to the God of Israel, that he may take hand from you, and from your gods, and from your land,* 1 Sam. vi. 5. And what can be a more excellent witnessing, than where an enemy doth approve our cause? according to *Aristotle*; *Pulchrum est testimonium, quo nostra probantur ab hostibus.* So did *Pharaoh* confess the living God, when he was plagued in *Egypt*: and *Nabuchodonosor*, and *Darius*, when they had seen his miracles by *Daniel*.

This counsel therefore of the priests being im-

braced, and the golden *Hemorrhoides*, and the golden mice prepared, they caused two milch kine to be chosen, such as had not been yoked, and a new cart or carriage to be framed: but they durst not drive or direct it to any place certain, thereby to make trial whether it were indeed the hand of God that had stricken them. For if the ark of God were carried towards *Bethshemesb*, and into the territory of *Israel*: then they should resolve that from God only came their late destruction. For the *Philistines* knew that the milch kine which drew the ark could not be forced from their calves, but that they would have followed them wheresoever; much less when they were left to themselves, would they travel a contrary way. For in the darkest night in the world, if calves be removed from their dams, the kine will follow them thro' woods and desarts by the foot, till they find them. But the kine travelled directly towards *Bethshemesb*; and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, of one *Joshua* of the same city, they stood still there; which when the princes of the *Philistines* perceived, they returned to *Ekron*: after which, God spared not his own people the *Bethshemites*, in that they presumed to look into the ark. And because they knew God and his commandments, and had been taught accordingly, he struck them more grievously than he did the heathen, for there perished of them fifty thousand and seventy. From hence the ark was carried to *Kirjath-jearim*, and placed in the house of *Abinadab*; where it is written, that it remained twenty years in the charge of *Eleazar* his son, until *David* brought it to *Jerusalem*.

Now whereas it is said, that in the mean while the ark was in *Nob*, *Mispah*, and *Galgala*, it was the tabernacle, which was at this time severed from the ark: or at least, it was for the present occasion brought to these places, and anon returned to *Kirjath-jearim*.

SECT. III.

Of Samuel, and of his government.

THESE tragedies overpast and ended, *Samuel*, to whom God appeared while he was yet a child, became now judge and governour of *Israel*. He was descended of the family of ^d*Chore* or *Korach*. For *Levi* had three sons; *Gerson*, *Cheath*, and *Merari*: *Cheath* had *Amram*, and *Izaar*: of *Amram* came *Moses* and *Aaron*; of *Izaar*, *Chore*: and of the family of *Chore*, *Samuel*. His father *Elcana* a *Levite*, was called an *Ephratean*, not that the *Levites* had any proper inheritance, but because he was of mount ^e*Ephraim*, like as *Jeſſe*, *David's* father was called an *Ephratean*, because born at *Ephrata*, or *Bethlehem*. *Hannah* his mother being long fruitless, obtained him of God by prayers and tears: it being an exceeding shame to the *Jewish* women to be called barren, in respect of the blessing of God both to *Abraham*, that his seed should multiply as the stars of heaven, and the sands of the sea, as in the beginning to *Adam*, *Increase and multiply*, &c. and in *Deuteronomy* vii. *There shall be neither male nor female barren among you.*

Samuel was no sooner born, but that his mother, according to her former vow, dedicated him to God, and his service, to which she delivered him even from the dug. For as the first-born of

^a 1 Sam. 5. 9. ^b 2 Sam. 6. and 1 Chron. 12. ^c See in this book, ch. 12. sect. 1. in the margin. ^d 1 Chron. 6. 22. ^e Which region was called Ephraim, as appeareth Judges 12. 5. whence for distinction we read Ruth 1. 2. Ephratati e Bethlehemo Jehude; The town Ephratah, which is Bethlehem in Judah, Gen. 35. 19. from the region of Ephrata, which is in mount Ephraim, whence, Plal. 132. 6. Ephrata is put for Silo, which was in the tribe of Ephraim.

all that were called *Nazarites*, might be redeemed till they were 5 years old for 5 sheckles, between 5 years and 20 for 20 sheckles: so was it not required by the law that any of the race of the *Levites* should be called to serve about the tabernacle, till they were 25 years old.

St. *Peter* reckons in the *Acts* the prophets from *Samuel*, who was the first of the writers of holy scriptures, to whom usually this name of a prophet was given, and yet did *Moses* account himself such a one, as in *Deuteronomy* xviii. 15. *The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet like unto me, &c.* But he is distinguished from those that preceded him, who were called seers; as 1 *Sam.* ix. *Before time in Israel, when a man went to seek an answer of God, thus he spake; come and let us go to the seer:* for he that is now called a prophet, was in old time called a seer. And altho' it pleased God to appear by his angels to *Moses*, as before to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*: yet in the time of *Eli*, there was no manifest vision; not that God had altogether withdrawn his grace from *Israel*: but as the *Chaldean* paraphrast hath it, those revelations before *Samuel's* time, were more clouded and obscure. The places wherein *Samuel* judged were *Maspha* or *Mitspha*, seated on a hill in *Benjamin* near *Juda*: also *Gilgal*, and *Bethel*, of which we have spoken elsewhere.

The *Philistines* taking knowledge of the assembly and preparation for war at *Mitspha* in the beginning of *Samuel's* government, gathered their army and marched towards the city: at whose approach the *Israelites* stricken with fear, and with the memory of their former slaughters and servitude, besought *Samuel* to pray to God for them: who was ^b then performing his sacrifice when the *Philistines* were in view. But God being moved with *Samuel's* prayers (as he was by those of *Moses*, when *Israel* fought against the *Amalekites* at their first entrance into *Arabia*) it pleased him with thunder and tempest to disperse and beat down the army of the *Philistines*, according to the prophecy of *Hanna*, *Samuel's* mother. ^c *The Lord's adversaries shall be destroyed, and out of heaven shall he thunder upon them, &c.* *Josephus* affirms, that a part of the *Philistines* were swallowed with an earth-quake: and that *Samuel* himself led the *Israelites* in the prosecution of their victory. After which *Samuel* erected a monument in memory of this happy success obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which *Josephus* called *lapidem sortem*: *Samuel*, *Ebenezer*, or the stone of assistance: and then following the opportunity and advantage of the victory, the *Israelites* recovered divers cities of their own formerly lost, and held long in possession of the *Philistines*, who for a long time after did not offer any invasion or revenge. And the better to attend their purposes, and to withstand any of their attempts, the *Israelites* made peace with the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*, which lay on their backs, and to the north of them, that they might not be assaulted from divers parts at once; having the *Philistines* towards the west and sea-coast, the *Canaanite* towards the north and east, and the *Idumite* on the south. The estate being thus settled, *Samuel* for the ease of the people gave audience and judgment in divers places by turns, as hath been elsewhere said.

C H A P. XVI.

Of SAUL.

S E C T. I.

Of the deliberation to change the government into a kingdom.

BUT when age now began to overtake *Samuel*, and that he was not able to undergo the burthen of so careful a government, he put off from himself the weight of the affairs on his sons, *Joel* and *Abijah*, who judged the people at *Beerseba*, a city, the very utmost towards the south of *Judea*. And as the place was inconvenient and far away, so were themselves no less removed from the justice and virtue of their father. For the thirst of covetousness the more it swalloweth, the more it drieth, and desireth, finding taste in nothing but gain; to recover which they set the law at a price, and sold justice and judgment to the best chapmen. Which when the elders of *Israel* observed, and saw that *Samuel* as a natural man (tho' a prophet) could not so well discern the errors of his own, they pray'd him to consent to their change of government, and to make them a king, by whom they might be judged as other nations were; who might also lead them to the war, and defend them against their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable success which followed the rule of *Eli* his sons, when those of *Samuel* by their first blossoms promised to yield fruit no less bitter, they saw no way to put the government from out his race, whom they so much revered, but by the choice of a king.

In a cause of so great consequence and alteration, *Samuel* sought counsel from God: which surely he did not for the establishing of his own sons; who being as they were, God would not have approved his election. Now as it appears by the text, this speech or motion displeasing him, he used his best arguments to dehort them: which when he perceived to be over-feeble, he delivered unto them from God's revelation, the inconveniencies and miseries which should befall them. And yet all which he foresaw'd was not intolerable, but such as hath been borne, and is so still by free consent of the subjects towards their princes. For first he makes them know that the king will use their sons in his own service to make them his horse-men, charioteers, and footmen; which is not only not grievous, but by the vassals of all kings according to their birth and condition desired: it being very agreeable to subjects of the best quality to command for the king in his wars; and to till the ground no less proper and appertaining to those that are thereto bred and brought up: so are likewise the offices of women-servants to dress meat, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatned: *He will take up your fields, and your vineyards, and your best olive trees, and give them to his servants,* with other oppressions; this hath given, and gives daily occasion to such as would be ruled by their own discretion, to affirm that *Samuel* describeth here unto them the power of a king, governed by his own affections, and not a king that feareth God. But others upon further examination construe this text far otherwise, as teaching us what subjects ought with patience to bear at their sovereign's

^a 1 *Sam.* 13. See in this book, chap. 12. sect. 1. ^b *Plutarch* reports of *Numa* the 2d king of *Rome*, that when as he was at sacrificing, he saw a multitude of the enemies approached, he nothing dismay'd, answered, *Ego autem sacrifico* ^c 1 *Sam.* 2. 10.

hand. The former opinion is grounded first upon that place of *Deuteronomy* xvii. where God sheweth this change of government from judges to kings, and after he had forbidden many things unto the kings, as many wives, covetousness, and the like, he commandeth that the kings, which were to reign over *Israel*, should write the law of *Deuteronomy*, or cause it to be written: and to shew how greatly the king should honour the law, he addeth, *It shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this law and these ordinances for to do them: that he may prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his sons.* But to take away any other man's field, say they, is contrary to the laws of God, in the same book written. For it is said, *Deut. vi. That which is just and right shalt thou follow, that thou mayst live.* Now if it be not permitted to carry away ^a grapes more than thou canst eat out of another man's vineyard, but forbidden by God: it is much less lawful to take the vineyard it self from the owner, and give it to another. Neither are the words of the text ^b (say they) such as do warrant the kings of *Israel*, or make it proper unto them, to take at will any thing from their vassals. For it is not said that it shall be lawful for the king, or the king may do this or that: but it is written, that the king will take your sons: and again, this shall be the manner of the king that shall reign over you. God thereby foreshewing what power, severed from piety (because it is accountable to God only) will do in the future. And hereof we find the first example in *Achab*, who took from *Naboth* both his vineyard and his life, contrary to the trust which God had put in him, of governing well his people. For God commanded, *Deut. xvi. That his people shall be judged with righteous judgment.* Wherefore tho' the king had offer'd unto *Naboth* composition, as a vineyard of better value, or the worth in money, which he refused: yet because he was falsely accused and unjustly condemned (tho' by colour of law) how grievously *Achab* was punished by God, the scriptures tell us. Neither was it a plea sufficient for *Achab* against the all-righteous God, to say that it was done without his consent, and by the elders of *Israel*. For God had not then left his people to the elders, but to the king, who is called a living law, even as *David* testifieth of himself. *Posuisti me in caput gentium*: for this of St. *Augustine* is very true; *Simulata innocentia non est innocentia: simulata equitas non est equitas: sed duplicatur peccatum in quo est iniquitas & simulatio*; Feigned innocence, and feigned equity are neither the one or the other: but the fault or offence is there doubled, in which there is both iniquity and dissimulation. Such in effect is their disputation who think this place to contain the description of a tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary side, as they are many and forcible, so are they well known to all; being excellently handled in that princely discourse of *The true law of free monarchies*, which treatise I may not presume to abridge, much less here to insert. Only, thus much I will say, that if practice do shew the greatness of authority, even the best kings of *Juda* and *Israel* were not so tied by any laws, but that they did whatsoever they pleased in the greatest things; and commanded some of their own princes, and of their own brethren to be slain without any trial of law, being sometimes by prophets reprehended, sometimes not. For tho' *David* confess'd his offence for the death of *Uriah*,

yet *Solomon* killing his elder brother, and others, the same was not imputed unto him as any offence.

That the state of *Israel* should receive this change of government, it was not only foretold by *Moses* in *Deuteronomy*, but prophesied of by *Jacob* in this scripture: ^c *The sceptre shall not depart from Juda, &c.* It was also promised by God to *Abraham* for a blessing. For it was not only assured that his issues should in number equal the stars in heaven, but that kings should proceed of him. Which state seeing it is framed from the pattern of his sole rule, who is Lord of the universal: and the excellency thereof in respect of all other governments, hath been by many judicious men handled and proved, I shall not need to over-paint that which is garnished with better colours already, than I can lay on.

In the time of the judges every man hath observed what civil war *Israel* had: what outrageous slaughters they committed upon each other: in what miserable servitude they lived for many years: and when it fared best with them, they did but defend their own territories, or recover some parts thereof formerly lost. The *Canaanites* dwelt in the best vallies of the country. The *Ammonites* held much of *Gilead* over *Jordan*: the *Philistines* the sea-coasts: and the *Jebusites* *Jerusalem* it self, till *David's* time: all which that king did not only conquer and establish, but he mastered and subjected all the neighbour nations, and kings, and made them his tributaries and vassals. But whether it were for that the *Israelites* were moved by those reasons, which allure the most of all nations to live under a monarch, or whether by this means they sought to be cleared from the sons of ^e *Samuel*, they became deaf to all the persuasions and threats which *Samuel* used, insisting upon this point, that they would have a king, both to judge them and defend them: whereunto when *Samuel* had warrant from God to consent, he sent every man to his own city and abiding.

SECT. II.

Of the election of Saul.

AFTER that *Samuel* had dismissed the assembly at *Mizpah*, he forbore the election of a king, till such time as he was therein directed by God: who foretold him the day before, that he would present unto him a man of the land of *Benjamin*, whom he commanded *Samuel* to anoint. So *Samuel* went unto *Ramath Sophim*, to make a feast for the entertainment of *Saul* (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of God's promises) and *Saul* also having wandered divers days to seek his father's asses, at length by the advice of his servant travelled towards *Ramath*, to find out a seer or a prophet, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to find his beasts. In which journey it pleased God (who doth many times order the greatest things by the simplest passages and persons) to elect *Saul*, who sought an ass, and not a kingdom: like as formerly it had pleased him to call *Moses*, while he fed the sheep of *Jthro*; and after to make choice of ^f *David* the youngest of eight sons, and by the scriptures called a little one, who was then keeping of beasts, and changed his sheep-hook into a sceptre, making him of all other the most victorious king of *Juda* and *Israel*. So *John* and *Jacob* were taken from calling their nets, to become fishers of men, and honoured with the titles of apostles, a dignity that died not in the

^a Deut. 23. 24.

^b Loyse.

^c Gen. 49. Gen. 15.

^d Gen. 17.

^e 1 Sam. 8.

^f 1 Sam. 16.

grave, as all worldly honours do: but permanent and everlasting in God's endless kingdom.

When *Samuel* was entred into *Ramath*, he prepared a banquet for the king, whom he expected, and staid his arrival at the gate. Not long after came *Saul*, whom God shewed to *Samuel*, and made him know that it was the same whom he had foretold him of, that he should rule the people of God. *Saul* finding *Samuel* in the gate, but knowing him not, tho' a prophet and judge of *Israel*, much less knowing the honour which attended him, asked *Samuel* in what part of the city the seer dwelt; *Samuel* answered, that himself was the man he sought, and pray'd *Saul* to go before him to the high place, where *Samuel* setting him according to his degree, above all that were invited, conferred with him afterwards of the affairs of the kingdom, and of God's graces to be bestowed on him, and the morning following anointed him king of *Israel*.

After this, he told him all that should happen to him in the way homeward; that two men should encounter him, by *Rahel's* sepulchre, who should tell him that his asses were found; and that his father's cares were changed from the fear of losing his beasts, to doubt the loss of his son: that he should then meet three other men in the plain of *Tabor*; then a company of prophets; and that he should be partaker of God's spirit and prophesy with them: and that thereby his condition and disposition should be changed from the vulgar into that which became a king elected and favoured by God.

But the prophets here spoken of, men indued with spiritual gifts, were not of the first and most revered number, who by divine revelation foretold things to come, reprehended without fear the errors of their kings, and wrought miracles; of which number were *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Samuel*, and after them *Gad*, *Nathan*, *Abias*, *Elias*, *Eliseas*, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and the rest; for these prophets, faith * *St. Chrysostome*, *Omnia tempora percurrunt, præterita, præsentia & futura*: but they were of those of whom *St. Paul* speaketh, *1 Cor. xiv. 15.* who, enriched with spiritual gifts, expounded the scriptures and the law.

At *Mispeth* *Samuel* assembled the people that he might present *Saul* to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did *Saul* acquaint his own uncle therewith, when he asked him what had pass'd between him and *Samuel*: for either he thought his estate not yet assured, or else that it might be dangerous for him to reveal it, till he were confirmed by general consent. When the tribes were assembled at *Mispeth*, the general opinion is, that he was chosen by lot. *Cibimbi* thinks by the answer of *Urim* and *Thummim*: that is, by the answer of the priest, wearing that mystery upon his breast when he asked counsel of the Lord. But the casting of lots was not only much used among the Jews, but by many others, if not by all nations. The land of promise was divided by lot: God commanded lots to be cast on the two goats, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off: a figure of Christ's suffering, and our deliverance, for whose garments the Jews also cast lots. * *Cicero*, *Plautus*, * *Pausanias*, and others, have remembered divers sorts of lots, used by the *Romans*, *Grecians*, and other nations: as in the division of grounds or honours; and in things to be undertaken: the two first kinds were called *diversory*; the third *divinatory*; and unto one of these three all may be reduced: all which kinds howsoever they may seem chancelous, are yet ordered and directed

by God: as in the *Proverbs*; *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition is of the Lord.* And in like sort fell the kingdom of *Israel* on *Saul*, not by chance, but by God's ordinance, who gave *Samuel* former knowledge of his election: from which election *Saul* withdrew himself in modesty, as both *Josephus* construe it, and as it may be gathered by his former answers to *Samuel*, when he acknowledged himself the least of the least tribe. But *Samuel*, enlightened by God, found where *Saul* was hidden, and brought him among the people, and he was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And *Samuel* made them know that he was the chosen king of *Israel*, whereupon all the multitude saluted him king, and pray'd for him; yet some there were that envied his glory (as in all estates there are such) who did not acknowledge him by offering him presents as the manner was; of whom *Saul*, to avoid sedition, took no notice.

SECT. III.

Of the establishing Saul by his first victories.

N O sooner was *Saul* placed in the kingdom, but that he received knowledge that *Nabas* king of the *Ammonites* prepared to besiege *Jabes Gilead*: which nation since the great overthrow given them by *Jephtha*, never durst attempt any thing upon the *Israelites*, till the beginning of *Saul's* rule. And altho' the *Ammonites* did always attend upon the advantage of time, to recover those territories which first the *Amorite*, and then *Israel* dispossessed them of, which they made the ground of their invasion in *Jephtha's* time; yet they never persuaded themselves of more advantage than at this present. For first, they knew that there were many of the *Israelites* that did not willingly submit themselves to this new king: secondly, they were remembered that the *Philistines* had not long before slain 34000 of their men of war: and besides had used great care and policy that they should have no smiths to make them swords or spears: neither was it long before that of the *Bethshemeshites* and places adjoining, there perished by the hand of God more than 50000, and therefore in these respects, even occasion it self invited them to enlarge their dominions upon their borderers: *Jabes Gilead* being one of the nearest. Besides, it may further be conjectured that the *Ammonites* were emboldened against *Jabes Gilead*, in respect of their weakness, since the *Israelites* destroy'd a great part of them, for not joining with them against the *Benjamites*: at which time they did not only slaughter the men and male-children, but took from them their young women, and gave them to the *Benjamites*: and therefore they were not likely to have been increased to any great numbers: and if they had recovered themselves of this great calamity, yet the *Ammonite* might flatter himself with the opinion, that *Israel* having for long time been disarmed by the *Philistines*, was not apt to succour those whom they had so deeply wounded and destroy'd. But contrariwise when the tidings came to *Saul* of their danger, and that the *Ammonites* would give them no other condition to ransom themselves, but by pulling out their right eyes, by which they should be utterly disabled for the war, as elsewhere hath been spoken: *Saul*, both to value himself in his first year's reign, and because perchance he was descended of one of those 400 maids taken from the *Gileadites*, and given to the *Benjamites*, gave order to assemble the forces

* Chrys. in Psal. 43. b The Urim and Thummim in the ornaments of the high priest were inserted within the pectoral, which therefore was duplicatum, they were placed in the pectoral over against the breast of the high priest. It is plain that they were not the pectoral stones, any thing made by the artificers. See Exod. 38. c Cic. de divin. d Paul. in 1 Cor. xiv. e 1 Sam. ix. f Judg. xi.

of *Israel*: hewing a yoke of oxen into pieces, and sending them by messengers over all the coasts, protesting thus, *That whosoever came not forth after Saul and after Samuel, so should his oxen be served*: threatening the people by their goods, and not by their lives at the first. Seven days had *Saul* to assemble an army, by reason that the *Gileadites* had obtained the respite of these 7 days to give *Nabas the Ammonite* an answer: who, could they have obtained any reasonable condition, were contented to have severed themselves from *Israel*, and to become vassals and tributaries to the heathen. In the mean while *Saul* assembled the forces, which repaired unto him at *Bezek*, near *Jordan*, that he might readily pass the river; which done, he might in one day with a speedy march arrive at *Jabes*, under the hills of *Gilead*.

The army by ^a *Saul* led, consisting of 330000: he returned an answer to those of *Jabes*, that they should assure themselves of succour by the next day at noon. For as it seemeth *Saul* marched away in the latter part of the day, and went on all night; for in the morning-watch he surpris'd the army of *Nabas the Ammonite*. And to the end that he might set on them on all sides, he divided his forces into 3 parts, putting them to the sword, until the heat of the day, and the weariness of *Saul's* troops, forc'd them to give over the pursuit. Now the *Ammonites* were become the more careless and secure, in that those of *Jabes* promised the next morning to render themselves and their city to their mercy. After this happy success, the people were so far in love with their new king, that they would have slain all those *Israelites* that murmured against his election, had not himself forbidden and resisted their resolutions. Such is the condition of worldly men, as they are violent lovers of the prosperous, and base vassals of the time that flourisheth: and as despightful and cruel without cause against those, whom any misadventure, or other worldly accident, hath thrown down.

After the army removed, ^b *Samuel* summoned the people to meet at *Gilgal*, where *Saul* was now a third time acknowledged, and, as some commentators affirm, anointed king: and here *Samuel* used an exhortation to all the assembly, containing precepts, and a rehearsal of his own justice during the beginning of his government to that day. After ^c *Saul* had now reigned one year before he was established in *Gilgal* or *Galgala*, he strengthened himself with a good guard of 3000 chosen men, of which he assigned 1000 to attend on *Jonathan* his son at *Gibeah*, the city of his nativity: the rest he kept about his own person in *Macmas*, and in the hill of *Bethel*.

S E C T. IV.

Of Saul's disobedience in his proceedings in the wars with the Philistines and Amalekites, which caused his final rejection.

Jonathan, with his small army or regiment that attended him, taking a time of advantage, surpris'd a garrison of *Philistines*: the same, as some think, which *Saul* pass'd by, when he came from *Rama*, where he was first anointed by *Samuel*, which they think to have been *Cariatb-jearim*: because a place where the *Philistines* had a garrison, ¹ *Sam. x.* is called *the hill of God*, which they understand of *Cariatb-jearim*: but *Junius* understands this garrison to have been at *Gabah*, in *Benjamin* near *Gibba*, where *Jonathan* abode with his thousand followers. Howsoever, by this it appeareth,

that the *Philistines* held some strong places, both in the times of *Samuel*, and of *Saul*, within the territory of *Israel*: and now being greatly enraged by this surprize they assembled ^d 30000 armed chariots, and 6000 horse, wherewith they invaded *Judea*, and incamped at *Macmas* or *Michmas*, a city of *Benjamin*, in the direct way from *Samaria* to *Jerusalem*, and in the midst of the land between the sea and *Jordan*. With this sudden invasion the *Israelites* were stricken in so great a fear, as some of them hid themselves in the caves of the mountains, others fled over *Jordan* in *Gad* and *Gilead*: *Saul* himself, with some 2000 men of ordinary, and many other people, staid at *Galgala* in *Benjamin*, not far from the passage of *Joshua* when he led *Israel* over *Jordan*. Here *Saul* by *Samuel's* appointment was to attend the coming of *Samuel* seven days: but when the last day was in part spent, and that *Saul* perceived his forces to diminish greatly, he presumed (as some expound the place, ¹ *Sam. xiii. 9.*) to exercise the office which appertained not unto him, and to offer a burnt-offering and a peace-offering unto God, contrary to the ecclesiastical laws of the *Hebrews*, and God's commandments: others expound the word, *obtulit*, in this place, by *obtulit per sacerdotem*, and so make the sin of *Saul* not to have been any intrusion into the priests office, but first a disobedience to God's commandment, in not staying according to the appointment, ¹ *Sam. x. 8.* secondly, a diffidence or mistrust in God's help, and too great relying upon the strength of the people, whose departing from him he could not bear patiently; and lastly, a contempt of the holy prophet *Samuel*, and of the help which the prayers of so godly a man might procure him. But whatsoever was his sin, notwithstanding his excuses, he was by ^e *Samuel* reprehended most sharply, in terms unfitting his estate, had not extraordinary warrant been given to *Samuel* so to do, from God himself, at which time also *Samuel* feared not to let him know, that the kingdom should be conferred to another (a man after God's own heart) both from ^f *Saul* and his posterity.

After this *Samuel* and *Saul* returned^g to *Gibeah*, where *Saul*, when he had taken view of his army, found it to consist of 600 men: for the most were fled from him and scattered, yea, among those that staid, there was not any that had either sword or spear, but *Saul* and his son *Jonathan* only. For the *Philistines* had not left them any smith in all *Israel*, that made weapons; besides, they that came to ^h *Saul* came hastily, and left such weapons and armour as they had, behind them in the garrisons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how *Saul* should be able the year before, or in some part of this very year, to succour *Jabes Gilead* with 330000 men, if there had not now been any iron weapon to defend themselves withal, save only in the hand of *Saul* and *Jonathan* his son. But howsoever all the rest of the people were formerly disarmed by the *Philistines*, and all those craftsmen carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left unto the *Israelites* only files to sharpen and amend such stuff as served for the plough, and for nought else: yet that they had some kind of arms it is manifest, or else they durst not have attempted upon the *Philistines* as they did. And it is not said in the text, that there was not any sword in all *Israel*, but only that there was not any found amongst those 600 soldiers which stay'd with ⁱ *Saul* after *Samuel's* departure: and it seemeth that when *Samuel* had sharply reprehended *Saul*, that

^a 1 Sam. 11. 8. ^b 1 Sam. 11. ^c 1 Sam. 12. ^d 1 Sam. 13. 5. ^e 1 Sam. 13. ^f 1 Sam. 14. ^g 1 Sam. 14. ^h 1 Sam. 13. 22. ⁱ his

his own guards forsook him, having but 600 remaining of his 3000 ordinary foldiers, and of all the rest that repaired unto him, of which many were fled from him before *Samuel* arrived.

With this small troop he held himself to his own city of *Gibeab*, as a place of more strength and better assured unto him, than *Gilgal* was. Neither is it obscure how it should come to pass that the *Philistines* should thus disarm the most part of the *Israelites*, howsoever in the time of *Samuel* much had been done against them. For the victories of *Samuel* were not got by sword or spear, but by thunder from heaven: and when these craftsmen were once rooted out of the cities of *Israel*, no marvel if they could not in a short peace under *Samuel*, be replanted again. For this tyranny of the *Philistines* is to be understood, rather of the precedent times, than under *Samuel*: and yet under him it is to be thought that by their crafts they proceeded in the policy, not suffering their artificers to teach the *Israelites*, and so even to the times of *Saul* kept them from having any store of armour. The same policy did *Nabuchodonosor* use after his conquest in *Judea*: *Dionysius* in *Sicily*; and many other princes elsewhere in all ages. But these lost weapons in part the *Israelites* might repair in *Gilead*, for over *Jordan* the *Philistines* had not invaded. The rest of their defences were such as antiquity used, and their present necessity ministered unto them; to wit, clubs, bows, and slings. For the *Benjamites* exceeded in casting stones in slings: and that these were the natural weapons, and the first of all nations, it is manifest; and so in *Chronicles* i. 12. it is written of those that came to succour *David* against *Saul*, while he lurked at *Siklag*, *That they were weaponed with bows, and could use the right and the left hand with stones*; and with a sling it was, that *David* himself slew the giant *Goliath*.

While the state of *Israel* stood in these hard terms, the *Philistines* having parted their army into three troops, that they might spoil and destroy many parts at once; *Jonathan*, strengthened by God, and followed with his esquire only, scaled a mountain, whereon a company of *Philistines* were lodged: the rest of their army (as may be gathered by the success) being incamped in the plain adjoining. And tho' he were discovered before he came to the hill top, and in a kind of derision called up by his enemies: yet he so behaved himself, as with the assistance of God, he slew 20 of the first *Philistines* that he encountered. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarm, and being ignorant of the cause, fled away amazed altogether. In which confusion, fear, and jealousy, they slaughtered one another instead of enemies: whereupon those *Hebrews* which became of their party, because they feared to be spoiled by them, took the advantage of their destruction, and slew of them in great numbers. And lastly, *Saul* himself taking knowledge of the rout and disorder, together with those *Israelites* that shrouded themselves in mount *Ephraim*, set upon them, and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a most happy and glorious victory over them. Here was that prophecy in *Deuteronomy* fulfilled by *Jonathan*, *That one of those which feared God, should kill a thousand, and two of them ten thousand*.

This done, the small army of *Israel* made retreat from the pursuit. And tho' *Saul* had bound the people by an oath not to take food till the evening, yet his son *Jonathan* being intebled with extreme labour and emptiness, tasted a drop of honey in his passage: for which *Saul* his father would have put

him to death, had not the people delivered him from his cruelty.

The late miraculous victory of *Saul* and *Jonathan* seems to have reduced unto the *Philistines* remembrance of their former overthrow likewise miraculous in the days of *Samuel*; so that for some space of time they held themselves quiet. In the mean while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, undertook by turns all his bordering enemies; namely the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and the *Arabians* of *Zobah*, against all which he prevailed. He then assembled all the forces he could make, to wit, 210000 men, and receiving the commandment of God by *Samuel*, he invaded *Amalec*, wasting and destroying all that part of *Arabia Petraea*, and the desert, belonging to the *Amalekites*, from *Havilah* towards *Tigris* unto *Sbur*, which bordereth *Egypt*; in which war he took *Agag* their king prisoner. But whereas he was instructed by *Samuel* to follow this nation without compassion, because they first of all attempted *Israel*, when they left *Egypt* in *Moses's* time: he notwithstanding did not only spare the life of *Agag*, but reserved the best of the beasts and spoil of the country, with pretence to offer them in sacrifice to the living God. Therefore did *Samuel* now a second time make him know, that God would cast him from his royal estate to which he was raised, when he was of base condition, and as the text hath it, *little in his own eyes*. And tho' the offence was great in *Saul* for not obeying the voice of God by *Samuel*, had there been no former precept to that effect: yet seeing *Saul* could not be ignorant how severely it pleased God to injoin the *Israelites* to revenge themselves upon that nation, he was in all inexcusable. For God had commanded that the *Israelites* should put out the remembrance of *Amalec* from under heaven. For the cruelty which the predecessors of this *Agag* used against the *Israelites*, especially on those which were overwearied, sick, faint and aged people, was now to be revenged on him and his nation above 400 years afterwards; and now he was to pay the debt of blood, which his forefathers borrowed from the innocent: himself having also sinned in the same kind, as these words of *Samuel* witness: *As thy sword hath made other women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among other women*; at which time *Samuel* himself (after he had been by many bootless intreaties persuaded to stay awhile with *Saul*) did cut *Agag* in pieces before the Lord in *Gilgal*, and soon after he departed to *Ramath*, and came no more to see *Saul*, until the day of his death.

SECT. V.

Of the occurrents between the rejection of Saul and his death.

NOW while *Samuel* mourned for *Saul*, God commanded him to choose a king for *Israel*, among the sons of *Isbair*: which *Samuel* (doubting the violent hand of *Saul*) feared in a sort to perform, till it pleased God to direct him how he might avoid both the suspicion, and the danger. And if *Samuel* knew that it was no way derogating from the providence of God, that by his cautious care and wisdom he sought to avoid the inconvenience or dangers of this life, then do those men mistake the nature of his divine ordinance, who neglecting the reason that God hath given them, do no otherwise avoid the perils and dangers thereof, than as men stupified in the opinion of fate

^a 1 Sam. 14. 12.

^b 1 Sam. 14.

^c 1 Sam. 14.

^d Exod. 17.

^e Deut. 25. 15.

^f 1 Sam. 15. 33.

or destiny, neglecting either to beg counsel at God's hand, by prayer, or to exercise that wisdom or foresight, wherewith God had enriched the mind of man, for his preservation. Neither did the all-powerful God (who made, and could destroy the world in an instant) disdain here to instruct *Samuel*, to avoid the fury of *Saul* by the accustomed cautious ways of the world.

Of the sons of *Isai*, *Samuel*, by God directed, made choice of *David* the youngest, having refused *Eliab* the first-born; who, tho' he were a man of a comely person and great strength, yet unto such outward appearance the Lord had no respect. For, as it is written, *a God seeth not as man seeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart.* He also refusing the other six brethren, made choice of one whom his father had altogether neglected, and left in the field to attend his flock, for of him *the Lord said to Samuel, arise and anoint him, for this is he:* which done, *Samuel* departed and went to *Ramath*. Neither was it long after this that *Saul* began to seek the life of *David*: in which bloody mind he continued till he died, overcome in battel by the *Philistines*.

The *Philistines* having well considered (as it seems) the increase of *Saul's* power through many victories by him obtained, while they had sitten still and forbore to give impediment to his prosperous courses, thought it good to make new trial of their fortune, as justly fearing that the wrongs which they had done to *Israel*, might be repay'd with advantage, if ever opportunity should serve their often injured neighbours against them, as lately it had done against *Moab*, *Ammon*, and the rest of their ancient enemies. Now for the quality of their soldiers, and all warlike provisions, the *Philistines* had reason to think themselves equal, if not superior, to *Israel*. The success of their former wars had for the most part been agreeable to their own wishes; as for late disasters, they might, according to human wisdom, impute them to second causes, as to a tempest happening by chance, and to a mistaken alarm, whereby their army possessed with a needless fear had fallen to rout. Having therefore mustered their forces and taken the field, encamping so near to the army which king *Saul* drew forth against them, that they could not easily depart without the trial of a battel, each part kept their ground of advantage for a while, not joining in gross, but maintaining some skirmishes, as refusing both of them to pass the valley that lay between their camps. Just causes of fear they had on both sides; especially the *Philistines*, whose late attempts had been confounded by the angry hand of God. Upon this occasion perhaps it was, that they sought to decide the matter by single combat, as willing to try in one man's person, whether any stroke from heaven were to be feared. *Goliath* of *Gath* a strong giant, fearing neither God nor man, undertook to defy the whole host of *Israel*, provoking them with despightful words, to appoint a champion that might fight with him hand to hand, offering condition, that the party vanquished in champion, should hold it self as overcome in gross, and become vassal to the other. This gave occasion to young *David*, whom *Samuel* by God's appointment had appointed, to make a famous entrance into publick notice of the people. For no man durst expose himself to encounter the great strength of *Goliath*, until *David* (sent by his father on an errand to the camp) accepted the combat, and obtained the victory, without other arms offensive or defensive than a

sling, wherewith he overthrew that haughty giant, and after with his own sword struck off his head. Hereupon the *Philistines*, who should have yielded themselves as subjects to the conqueror, according to the covenant on their own side propounded, fled without stay; and were pursued and slaughtered even to their own gates. By this victory the *Philistines* were not so broken, that either any of their towns were lost, or their people discouraged from infesting the territories of *Israel*. But *David*, by whom God had wrought this victory, fell into the grievous indignation of his master *Saul*, through the honour purchased by his well deserving. For after such time as the Spirit of God departed from *Saul* and came upon *David*, he then became a cruel tyrant, faithless and irreligious^b. Because the high-priest *Abimelech* fed *David* in his necessity with hallowed bread, and armed him with the sword of his own conquest taken from *Goliath*; *Saul* not only by his wicked *Edomite Doeg* murdered this *Abimelech*, and 85 priests of *Nob*, but also he destroyed the city, *c and smote with the edge of the sword both man and woman, both child and suckling, both ox and ass, and sheep.* And he that had compassion on *Agag* the *Amalekite*, who was an enemy to God and his people, and also spared and preserved the best of his cattel, contrary to the commandment and ordinance of God, both by *Moses* and *Samuel*, had not now any mercy in store, for the innocent, for the Lord's servants the priests of *Israel*. Yea, he would have slain his own son^d *Jonathan*, for pitying and pleading *David's* innocency, as also once before for tasting the honey, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his father's unreasonable commination. The companions of cruelty are breach of faith towards men, and impiety towards God. The former he shewed in denying *David* his daughter, whom he had promised him: and again in taking her away from him, to whom he had given her; also in that when as *David* had twice spared his life in the territory of *Ziph*, and *Saul* twice sworn to do him no hurt, and confessed his errors, yet he sought still to destroy him, by all the means he could. His impiety towards God he shewed, in that he sought counsel of the witch of *Endor*, which was the last preparative for his destruction. For whereas when he sought counsel from God he had been always victorious: from the oracle of the devil this success followed, that both himself, and his three sons, with his nearest and faithfullest servants, were all slaughter'd by the *Philistines*: his body with the bodies of his sons (as a spectacle of shame and dishonour) were hung over the walls of *Bethsan*: and there had remained till they had found burial in the bowels of ravenous birds, had not the grateful *Gileadites* of *Jabes* stolen their carcases thence and interred them. This was the end of *Saul*, after he had governed *Israel*, together with *Samuel*, 40 years, and by himself after *Samuel* 20 years, according to^e *Cedrenus*, *Theophilus*, and *Josephus*. But yet it seemeth to me that after the death of *Samuel*, *Saul* did not rule very long. For in the beginning of the 25th chapter, it is written that *Samuel* died: and in the rest of the same chapter the passages are written of *David*, *Nabal* and *Abigail*, after which the death of *Saul* quickly ensued.

An exceeding valiant man he was, and gave a fair entrance to all those victories which *David* afterwards obtained, for he had beaten the *Ammonites* with their neighbouring nations; crush'd the *Syrians*,

^a 1 Sam. 16. 7. ^b 1 Sam. 16. 13. ^c 1 Sam. 22. 19.

^d 1 Sam. 24. ^e Act. 13. 31. Cedren. p. 69. Theop. l.

3. p. 3. Joseph. l. 28.

and their adherents; broken the strength of the *Amalekites*; and greatly wasted the power and pride of the *Philistines*.

SECT. VI.

Of such as lived with Samuel and Saul; of Hellen and Hercules, and of their issues: upon occasion of the Doræ, with the Heraclidæ, entering Peloponnesus about this time.

IN the second year of *Samuel*, according to *Eusebius*, was *David* born; after *Codoman* later, and in the ninth year: after *Bunting* in the tenth. For *David*, saith he, was thirty years old when he began to reign: whence it followeth, that he was born in the tenth of the 40 years, which are given to *Samuel* and *Saul*. About the eleventh of *Samuel*, *Aeneas Silvius* the son of *Posthumus* began his reign over the *Latines* in *Alba*, who governed that state 31 years. There are who place before him *Latinus Silvius*, as brother to *Posthumus*, calling him the fifth from *Aeneas*, and the fourth king of *Alba*, whereof I will not stand to dispute. In the eleventh of *Samuel*, *Dercilus* sat in the throne of *Affyria*, being the one and thirtieth king; he ruled that empire 40 years. In this age of *Samuel* the *Doræ* obtained *Peloponnesus*, and at once with the *Heraclidæ*, who then led and commanded the nation, possess'd a great part thereof 328 years before the first *Olympiad*, according to *Diodorus* and *Eratosthenes*. For all *Greece* was anciently possessed by 3 tribes or kindreds, viz. the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Æolians*: at length it was called *Hellas*, and the people *Hellenes*, of *Hellen*, the son of *Deucalion*, lord of the country *Phthiotis* in *Theffaly*. But before the time of this *Hellen*, yea and long after, *Greece* had no name common to all the inhabitants, neither were the people called *Hellenes*, till such time as partly by trading in all parts of the land, partly by the plantation of many colonies, and sundry great victories obtained, the issues of *Hellen* had reduced much of the country under their obedience, calling themselves generally by one name, and yet every several nation after some one of the posterity of *Hellen*, who had reigned over it. And because this is the furthest antiquity of *Greece*, it will not be amiss to recount the pedigree of her first planters.

Iapetus (as the poets fable) was the son of heaven and earth, so accounted, either because the names of his parents, had in the *Greek* tongue such signification: or perhaps for his knowledge in *astronomy* and *philosophy*.

Iapetus begat *Prometheus*, and *Epimetheus*: of whom all men have read that have read poets. *Prometheus* begat *Deucalion*: and *Epimetheus*, *Pyrrrha*. *Deucalion* and his wife *Pyrrrha* reigned in *Theffaly*, which was then called *Pyrrrha* (as *Cretensis Rhianus* affirmeth) of *Pyrrrha* the queen. In *Deucalion's* time was that great flood, of which we have spoken elsewhere. *Deucalion* begat *Hellen*: whose sons were *Xuthus*, *Dorus* and *Æolus*, of *Dorus* and *Æolus*, the *Doræ* and *Æolians* had name. The *Æoles* inhabited *Bœotia*. The *Doræ* having first inhabited sundry parts of *Theffaly*, did afterwards seat themselves about *Parnassus*: and finally became lords of the countries about *Lacedæmon*: *Xuthus* the eldest son of *Hellen*, being banish by his brethren, for having diverted from them to his own use some part of their father's goods, came to *Atbens*: where marrying the daughter of king *Erichtheus*, he begat on her two sons, *Achæus* and *Ion*. Of these two *Achæus*, for a slaughter by him committed, fled into *Peloponnesus*: and seating himself in *Laconia*, gave name to that region: from whence

No. 17.

(as some write) he afterwards departed; and levying an army recovered the kingdom of his grandfather in *Theffaly*.

Ion being general for the *Athenians*, when *Eumolpus* the *Thracian* invaded *Attica*, did obtain a great victory, and thereby such love and honour of the people, that they committed the ordering of their state into his hands. He divided the citizens into tribes, appointing every one to some occupation, or good course of life. When the people multiplied he planted colonies in *Sycionia*, then called *Ægialos*, or *Ægialia*: In which country *Solinus* then reigning, thought it safer to give his daughter *Helice* in marriage to *Ion*, and make him his heir, than to contend with him. So *Ion* married *Helice*, and built a town called by his wife's name in *Ægialia*, where he and his posterity reigned long, and (tho' not obliterating the old name) gave to that land denomination. But in after-times the *Doræ* assisting the nephews of *Hercules*, invaded *Peloponnesus*, and overcoming the *Achæans* possessed *Laconia*, and all those parts which the *Achæi* had formerly occupied. Hereupon the *Achæi* driven to seek a new seat, came unto the *Iones*, desiring to inhabit the *Ægialia* with them, and alledging in vain, that *Ion* and *Achæus* had been brethren. When this request could not be obtained, they fought by force to expel the *Ionians*, which they performed; but they lost their king *Tisamenus*, the son of *Orestes*, in that war.

Thus were the *Iones* driven out of *Peloponnesus*, and compelled to remove into *Attica*, from whence after a while they sailed into *Asia*, and peopled the western coast thereof, on which they built 12 cities, inhabited by them, even to this day, at the least without any universal or memorable transmigration. This expedition of the *Iones* into *Asia* hath been mentioned by all which have written of that age, and is commonly placed 140 years after the war of *Troy*, and 60 years after the descent of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponnesus*. These *Heraclidæ* were they of whom the kings of *Sparta* issued; which race held that kingdom about 700 years. Of their father *Hercules* many strange things are delivered unto us by the poets, of which some are like to have been true, others perhaps must be allegorically understood. But the most approved writers think that there were many called *Hercules*, all whose exploits were by the *Greeks* ascribed to the son of *Alcmena*, who is said to have performed these twelve great labours.

First, he slew the *Nemean* lion: secondly, he slew the serpent *Hydra*, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place: the third was the overtaking a very swift hart: the fourth was the taking of a wild boar alive, which haunted mount *Erymanthus* in *Arcady*: the fifth was the cleansing of *Atgeas's* ox-stall in one day, which he performed by turning the river *Alpheus* into it: the sixth was the chasing away of the birds from the lake *Stymphalis*: the seventh was the fetching a bull from *Crete*: the eighth was the taking of the mares which *Diomedes* king of *Thrace* fed with human flesh: the ninth was to fetch a girdle of the queen of the *Amazons*: the three last were, to fetch *Geryon's* bees from *Gades*; the golden apples of the *Hesperides*; and *Cerberus* from hell. The mythological interpretation of these I purposely omit, as both over-long to be here set down, and no less perplexed than the labours themselves. For some by *Hercules* understand fortitude, prudence, and constancy, interpreting the monsters, vices. Others make *Hercules* the sun, and his travels to be the twelve signs of the zodiac. There are

Y y y

are others who apply his works historically to their own conceits; as well assured, that the exposition cannot have more unlikelihood, than the fables: that he took *Elis*, *Pylus*, *Oechalia*, and other towns, being assisted by such as either admired his virtues, or were beholden unto him. Also that he slew many thieves and tyrants, I take to be truly written, without addition of poetical vanity. His travels through most parts of the world are, or may seem, borrowed from *Hercules Libycus*. But sure it is that many cities of *Greece* were greatly bound to him: for that he (bending all his endeavours to the common good) delivered the land from much oppression. But after his death no city of *Greece* (*Athens* excepted) requited the virtue and deserts of *Hercules*, with constant protection of his children, persecuted by the king *Eurystheus*. This *Eurystheus* was son of *Sthenelus*, and grandchild of *Perseus*; he reigned in *Mycene*, the mightiest city then in *Greece*. He it was that imposed those hard tasks upon *Hercules*, who was bound to obey him (as poets report) for the expiation of that murder, which in his madness he had committed upon his own children; but as others say, because he was his subject and servant: wherefore there are who commend *Eurystheus* for employing the strength of *Hercules* to so good a purpose. But it is generally agreed by the best writers, that *Hercules* was also of the stock of *Perseus*, and holden in great jealousy by *Eurystheus*, because of his virtue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous services wherein he was employed, so that he grew great in reputation through all *Greece*, and had by many wives and concubines above 60 children. These children *Eurystheus* would fain have got in his power, when *Hercules* was dead: but they fled unto *Ceyx* king of *Thracinia*, and from him (for he durst not withstand *Eurystheus*) to *Athens*. The *Athenians* not only gave them entertainment, but lent them aid, wherewith they encountred *Eurystheus*. *Iolaus* the brother's son of *Hercules*, who had assisted him in many of his travels, was captain of the *Heraclidae*. It is said of him, that being dead, he obtained leave of *Pluto* to live again till he might revenge the injuries done by *Eurystheus*: whom he when had slain in battel, he died again. It seems to me, that whereas he had led *Colonies* into *Sicily*, and abode there a long time forgotten: he came again into *Greece* to assist his cousins, and afterwards returned back. When the *Peloponnesians* understood that *Eurystheus* was slain, they took *Atreus* the son of *Pelops* to their king: for he was rich, mighty, and favoured of the people. Against him the *Heraclidae* marched under *Hyllus* the son of *Hercules*. But to avoid effusion of blood, it was agreed, that *Hyllus* should fight with *Lichenus* king of the *Tegeatæ* a people of *Arcadia*, who assisted *Atreus*, with condition that if *Hyllus* were victor, he should peaceably enjoy what he challenged as his right: otherwise the *Heraclidae* should not enter *Peloponnesus* in 100 years. In that combat *Hyllus* was slain, and the *Heraclidae* compelled to forbear their country, till the third generation: at which time they returned under *Aristodemus* (as the best authority shews, tho' some have said, that they came under the conduct of his children) and brought with them the *Dores*, whom they planted in that country, as is before shewed, having expelled the *Achai*, over whom the issue of *Pelops* had reigned after the death of *Eurystheus* four generations.

SECT. VII.

Of Homer and Hesiod, and many changes in the world, that happened about this age.

ABOUT this time that excellent learned poet *Homer* lived, as many of the best chronologers affirm. He was by race of the *Mæones*, descended (as *Funclius* imagineth) of *Berosus's Anamæon*, who gave name to that people. But this *Funclius* imagineth *Homer* the poet to have been long after these times, rashly framing his *Æra* according to *Archilochus* in the tract, or rather fragment *de temporibus*; and makes seven more of this name to have flourished in divers cities in *Greece*. Whence, perhaps, sprang the diversity of opinions, both of the time and of the native city of *Homer*. According to this *Archilochus*, *Funclius* finds *Homer* about the time of *Manasseh* king of *Judah*, and *Numa* of *Rome*. He was called *Melesigenes* from the place of his birth, and at length *Homer*, because blind men follow a guide, which signification among others, is in the verb *ὁμαρῶν*: for this *Homer* in his latter time was blind. *Clemens Alexandrinus* recites many different opinions touching the question of the time when *Homer* lived. So also *Aulus Gellius*, and *Tatianus Assyrius*, in his oration *Ad gentes*. *Paterculus* reckons that *Homer* flourished 950 years before the consulship of *Marcus Vinutius*: which *Mercator* casteth up in the world's year 3046, and after *Troy* taken, about 260 years: and about 250 years before the building of *Rome*, making him to have flourished about the time of *Jehosaphat* king of *Judah*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Tatianus* above-named, mention authors that make him much ancients. The difference of which authors in this point is not unworthy the readers consideration, that by this one instance he may guess of the difficulty, and so pardon the errors in the computations of ancient time: seeing in such diversity of opinions a man may hardly find out what to follow. For *Crates* the *Grammarians* (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports) gave being to *Homer* about 80 years after *Troy* taken, near the time that the *Heraclidae* returned into *Peloponnesus*: and *Eratostratus* after *Troy* 100 years. *Theopompus* 500 years after the army of *Greece* sailed into *Phrygia* for the war of *Troy*. *Euphorion* makes him cotemporary with *Gyges*, who began to reign in the 18th olympiad (which was 45 years after *Rome* was built) and *Sosibius* saith, that he was 90 years before the first olympiad: which he seeks to prove by the times of *Charillus*, and his son *Nicander*; *Philocorus* placeth him 180 after *Troy*: *Aristarchus* 140, in the time of the seating of the colonies in *Ionis*. *Apollodorus* affirms that he lived while *Agésilas* governed *Lacedæmon*; and that *Lycurgus* in his young years, about 100 years after the *Ionian* plantations, came to visit him, near 240 years after *Troy* taken. *Herodotus* finds *Homer* flourishing 622 years before *Xerxes's* enterprise against the *Grecians*: which *Beroaldus* accounteth at 168 years after the *Trojan* war. *Eusebius* seems to make him to have been about the time of *Joash* king of *Judah*, 124 years before *Rome* was built: tho' elsewhere in his chronology he notes, that some place him in the time of *Samuel*, and others in the end of *David*, and others in other ages. In his evangelical preparation, where out of *Tatianus Assyrius* he citeth sundry opinions touching the time when *Homer* lived, he reckoneth many

^a Fun. Chro. fol. 11. col. D. ^b This author set out with *Berosus* and others, first at *Basil*, and after with *Joh. Annius's* comment at *Antwerp* is incerte fidei. *Nauclet*. l. 147. placeth *Homer* in the 32d generation in the time of *Samuel*. ^c Stromatum l. 5. ^d Noët. Antic. l. 3. c. 11. item l. 17. c. 21. ^e As both *Cle. Alex.* and *Tatian.* *Assyr.* report his opinion, rerum Phil. 43. *Rot.* in dile. temporum. *Phil.* in comm. in *Archilog.* ^f *Hec.* in vita *Hom.*

other Greek writers more ancient than *Homer*; as *Linus*, *Philammon*, *Epimenides*, *Pheonius*, *Aristeus*, *Orpheus*, *Museus*, *Thamyris*, *Amphion*, and others.

Now whether *Homer* or *Hesiodus* were the elder, it is also much disputed. ^a*Aulus Gellius* reports, that *Philochorus* and *Xenophanes* affirm, that *Homer* preceded *Hesiod*: and on the contrary, that *Luc. Accius* the poet, and *Ephorus* the historian, make *Hesiod* of an elder time than *Homer*. ^b*Varro* leaves it uncertain which of these learned fablers was first born: but he finds that they lived together some certain years, wherein he confirms himself by an epigram written upon a trevise, and left by *Hesiod* in *Helicon*.

^c*Cornelius Nepos* reports, that they both lived 160 years before was *Rome* built: while the *Silvii* reigned in *Alba*, about ^d140 years after the fall of *Troy*. ^e*Euthymenes* finds them both 200 years after *Troy* taken, in the time of *Acastus* the son of *Pelias*, king of *Theffaly*. For my self, I am not much troubled when this poet lived; neither would I offend the reader with these opinions, but only to shew the uncertainty and disagreement of historians, as well in this particular, as in all other questions and disputes of time. For the curiosity of this man's age is no less ridiculous, than the inquisition why he began his *Iliads* with the word *Menin*, as perhaps containing some great mystery. In derision whereof *Lucian* feigning himself to have been in hell, to have spoken with *Homer*, there asked him the cause why he began his book with that word? who answered, that he began in that sort, because it came in his head so to do.

It seemeth that *Senyes*, or, after *Macrobius*, *Senemires*, ruled *Egypt* at this time: for *Tanepherisobris* was his successor, who preceded *Vaphres*, father-in-law to *Solomon*.

About the end of *Saul's* government, or in the beginning of *David's* time according to ^f*Cassiodorus*, the *Amazons* with the *Cymmerians* invaded *Asia*, *Latinus Sylvius* then ruling in *Italy*. And besides the overthrow of that famous state of *Troy* (which fell 103 years before *David's* time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the world, not only by reason of those northern nations: but there sprung up, somewhat nearly together, six kingdoms into greatness not before erected. In *Italy*, that of the *Latins*: in the south part of *Greece*, those *Lacedæmon*, *Corinth*, and the *Achæi*. In *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Soba*, and *Damascus*, the *Adads* made themselves princes, of which there were ten kings, which began and ended with the kings of *Israel* in effect: and somewhat before these, the state of the *Israelites* having now altered their form of government, began to flourish under kings, of which *David*, in a few years, became master of all those neighbouring nations, who by interchange of times had subjected the *Judeans*, corrupted their religion, and held them under in a most abject, and grievous slavery; to wit, the *Edumians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Itureans*, and the rest of the *Arabians*, with the *Philistines*, *Jebusites*, *Geshurites*, *Machabites*, all which acknowledged *David* for their sovereign lord, and paid him tribute.

CHAP. XVII.

Of DAVID.

SECT. I.

Of David's estate in the time of Saul.

THE hazards which *David* ran into while he was yet only designed king, and living as a private man, expected the empire, were very many. The first personal act of fame, was his killing of *Goliath* in the view of both armies, whereby he became known to *Saul*, and so highly affected of *Jonathan* the son of *Saul*, that he loved him as his own soul: inasmuch, as when *Saul* sought to persuade his son, that *David* would assuredly be the ruin of his house, and estate, and offered him violence when he pleaded his cause, *Jonathan* could never be persuaded, never forc'd, nor ever wearied from the care of *David's* life, and well doing. It was not long after this signal act of *David*, but that *Saul* became exceeding jealous of him, tho' he were become as his household servant, and his esquire, or armour-bearer. *Saul* being vexed with an evil spirit, was advised to procure some cunning musician to play before him upon the harp; whereby it was thought that he might find ease, which came to pass accordingly. He entertained *David*, for this purpose, and began to favour him, giving him a place of command among the men of war. But the jealous tyrant soon waxed weary of his good affections, and sought to kill *David*, being thereunto moved only thro' envy of his virtue. This passion first brake forth in the midst of his raving fit, at which time he threw a spear at *David*, that was then playing on his harp, to do him ease.

^g*Censorinus* remembreth one *Asclepius* a physician, who practised the curing of the frenzy, by the like musick: and tempted thereby those diseases which grew from passion. That *Pythagoras* did also the like by such a kind of harmony, *Seneca* in his third book of anger witnesseth. But the madness of *Saul* came from the cause of causes, and was thereby incurable, howsoever it sometimes left him, and yielded unto that musick, which God had ordained to be a means of more good to the musician than to the king.

Saul Having failed in such open attempts, gave unto *David* the command over 1000 soldiers, to confront the *Philistines* withal. For he durst not trust him as before, about his person, fearing his revenge. Now the better to cover his hatred towards him, he promised him his daughter *Merah* to wife: but having married her to *Adriel*, he gave to *David* his younger daughter *Michol*, but with a condition, to present him with an hundred foreskins of the *Philistines*: hoping rather (in respect of the valour of that nation) that the *Philistines* would take *David's* head, than he their foreskins. This hope failing, when as now *David's* victories begat new fears and jealousies in *Saul*, he practised with *Jonathan*, and afterwards with his own hands attempted his life, but his purposes were still frustrated. After all this he sought to murder him in his own house, but *Michol* his wife delivered him. So *David* sought *Samuel* at *Ramah*, and being pursued by *Saul*, fled thence unto *Nob* in *Benjamin*, to

^a Noë. Antic. l. 3. c. 11. and reads 240 for 11.

^b Varro de imag. l. 1.

^c Nep. in Chron. Cassel. l. annal.

^d This number Mercator correct,

^e Euthym. in Chr. apud Clem. Alex. Strom. 5.

^f Eut. & Cass. in Chron.

^g Cent. c. 12 & 14.

^a *Abimilech*, then to ^b *Achis* the *Philistine*, prince of *Gath*: where to obscure himself, he was forc'd to counterfeit both simplicity and distraction. But being ill assured among the *Philistines*, he covered himself in the cave of *Adullam*: and after conveying such of his kinsfolks as were not fit to follow him, into *Moab*, he hid himself in the desarts of ^c *Ziph*, *Maon*, and the hills of *Engedi*, where he cut off the lap of *Saul's* garments, and spared his life: as he did a second time in the desert of ^d *Ziph*, after his passage with *Nabal* and *Abigail*. After which he repaired to *Achis* of *Gath* the second time, and was kindly entertained in regard of the hatred, with which his master *Saul* was known to prosecute him.

Of *Achis*, *David* obtained ^e *Siklag* in *Simeon*, pretending to invade *Judea*: but he bent his forces another way and struck the *Amalekites*, with other enemies of *Israel*, letting none live to complain of him. *Achis* supposing that *David* had drawn blood of his own nation, thought himself assured of him: and therefore preparing to invade *Israel*, summoneth *David* to assist him, who dissembling his intent, seemeth very willing thereto. But the rest of the *Philistine* princes knowing his valour, and doubting his disposition, liked not his company, and therefore he withdrew himself to *Siklag*. At his return he found the town burnt, his two wives, with the wives and children of his people taken by the *Amalekites*: hereupon his fellows mutinied, but God gave him comfort, and assurance to recover all again: which he did.

This army of the *Philistines* commanded by *Achis*, encountred *Saul* at *Gilboa*, in which he and his three sons were slain. The news with *Saul's* crown and bracelets were brought to *David*, at *Siklag*, in his return from being victorious over *Amalek*, by a man of the same nation, who ^f avow'd (tho' falsely) that himself at *Saul's* request had slain him. *David*, because he had accused himself, made no scruple to cause him to be slain at the instant: and the sooner, because the probabilities gave strong evidence withal. Otherwise it followeth not that every man ought to be believed of himself to his own prejudice. For it is held in the law; ^g *Confessio reorum non habenda est pro explorato crimine, nisi approbatio alia instruit religionem cognoscentis*; The prisoner's confession must not be taken for an evidence of the crime, unless some other proof inform the conscience of the judge. For a man may confess those things of himself, that the judge by examination may know to be impossible. But because it is otherwise determined in the title *de custodia reorum l. si confessus*, & in *cap. de pœnis l. qui sententiam*, therefore doth the gloss reconcile these two places in this sort. *Si quis in judicio sponte de seipso confiteatur, & postea maneat in confessione, id est satis*; If any man in judgment do confess of himself, of his own accord, and after doth persevere in his confession, it is enough. That *David* greatly bewailed *Saul* it is not improbable, for death cutteth atunder all competition: and the lamentable end that befel him, being a king, with whom, in effect, the strength of *Israel* also fell, could not but stir up sorrow and move compassion in the heart of *David*.

The victory which the *Philistines* had gotten was so great, that some towns of the *Israelites*, even beyond the river of *Jordan*, were abandoned by the inhabitants, and left unto the enemy, who took

possession of them without any resistance made. Wherefore it may seem strange, that a nation so warlike and ambitious as were the *Philistines*, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and seek to make the conquest entire. Most like it seems, that the civil war immediately breaking out between *David* and the house of *Saul*, wherein *Juda* was divided from the rest of *Israel*, gave them hope of an easy victory over both; and thereby caused them to attempt nothing at the present, lest by so doing they should inforce their disagreeing enemies to a necessary reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part should consume the other, by which means, both the victors, and the vanquished, would become a prey to the violence of such as had beaten them, when their forces were united.

SECT. II.

Of the beginning of *David's* reign, and the war made by *Abner* for *Ishbosheth*.

AFTER the death of *Saul*, *Abner*, who commanded for *Saul* in the War, sought to advance *Ishbosheth* (or *Iseobtus* according to *Josephus*) tho' he had no right to the kingdom of *Israel*: for *Mephibosheth* the first son of *Jonathan* lived. Against this *Abner*, and *Ishbosheth*, *David* made a defensive war, till *Abner* pass'd *Jordan*, and entred the border of *Juda*; at which time he sent *Joab* with such forces as he had, to resist *Abner*: *Ishbosheth* remaining in *Gilead*, and *David* in *Hebron*. The armies encountred each other near *Gibeon*, where it seemeth, that *Abner* made the offer to try the quarrel by the hands of a few; like to that combat between the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Argives*, remembred by *Herodotus*, 300 being chosen of each nation, of which number three persons were only left unslain. The like trial by a far less number was performed by the *Horatii* and *Curiatii* for the *Romans* and *Latines*. The same challenge *Goliath* the *Philistine* made, whom *David* slew: a custom very ancient. *Edward* the third offered the like trial in his own person to the *French* king; and *Francis* the *French* king to *Charles* the emperor. There were 12 chosen of each part, in this war of *David* with the house of *Saul*, to wit, so many of *Benjamin*, and as many of *Juda*: whose force and valour was so equal, as there survived not any one to challenge the victory. But the quarrel staid not here: for the army of *Juda* press'd *Abner* in gross, and brake him. 360 Men of *Abner's* companions were slain, and but 20 of *Juda*; whereof *Asabel* the brother of *Joab* was one: who when he would needs pursue ^h *Abner*, and by *Abner's* persuasions could not be moved to quit him, he was forced to turn upon him, wounding him to death, with the stroke of his spear. For tho' *Asabel* were an excellent footman, and as it is written in the text, as light as a wild roe, and as *Josephus* reporteth, contended not only with men, but with horses; and hoped to have gotten great fame, if he could have mastered *Abner* (who as *Asabel* persuaded himself, had by being overthrown and flying away lost his courage) yet here it fell out true; ⁱ *That the race is not to the swift*.

That this civil war lasted two years, we find it written in the 2 *Sam.* ii. 10. tho' in the beginning of the third it is again made probable, that this contention dur'd longer; and therefore the matter rest-

^a 1 *Sam.* 19. ^b 1 *Sam.* 21. ^c 1 *Sam.* 24. ^d 1 *Sam.* 26. ^e It seemeth that *Simeon* never obtained *Siklag* till this time, for it is said in the 17 of *Sam.* 27. 6. therefore *Siklag* pertaineth unto the king of *Judah* unto this day. ^f 2 *Sam.* 1. ^g In *Eccl.* 9. 1. ^h 2 *Sam.* 2. ⁱ *Ecclesi.* 9.

eth still in dispute, and some of the *Rabbins* conceive, that *Ishbosheth* had then reigned two years, when this was written, the war as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the party of *Ishbosheth* after this, and till such time as there grew jealousy between him and *Ishbosheth* for *Saul's* concubine: neither did the death of *Ishbosheth* instantly follow; but how long after the murder of *Abner* it happened, the same doth not certainly appear.

SECT. III.

Of the death of Abner slain by Joab, and of Ishbosheth by Rechab and Baanah.

ABNER, reconciled to *David*, was anon by ^a *Joab* murdered; for *Joab* could not endure a companion in *David's* favour, and in the commandment of his forces, by which he was grown so powerful, as *David* forbore to call him to account; for thus much he confesseth of himself: ^b *I am this day weak, and these men the sons of Zeruah be too hard for me.* In this sort *David* complained after *Abner's* death, and to make it clear that he hated this fact of *Joab*, he followed him with this publick imprecation; ^c *Let the blood fall on the head of Joab, and on all his fathers house: and let them be subject to ulcers, to the leprosy, to lameness, to the sword, and to poverty, &c.* For could any thing have withstood the ordinance of God, this murder committed by *Joab* might greatly have endangered *David's* estate, *Abner* being the mouth and trust of all the rest of the tribes, not yet reconciled. This mischance therefore *David* openly bewailed, so that all *Israel* perceived him to be innocent of that fact. The place which *Abner* held being general of the men of war, was of such importance, that the kings themselves were fain to give them great respect, as hath been already shewed more at large. This office *Joab* held in the army of *Juda*, and thought himself worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtain the whole kingdom. For he was near to *David* in kindred, and had been partaker of all his adversity, wherefore he did not think it meet, that an old enemy should in reward of new benefits be made his partner. Indeed he was by nature so jealous of his dignity and place, that he afterwards slew *Amasa* his own kinsman, and the king's, upon the same quarrel, taking it in high disdain to see him joined with himself, as captain of the host of *Juda*; much less could he brook a superior, and such a one as had slain his brother, and been beaten himself in battel. But howsoever *Joab* did hate or despise *Abner*, *David* esteemed highly of him as of a prince, and a great man in *Israel*, excusing the oversight by which he might seem to have perished, by affirming, that he died not like a fool, nor a man vanquished, ^d *But as a man falleth before wicked men, so (said he) didst thou fall.* And certainly it is no error of wit nor want of valour and virtue in him, whom a stronger hand destroyeth unawares, or whom subtilty in free trust bringeth to confusion. For all under the sun are subject to worldly miseries and misadventures. Howsoever *Ishbosheth* meant to have dealt with *Abner*, yet when he heard of his death, he despaired greatly of his estate, and with him all *Israel* were possess'd with great fear: insomuch as two of *Ishbosheth's* own captains, *Rechab* and *Baanah*, murdered *Ishbosheth*, and presenting his head to ^e *David*, received the same reward that the *Amalekite* lately did, for pre-

tending to have slain *Saul*. *Ishbosheth* being dead, all the elders of *Israel* repaired to *David* at *Hebron*, where he was the third and last time anointed by general consent.

SECT. IV.

Of the flourishing time of David's kingdom, the taking of Jerusalem, with two overthrowes given to the Philistines, and the conduction of the ark to the city of David.

WHEN *David* was now established in the kingdom, his first enterprise was upon the *Jebusites*, who, in derision of his force, and confident in the strength of the place (as is thought) manned their walls with the blind and lame of their City ^f; which *David* soon after entered: all their other forces notwithstanding. For having mastered the fort of *Zion* (which was afterwards the city of *David*) he became lord of *Jerusalem*, without any great danger, expelling thence the *Jebusites*, who had held it from the foundation to the times of *Moses* and *Joshua*, and after them almost 400 years: there are who expound this place otherwise. *Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither.* For some think that it was meant by the idols of the *Jebusites*: others, that it had reference to the covenant made long before with *Isaac* and *Jacob*: the one blind by nature and age, the other made lame by wrestling with the angel, and that therefore till those (that is, till that covenant) be broken, *David* ought not to molest them. But for my self I take it with *Josephus*, that they armed their walls with certain impotent people at first, in scorn of *David's* attempt. For they, that had held their city about four hundred years against all the children of *Israel*, *Joshua*, the *Judges*, and *Saul*, did not doubt but to defend it also against *David*.

When he had now possess'd himself of the very heart and centre of the kingdom, and received congratulatory ambassadors and presents from *Hiram* king of *Tyre*: he entertained divers other concubines and married more wives, by whom he had ten sons in *Jerusalem*, and by his former wives he had 6 in *Hebron* where he reigned 7 years.

The *Philistines* hearing that *David* was now anointed king, as well of *Juda* as of *Israel*, they thought to try him in the beginning, before he was fully warm in his seat. And being encountred by *David* at two several times in the ^g *Valley of Rephaim*, or of the *Giants*, they were at both times overthrown. After which he called the place *Baalperazim*.

Then *David* assembled 30000 choice *Israelites* to conduct the ark of God from the house of *Abinadab* in *Gibeon*, to the city of *David*, which business was interrupted by the death of *Uzzah* the son of *Abinadab*, whom the Lord slew for presuming to touch the ark, tho' it were with intent to stay it from taking harm when it was shaken. But after three years it was with great solemnity brought into the city with sacrifices, musick, dances, and all signs of joyfulness, in which *David* himself gladly bore a part. Hereupon *Michol* derided him for dancing before the ark, and afterwards told him in scorn, *That he was uncovered as a fool in the eyes of the maidens his servants*; namely, that he gat his regal dignity both in apparel and behaviour; and mixed himself among the base multitude, dancing as fools do in the ways and streets: not that she disliked *David's* behaviour (as I take it) tho' she made it the colour of her derision. But

^a 2 Sam. 3. 27. ^b 2 Sam. 3. 39. ^c 1st Cor. 29. ^d 2 Sam. 3. 34. ^e 2 Sam. 4. ^f 2 Sam. 5. ^g 2 Sam. 5.

rather the abundant grief, which this spectacle stirred up, beholding the glory of her husband to whom she was delivered lastly by force, and remembering the miserable end of her father and brethren, out of whose ruins she conceived that the son of *Ishai* had built this his greatness, together with the many new wives and concubines imbraced since his possession of *Jerusalem*, made her break out in those despicable terms, for which she remained barren to her death.

This done, * *David* consulted with the prophet *Nathan* for the building of the temple or house of God: but was forbidden it, because he was a man of war, and had shed blood. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all detest homicide; having threatned, not in vain, that he would require the blood of man, at the hand of man and beast. The wars which *David* had made were just, and the blood therein shed was of the enemies of God, and his church: yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands should lay the foundation of that holy temple. Hereby it appears how greatly those princes deceive themselves, who think by bloodshed and terror of their wars, to make themselves in greatness like to the Almighty, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercy and goodness, or seek the blessedness promised by our Saviour unto the peace-makers.

Now altho' it was not pleasing to the Lord to accept a temple of *David's* founding, yet was his religious intent so well accepted, that hereupon he received both a confirmation of the kingdom to him and his heirs, and that happy promise of the everlasting throne, that should be established in his seed.

SECT. V.

The overthrow of the Philistines and Moabites.

SOON after this *David* overthrew the *Philistines*, which made them altogether powerless, and unable to make any invasion upon *Israel* in haste. For it is written, *accepit frenum Amgaris e manu Philistæorum*; which place our *English Geneva* converts in these words, *And David took the bridle of bondage out of the hand of the Philistines.* The *Latin* of *Junius* giveth another and a better sense; for by that bridle of *Amgar* was meant the strong city of *Gath*, or *Geth*, and so the *Geneva* hath it in the marginal note. This city of *Gath* was the same which was afterwards *Dio-Cæsaria*, set on the frontier of *Palestina* at the entrance into *Judea* and *Ephraim*. From thence they made their incursions, and thence into their retreat in all their invasions, which being taken by *David* and demolished, there was left no such frontier town of equal strength to the *Philistines* on that part. The hill whereon *Geth* or *Gath* stood the *Hebrews* call *Amma*, whereof and of the word *Gar* is made *Amgar*, of which *Pliny* in his 11th book and 13th chapter. This exposition is made plain and confirmed in the 1st of *Chron.* chap. xviii.

There was no nation bordering the Jews that so greatly afflicted them as the *Philistines* did, who before the time of *Saul* (to the end they might not sharpen any weapon against them) did not leave one smith in all their cities and villages of that kind, but infore'd them to come down into their territory, ^d for all iron work whatsoever they needed; so as the *Israelites* till this time of *David* were seldom free from paying tribute to the *Philistines*.

After this he gave them four other overthrows: but the war of the *Moabites* and *Arabians* came between. In the first of which he was indangered by *Ishbi-benob*, the head of whose spear weighed 300 sheckles of brass, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time *Abishai* succoured *David*, and slew the *Philistines*, whereupon the counsellors and captains of *David* (lest the light of *Israel* might by his loss be quench'd) vow'd that he should not thenceforth hazard himself in any battel. The second and third encounter and overthrow of the *Philistines* was at *Gob*, a place near *Gesar*, and the last at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better assured of the *Philistines* by the taking of *Geth*, he invaded *Moab*, from whom notwithstanding in his adversity he sought succour, and left his parents with him in trust. But whether it were the same king or no it is not known.

The *Rabins* feign that *Moab* slew those kinsfolks of *David*, which lived under his protection in *Saul's* time, but questionless *David* well knew how that nation had been always enemies to *Israel*, and took all the occasions to vex them that were offered. And he also remembered that in the xxiii^d of *Deuter.* God commanded *Israel* not to seek the peace or prosperity of the *Moabites*, which *David* well observed, for he destroy'd two parts of the people, leaving a third to till the ground. This victory obtained, he led his army by the border of *Ammon* towards *Syria Zebah*, the region of *Adadezer* the son of *Rebub* king thereof. The place is set down in the description of the holy land: to which I refer the reader.

SECT. VI.

The war which David made upon the Syrians.

IT is written in the text; *David smote also Hadadezer, &c. as he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates.* Now whether the words [*as he went to recover his border*] be referred to *David* or *Hadadezer* it is not agreed upon. *Junius* thinks that the article [*he*] hath relation to *David*, who finding *Tobu* oppress'd by *Hadadezer*, overthrew the one and succoured the other. But the ancient and most received opinion, that this recovery hath reference to the *Syrian*, is more probable. For if *David* had intended any such enterprize towards *Euphrates*, he was in far better case to have proceeded after his victory than before: seeing that (*Adadezer* being taken) he had now left no enemy on his back, either to pursue him, to take victuals and supplies from him, or to stop the passages of the mountains upon him at his return.

Again, seeing *David* was either to pass through a part of *Arabia* the desert, or by the plains of *Palmyrena*, his army consisting of footmen, for the most, if not all: he had now both horse and chariots good store to carry his provisions thro' those uncultivated places, by which he was to have marched before he could have reached *Euphrates* or any part thereof. But we find that *David* returned to *Jerusalem*, after he had twice overthrown the *Syrian* army, not bending his course towards the river *Euphrates*, but seeking to establish his purchases already made. Whereby it may appear, that it was the *Syrian*, and not king *David*, that was going to enlarge his border, as afore is said.

The king of *Syria Damascena*, and of *Damascus*, whereof that region is so called, hearing that *Adadezer* was overthrown by the *Israelites*, fearing his

* 1 Chron. 13.

b 2 Sam. 8. 1.

c Junius in c. 8. of the 2d of Sam.

d 1 Sam. 13.

e 2 Sam. 21. 17.

own estate, and the loss of his own country which adjoined to *Syria Zobab* of *Hadadezer*, sent for an army of *Aramites* or *Syrians* to his succour: but these, as it appeareth, came too late for *Adadezer*, and too soon for themselves: for there perished of those supplies 22000. This king of *Damascus*, *Josephus* (out of *Nicolaus* an ancient historian) calleth *Adad*, who was also of the same name and family as all those other *Adads* were: which now began to grow up in greatness, and so continued for ten descents, till they were extinguished by the *Affyrians*, as is shewed heretofore. *David*, having now reduced *Damascus* under his obedience, left a garrison therein as he did in *Edom*: having also sack'd the adjoining cities of *Betab*, and *Berathi*, belonging to *Adadezer*, of which cities *Ptolemy* calleth *Betab*, *Tauba*: and *Berathi* he nameth *Barathena*. ^a*Tobu*, or *Thoi*, whose country of *Hamath* joined to *Adadezer* (as in the description of the holy land the reader may perceive) sent his son *Foram* to congratulate this success of *David*: partly because he had war with *Adadezer*, and partly because he feared *David* now victorious. He also presented *David* with vessels of gold, silver, and brass, all which together with the golden shield of the *Aramites*, and the best of all the spoils of other nations *David* dedicated unto God at his return. *Junius* translated the words [*clypeos aureos*] by *umbones*, as if all the parts of the targets were not of gold but the bosses only. The *Septuagint* call them bracelets: *Aquila*, golden chains. But because *Roboam* made shields of brass in place of these of *Adadezer*, at such time as *Shibcab* the *Egyptian* sack'd the temple of *Jerusalem*, it may be gathered thereby, that those of *Adadezer* were golden shields.

This done, *David* sent ambassadors to *Hanum* king of the *Ammonites* to congratulate his establishment in his father's kingdom: for *David*, in the time of his affliction under *Saul*, had been relieved by *Nabab*, the father of *Hanum*. But this *Ammonite* being ill advised, and over-jealous of his estate, used *David's* messengers so barbarously and contemptuously (by curtailing their beards, and their garments) as he thereby drew a war upon himself, which neither his own strength, nor all the aids purchased could put off, or sustain. For notwithstanding that he had waged 33000 soldiers of the *Amalekites*, and their confederates; to wit, of the vassals of *Adadezer* 20000, and of ^c*Maachab* and *Ishtob* 13000 (for which he disbursed a thousand talents of silver) yet all these great armies together, with the strength of the *Ammonites*, were by ^d*Joab* and his brother *Abishai* easily broken and put to ruin: and that without any great loss or slaughter at that time. And it is written that when the *Aramites* fled, the *Ammonites* also retreated into their cities, the one holding themselves within the walls, the other in their desarts adjoining, till *Joab* was returned to *Jerusalem*.

Hadadezer, hearing that *Joab* had dismissed his army, assembled his forces again, and sent all the companies that he could levy out of *Mesopotamia*, who under the command of *Shobach* passed *Euphrates*, and incamp'd at ^e*Helam*, on the south side thereof. *David* hearing of this new preparation, assembled all the ablest men of *Israel*, and marched towards the Syrian army in *Palmyrena*, not yet entered into *Arabia*: to wit, at *Helam*, a place no less distant from *Damascus*, towards the north-east, than *Jerusalem* was towards the south-west. Now *David* (speaking humanly) might

with the more confidence go on towards *Euphrates* (which was the farthest-off journey that ever he made) because he was now lord of *Damascus*, which lay in the mid-way. He also possess'd himself of ^f*Thadmor* or *Palmyrena*, which *Solomon* afterwards strongly fortified, and this city was but one day's journey from *Helam*, and the river *Euphrates*. So had he two safe retreats, the one to *Thadmor*, and the next from thence to *Damascus*. In this encounter between *David* and the *Syrians*, they lost 40000 horsemen, and 700 chariots, together with *Shobach* general of their army. The *Chronicles* call these 40000 soldiers footmen, and so *Junius* converts it, and so is it very probable. For the army of *Israel* consisting of footmen, could hardly have slaughtered 40000 horse-men, except they quitted their horses and fought on foot. So are the chariots taken in this battle, numbred at 7000, in the 1st of *Chronicles* chap. ix. in which number, as I conceive, all the soldiers that served in them, with their conductors, are included: so as there died of the *Syrians* in this war against *David*, before he forced them to tribute, 100000 footmen, besides all their horsemen and waggoners, and besides all those that *Joab* slew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the *Ammonites* before *Rabba*. Notwithstanding all which, the *Adads* in following ages gathered strength again, and afflicted the kings of *Juda* often: but the kings of *Israel* they impoverished, even to the last end of that state.

David having now beaten the *Arabians* and *Mesopotamians* from the party and confederacy of *Ammon*: he sent out *Joab* the lieutenant of his armies to forrage and destroy their territory, and to besiege *Rabbab*, afterwards *Philadelphia*, which after a while the *Israelites* mastered and possess'd. The king's crown, which weighed a talent of gold, garnished with precious stones, *David* set on his own head, and carried away with him the rest of the riches and spoil of the city. And tho' *David* stay'd at *Jerusalem*, following the war of *Uriab* his wife, till such time as the city was brought to extremity, and ready to be entered: yet *Joab*, in honour of *David*, forbore the last assault, and entrance thereof, till his master's arrival. To the people he used extream rigour (if we may so call it, being exercised against heathen idolaters) for some of them he tore with harrows, some he sawed asunder, others he cast into burning kilns, in which he bak'd tile and brick.

S E C T. VII.

Of David's troubles in his reign, and of his forces.

BUT as victory begetteth security, and our present worldly felicity a forgetfulness of our former miseries, and many times of God himself the giver of all goodness: so did these changes, in the fortune and state of this good king, change also the zealous care which formerly he had to please God in the precise observation of his laws and commandments. For having now no dangerous apparent enemy (against whom he was wont to ask counsel from the Lord) he began to be advised by his own human affections, and vain desires. For he was not only satisfied to take *Uriab's* wife from him, and to use her by stealth; but he imbroiled his adultery with *Uriab's* slaughter, giving order to his trusty servant ^g*Joab* to march him in the front or point of those *Israelites*,

^a 2 Sam. 8. ^b 2 Sam. 10. ^c Maachab the north part of Traconitis, mentioned in Deut. 3. 14. Thabab or Thob a country near Gad, under the rock of Arnon. ^d 2 Sam. 10. ^e Helam or Chelam, which Ptolemy calleth Alamatha, near the banks of Euphrates. 2 Sam. 10. ^f See chap. 18. sect. 2. ^g 2 Sam. 11. 15.

which

which gave an assault upon the suburbs of *Rabba*, when there was not as yet any possibility of prevailing. And, that which could no less displease God than the rest, he was content that many others of his best servants and soldiers should perish together with *Uriah*, hoping thereby to cover his particular ill intent against him. After which he began by degrees to fall from the highest of happiness; and his days then to come were filled with joys and woes interchangeable, his trodden down sorrows began again to spring; and those perils which he had pulled up by the roots (as he hoped) gave him an after-harvest of many cares and discontentments. And if it had pleased God to take the witness of *David*'s own mouth against him, as *David* himself did against the *Amalekite*, which pretended to have slain *Saul*, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death he suffered. For when *Nathan* the prophet propounded unto him his own error, in the person of another, to wit, of him that took the poor man's sheep that had none else, the bereaver being lord of many: he then vowed it to the living Lord, that such a one should die the death. And hereof, altho' it pleased God to pardon *David* for his life, which remission the prophet *Nathan* pronounced: yet he delivered him God's justice, together with his mercy in the tenor following; *Now therefore the sword shall never depart from thy house, &c. because thou hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slain Uriah with the sword of the children of Ammon.* Soon after this, *David* lost the child of adultery which he begot on *Bersheba*. Secondly, His own son *Amnon* being in love with his half-sister *Tamar*, by the advice of his cousin-german the son of *Shimeab*, *David*'s brother, possess'd her by force: which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a careless and despightful manner. Two years after which foul and incestuous act, *Abshalom* caused him to be murdered, at the feast of his sheep-shearing; not perchance in revenge of *Tamar*'s ravishment alone: but having it in his heart to usurp the kingdom; in which, because he could not in any sort be assured of *Amnon*, he thought his affair greatly advanced by his destruction. So the one brother having ravished his own sister, and then despised her; the other after a long dissembled malice, first made his own brother drunken, and then slaughtered him; which done, he fled away, and lived under the safeguard of *Talmai* king of *Geshur*, near *Damascus*, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen king. Thirdly, When *Abshalom* by the invention of *Joab* (but chiefly because of the great affection of *David* towards his son) was brought again; first to the king's favour, and then to his presence. He began instantly to practise against *David* his father, seeking by the pretence of common justice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his father's equity, to win unto himself a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction, threatened by the Lord as a punishment of *David*'s sin.

The company which *Abshalom* gathered at the first were but 200 men: which he carried with him from *Jerusalem* to *Hebron*; pretending, tho' impiously, the performance of a vow to God. There when *Achitophel* repaired unto him, and many troops of people from all places, he proclaimed himself king, and was by the people (whose hearts God had turned from their lawful prince) accepted so readily, that *David* doubting to be set upon on the sudden, durst not trust himself in his own city of *Jerusalem*,

nor in any other walled town for fear of surprize: but encamped in the fields and desarts, with some 600 of his guards, and few else. The priests he left in *Jerusalem*, with the ark of God, from whom he desired to be advertised of those things that chanced, to whom he directed *Hushai* his trusty friend and servant, praying him to make himself in all his outward actions and counsels of *Abshalom*'s party and confederacy, thereby the better to discover unto him the purposes of *Achitophel*, a revolted counsellor, whose practices he greatly doubted. And now when treason was in fashion, *Ziba* also sought to betray his master *Mephibosheth* the son of *Jonathan*: and *Shimei* of the house of *Saul* (the fire of whose hatred *David*'s prosperity had smothered, but his adversity illightened) holding himself upon the advantage of a mountain side, cast stones at *David*, and most despitefully cursed him to his face: but *David* attending no private revenges, forbade *Abishai* to pursue him for the present, yet left him among others in the roll of his revenge, to his son *Solomon*. *Abshalom* being now possess'd of *Jerusalem*, was advis'd by *Achitophel* to use his father's concubines in some such publick place, as all *Israel* might assure themselves, that he was irreconcilable to his father: whereof being persuaded they would then resolutely adhere to *Abshalom* and his cause, without fear of being given up upon a reconciliation between them. This savage and impious (tho' crafty counsel) *Achitophel* indeed urged for his own respect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his destruction; who most of all others inflamed *Abshalom* against his father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly foretold *David*: *I will raise up evil against thee out of thine own house, and will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour, and he shall lie with thy wives in the sight of the sun: for thou didst it secretly, but I will do this thing before all Israel, and before the sun,* 2 Sam. xii. 11. He also gave advice to *Abshalom*, that himself with an army of 12000 men might be employed at the instant for the surprizing of *David*, which had willingly been embraced by *Abshalom*, had not *Hushai* *David*'s faithful servant, given counter advice, and sway'd it: persuading *Abshalom*, that it was fitter and more safe for him with all the strength of *Israel*, to pursue his father; than by such a troop, which *David*'s valour, and those of his attendants, might either endanger or resist. This delay in *Abshalom*, and advantage of time gained by *David*, was indeed, after God, the loss of the one and delivery of the other. whereupon *Achitophel* rightly fearing (by the occasion fore-shewed) the success which followed, disposed of his own estate, and then forsook both the party and the care of *Abshalom*, and of his own life.

David being advertised of this enterprize against him, march'd away all night, and pass'd *Jordan*, possessing himself of *Mahanaim* in the tribe of *Gad*: the same wherein *Ishbosheth* himself, in the war against *David* after *Saul*'s death seated himself. To which place there repaired unto him *Shobi*, the son of *Nabash* the *Ammonite*, whom *David* loved, the same which *Josephus* calleth *Shiphar*. And tho' it be greatly disputed what this *Shobi* was, yet the most general and probable opinion makes him a second brother to *Ilanum*, whom *David* for his father's sake established in the kingdom, after *Ilanum*'s overthrow. In thankfulness whereof he relieved *David* in this his extremity. There came also to *David*'s assistance *Machir* of *Lodabar*, guardian in former times to *Mephibosheth*, and among

^a 2 Sam. 12. 9, 10.

^b 2 Sam. 13.

^c 2 Sam. 14.

^d 2 Sam. 15.

^e 2 Sam. 15.

^f 2 Sam. 16.

^g 2 Sam. 16.

^h 2 Sam. 17. 14.

ⁱ 2 Sam. 17. 23.

others *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, who willingly fed *David* and all his company.

In the mean time both the king and *Abfalom* prepared to fight; *Abfalom* made *Amasa* commander of the army of *Israel*, the same place which *Joab* held with *David*; an office next the king himself, like unto that of the majors of the palace anciently in *France*. *David*, persuaded by his company, stay'd in *Mahanaim*, and disposed the forces he had to *Joab*, *Abishai* and *Ittai*, giving them charge in the hearing of all that issued out at the port of *Mahanaim*, that they should spare the life of *Abfalom*. But *Joab*, besides that he was very cruel by nature, remembered that *Abfalom* had lately disposed of his government to *Amasa*, and therefore the victory being obtained, and news brought him that *Abfalom* hung by the hair of his head on a tree, when he could not persuade the messenger to return and kill him, he himself with his own servants dispatch'd him. It appeared also by the sequel, that *Joab* affected *Adonijah*, whom he afterward acknowledged, *David* yet living; and fearing the disposition of *Abfalom*, he embraced the present advantage offered.

Hereof, together with news of the victory, when knowledge was brought to *David*, he mourned and sorrowed, not only as a man that had lost a son, but as one that had outlived all his worldly joys, and seen every delight of life interred. For he so hid himself from his people, as those, which hoped for honour and reward after so great a victory, covered themselves also in the city, as if they had committed the greatest offences, and had rather deserved death than recompence. Whereupon *Joab* presenting himself before *David*, persuaded him to dissemble his sorrow for the present, and to shew himself to the army. For first he told him that he had discountenanced his faithful servants, who had that day preserved his life; inferring that nothing could be more dangerous to a king, than not only not to acknowledge so great a love and constancy in his people, who being but few in number, did yet resolvedly expose themselves to great perils for his sake: but on the contrary grieve and lament at their good success. For, no doubt, they might all have bought their peace of *Abfalom* at an easy rate. Secondly, He urged, that it was generally believ'd, that he lov'd his enemies and hated his friends, and that he witnessed by this his mourning, that he had not any respect of his princes, and others his faithful servants, but would more have joyed if they had all perished, and *Abfalom* lived, than in the victory by their faithfulness and approved valour gotten.

Lastly, He used this prevalent argument, that if the king came not out and shewed himself publicly to his men of war, that they would all that very night abandon him, and return; concluding with this fearful threatning: *And that will be worse unto thee than all the evil that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto.* By these overbold and arrogant speeches (tho' perchance uttered with a good intent) *Joab* rais'd *David* from his bed of sorrow, and brought him to the gates of the city among the people, whom he assured of his love and affection, especially *Amasa* who commanded the army of *Abfalom*, to whom he promised the office of lieutenantship; the same which *Abfalom* had given him, and which *Joab* now enjoyed. For *David* doubted, that if *Amasa* were not satisfied, he might draw from him a great part of the strength of *Israel*, now under his commandment.

This done, the king marched towards *Jordan* homeward, where in his passage he pardoned *Shimei*,

who had lately reviled him to his face; but this remission was but external, as appeared afterward. He also accepted of *Mephibosheth's* excuse, whom *Ziba* had formerly falsely accused and betrayed.

He also intreated *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, his late liberal host, to follow him to *Jerusalem*, that he might reward his service done him; who excusing himself by his age, appointed his son *Chimham* to attend the king.

At *Gilgal* on this side *Jordan*, all the tribes assembled, and after some contention which of them ought to have most interest in *David*, the army brake, and *David* returned to *Jerusalem*. But *Sheba*, the son of *Bichri*, a *Benjamite*, of the faction of the house of *Saul*, finding some discontentment among the *Israelites*, withdrew them from *David*, as from a stranger in whom they had no interest; and it seemeth that many of the people of the out-tribes, and in effect of all but *Judah*, bare still a good affection to the issues of their first king. *David* employed his reconciled captain *Amasa*, to give him contentment, and to witness his trust, as also because he conceived that *Amasa* had interest in those revolts of *Israel* more than *Joab* had. He received commandment from *David* to assemble the army within three days, which he foreflowed; but being onward on his way, *Abishai*, *Joab's* brother, was sent after him, with *David's* guard and best soldiers, whom also *Joab* accompanied: and overtaking *Amasa* near *Gibeon*, pretending to embrace him, gave him a wound, whereof he fell dead, being no less jealous of *Amasa* than he was of *Abner*, whom he murdered in the same manner, and out of the same impatient ambition. This done, he pursued *Sheba*, and finding him enclos'd in *Abel*, assaulted the city with that fury, that the citizens by the persuasions of a wise woman there inhabiting, cut off *Sheba's* head, and flung it to *Joab* over the walls: which done, he retreated his army to *Jerusalem*, and commanded as before all the host of *Israel*.

The next act of *David's*, was the delivery of *Saul's* sons or kinsmen to the *Gibeonites*, whom those citizens hung up in revenge of their father's cruelty. *David* had knowledge from the oracle of God, that a famine which had continued on the land three years, came by reason of *Saul* and his house; to wit, for the slaughter of the *Gibeonites*: and therefore he willingly yielded to give them this satisfaction, both because he had warrant from God himself, as also, if we may judge humanly, to rid himself of *Saul's* line, by whom he and his might, as well in the present as in the future, be greatly molested and endangered; only he spared *Mephibosheth* the son of *Jonathan*, both for the love he bare to his father, as for his oath and vow to God.

Now where it is written in the text; *The king took the two sons of Kispah whom she bare unto Saul, and the five sons of Michol the daughter of Saul, whom she bare to Adriel, and delivered them to the Gibeonites, 2 Sam. xxi.*

Junius calls this *Michol* the sister of her that was *David's* wife, she whom *Saul* married to *Phaltiel*; but *Michol* here named had *Adriel* to her husband: the same which is named *Merab* in *1 Sam. xviii*, who was first promised to *David*, when he slew *Goliath* in the valley of *Raphaim*: and because it is written that *Michol* loved *David*, which perchance *Merab* did not, whether *David* had any human respect in the delivery of her children, it is only known to God.

^a 2 Sam. 18.

^b 2 Sam. 19.

^c 2 Sam. 19. 23.

^d 2 Sam. 19. 38.

^e 2 Sam. 20. 10.

^f 2 Sam.

20. 22.

No. 18.

Now whereas the *Geneva* nameth *Michol* for *Merab* the wife of *Adriel*: the better translation were out of the *Hebrew* word here used, having an eclipsis or defect, and signifieth, as I am informed, one of the same kindred, as in the 19th verse of the same xxist chapter it is said of *Goliath*, whose spear was as weighty as a weaver's beam, when as by the same eclipsis it must be understood by the brother of *Goliath*: *Goliath* himself being formerly slain.

As by the death of *Saul's* children God secured the house of *David*, leaving no head unto rebellion: so did he strengthen both the king and nation against foreign enemies, by the valour of many brave commanders, the like of whom, for number and quality, that people of *Israel* is not known to have had at any time before or after. Thirty captains of thousands there were, all men of mark, and great reputation in war. Over these were six colonels, whose valour was so extraordinary, that it might well be held as miraculous. These colonels had some difference of place and honour, which seemeth to have been given upon meer consideration of their virtue. For *Abishai* the brother of *Joab*, who in the war against the *Ammonites* and *Aramites* was lieutenant, and commanded half the army, could not attain to the honour of the first rank, but was fain to rest contented with being principal of the three colonels of the second order, notwithstanding his nearness in blood unto the king, the flourishing estate of his own house, and his well approved services. All these colonels and captains, with the companies belonging to them, may seem to have been such as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readiness for any occasion, considering that the numbers which were mustered and drawn out, if need required, into the field, very far exceeded thirty thousand, yea or thirty times as many. They were most of them such as had followed the king in *Saul's* time, and been hardened with his adversities. Others there were very many, and principal men in their several tribes, that repaired unto him after the death of *Saul*; but these captains and colonels (who with *Joab*, that was general of all the king's forces, make up the number of 37) were the especial men of war, and reckoned as *David's* worthies^a. The long reign of *David*, as it is known to have consumed many of these excellent men of war, so may it probably be guessed to have wasted the most of those whose deaths we find no where mentioned. For the sons of *Zeruia*, who had been too hard for *David*, were worn away, and only *Joab* left in the beginning of *Solomon*, who wanted his brother *Abishai* to stand by his side in his last extremity.

By the actions fore-passed in the time of *David*, it is gathered that he had reigned now 33 years, or thereabout, when the posterity of *Saul* was rooted out, so that he enjoyed about seven years of entire quiet and security, wherein it pleased God to remove all impediments that might have troubled the succession of *Solomon* in his father's throne. In this time also *David* having established all things in *Juda* and *Israel*, and the borders thereof, he again displeased God by^b numbring the people, as in ostentation of his power: in which he employed *Joab* with other captains of his army, who after 9 months and 20 days travel, returned with the account and register of all the people, able and fit to bear arms, and they amounted to the number of 1300000, besides *Levi* and *Benjamin*; whereof in

Juda and the cities thereof 500000, and in *Israel* 800000.

For this, when by the prophet *Gad* he was offered from God the choice of three punishments, whereof he might submit himself to which he pleased; to wit, seven years famine; three months war, wherein he should be unprosperous in all attempts, and be chased by his enemies; or a general pestilence to last three days: *David* made choice to bow himself under the hand of God only, and left himself subject to that cruel disease, which hath no compassion or respect of persons, of which there perished 70000. And hereby he hath taught all that live, that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; whereof he giveth us this divine reason, ^c *For his mercies are great.*

SECT. VIII.

Of the last acts of David: Adonijah's faction: the revenge upon Joab and Shimei.

LASTLY, when he grew weak and feeble, and past the acts and knowledge of women, he was yet advised to lie in the arms of a young and well complexioned maiden, to keep him warm. In this his weak estate of body, when he was in a manner bed-ridden, *Adonijah* his eldest son (*Amnon* and *Abshalom* being now dead) having drawn unto his party that invincible, renowned and feared *Joab*, with *Abiathar* the priest, began manifestly to prepare for his establishment in the kingdom after his father. For being the eldest now living of *David's* sons, and a man of goodly personage, *Solomon* yet young and born of a mother formerly attainted with adultery, for which her name was omitted by *St. Matthew* (as *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Thomas*, and others suppose) he presumed to carry the matter without resistance. Hereof when *David* had knowledge by *Bathsheba* the mother of *Salomon*, who did put him in mind of his faithful promise, that *Solomon* her son should reign after him (*Nathan* the prophet affirming the same thing unto the king, and seconding her report of *Adonijah's* presumption) the king calling unto him *Zadoc* the priest, *Nathan* the prophet, and *Benaiah* the captain of his guard, gave charge and commission to anoint *Solomon*, and to set him on the mule whereon himself used to ride in his greatest state: which done, *Solomon* attended and strongly guarded by the ordinary and choice men of war, the *Cherethites* and *Peletites*, shewed himself to the people. Those tidings being reported to *Adonijah*, he presently abandoned his assistants, and for the safety of his life he held by the horns of the altar, whom for the present *Solomon* pardoned. After this, ^d *David* had remaning two especial cares, whereof he was desirous to discharge his thoughts; the one, concerning the peace of the land, which might be disturbed by some rebellion against *Solomon*; the other, concerning the building of the temple, which he sought by all means to advance, and make the business publick. ^e To bring these intentions to good effect he summoned a parliament, consisting of all the princes of *Israel*, the princes of the several tribes, all the captains and officers, with all the mighty, and men of power; who repaired unto *Jerusalem*.

In this assembly the king stood up, and signified his purpose of building the temple, shewing how the Lord had approved the motion. Herein he took occasion to lay open his own title to the crown, shewing that the kingdom was by God's ordinance due to the tribe of *Juda* (as *Jacob* in his

^a 2 Sam. 23. 39. ^b 2 Sam. 24. ^c 1 Chron. 21. ^d 2 Sam. 14. ^e 1 Kings 1. ^f 1 Chron. 28. 1.

bleſſing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himſelf was pleaſed to make choice of him among all his father's ſons. In like manner he ſaid that God himſelf had appointed *Solomon* by name to be his ſucceſſor: whereupon he earneſtly charged both the people and his ſon, to conform themſelves unto all that God had commanded, and particularly to go forward in this work of the Lord's houſe which *Solomon* was choſen to build^a. Then produced he the pattern of the work according to the form which God himſelf had appointed; and ſo laying open his own preparations, he exhorted all others to a voluntary contribution.

The king's propoſition was ſo well approved by the princes and people, that whereas he himſelf had given 3000 talents of gold, and 7000 of ſilver, they added unto it 7000 of gold, and 10000 of ſilver, beſides braſs, iron and jewels, heartily rejoicing in the advancement of ſo religious a work. This buſineſs being well diſpatched, a ſolemn feaſt with great ſacrifice was made, at which time *Solomon* was again anointed king, and received fealty of all the princes and people of the land, and of all the princes his brethren the ſons of king *David*. *Solomon* being thus eſtabliſhed king, his father *David* finding himſelf even in the hands of death, firſt exhorted his ſon to exerciſe the ſame courage and ſtrength of mind, which himſelf had done in all his attempts, and to the end that a happy end might follow the beginning of all his enterpriſes, he uttered theſe mighty words; ^b *Take heed to the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and keep his ſtatutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and his testimonies, as it is written in the law of Moſes, &c.* to the performance of which God faſtened the ſucceſſion, and proſperity of his iſſues. For this done (ſaith God himſelf) ^c *Thou ſhalt not want one of thy poſterity to ſit upon the throne of Iſrael.*

Secondly, He adviſed him concerning *Joab*, who out of doubt had ſerved *David* from the firſt aſſault of *Jeruſalem* to the laſt of his wars, with incomparable valour and fidelity, ſaving that he faſtened himſelf to *Adonijah* (his maſter yet living) and thereby vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath never left cruelty unrevenged, ſo was it his will that *Joab* ſhould drink of the ſame cup, whereof he had enforced other men to taſte, and ſuffer the ſame violence which himſelf had unjuſtly ſtrucken others withal, *qui gladio percutit, gladio peribit*: for he had bereaved *Abner* and *Amasa* of their lives, having againſt the one the pretence only of his brother's ſlaughter, whom *Abner* had ſlain in the time of war, and could not avoid him: againſt the other but a meer jealousy of his growing great in the favour of *David*. And tho' *Joab* aſſured himſelf that *Abner* and *Amasa* being dead, there was none left either to equal him or ſupplant him, yet God (deriding the policies of wicked men) raiſed up *Benaiah* the ſon of *Jehoiadab*, to pull him from the ſanctuary, and to cut him in pieces. For *David* giveth this cauſe to *Solomon* againſt *Joab*, that he ſlew the captains of the hoſt of *Iſrael*,^d and ſhed blood of battel in peace; and to this apparent and juſt cauſe, it is not improbable but that *David* remembered the ill affection of *Joab* towards *Solomon*, which *Joab* made manifeſt by the untimely ſetting up of *Adonijah*, *David* yet living. Some other offence *Joab* had committed againſt *David*, of which in theſe words he put his ſon *Solomon* in mind; ^e *Thou knoweſt alſo what Joab*

the ſon of Zeruiah did to me, &c. Now whether this were meant by the killing of *Abſalom*, contrary to the king's deſire, or by the proud words uſed to him when he mourned in *Mahanaim* for *Abſalom*; or whether it were the publiſhing of *David's* letter unto him for the killing of *Uriah*: thereby to diſgrace *Solomon* as deſcended of ſuch a mother, the ſcriptures are ſilent. True it is, that thoſe great men of war do oftentimes behave themſelves exceeding inſolently towards their princes, both in reſpect of their ſervice done, as alſo becauſe they flatter themſelves with an opinion, that either their maſters cannot miſs them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kind of pride hath overthrowed many a worthy man otherwiſe deſerving of great honour and reſpect.

He alſo gave order to *Solomon*, to rid himſelf of *Shimei*, who not long before had caſt ſtones at *David*, and curſed him to his face. And albeit by reaſon of his oath and promiſe *David* ſpared *Shimei* all the time himſelf lived, yet being duſt and in the grave he ſlew him, by the hand of *Solomon* his ſon^f. Hence it ſeemeth that king *Henry* the ſeventh of *England* had his pattern, when he gave order to *Henry* the eighth to execute *Pool* as ſoon as himſelf was buried, having made promiſe to the king of *Spain*, when he delivered *Pool* unto him, that while he lived he would never put him to death, nor ſuffer violent hands to be laid upon him.

And yet did not the execution of *Joab* yield unto *Solomon* any ſuch great profit or aſſurance as he hoped for. For he found a young *Adad* of *Idumea*, and *Rezin* of *Damascus* to vex him: who, as the ſcriptures witneſs^g, were emboldened to enterpriſe upon *Solomon*, hearing that *David* ſlept with his fathers, and that *Joab* the captain of the hoſt was dead. Now when *David* had reigned in all 40 years, to wit, in *Hebron* 7 years, and in *Jeruſalem* 33, he died.

For his perſon, he was of ſmall ſtature, but exceeding ſtrong. For his internal gifts and graces he ſo far exceeded all other men, as, putting his human frailty apart, he was ſaid by God himſelf to be a man according to his own heart. The *Pſalms* which he wrote witneſs his piety, and his excellent learning: of whom *Jerome* to *Paulinus*. *David Simonides noſter, Pindarus & Alcæus, Flaccus, quoque Catullus, & Serenus, Chriſtum lyra perſonat, & in decachordo Pſalterio ab inferis ſuſcit at reſurgentem.* *David* (ſaith he) our *Simonides, Pindarus, Alcæus, Horace, Catullus* and *Serenus*, he playeth Chriſt on his harp, and on a ten-stringed *pfalter* he raiſeth him up riſing from the dead. And being both a king and a prophet, he foretelleth Chriſt more lightſomely and lively than all the reſt.

The book of the *Pſalms*, ſaith *Glycas*, was divided, ordered and diſtinguiſhed, by *Ezekias*: but whether all the *pfalms* were written by *David* it is diverſly diſputed. For ^h *Athanaſius, Cyprian, Iſyranus*, and others conceive divers authors, answering the titles of the ſeveral *Pſalms*, as *Moſes, Solomon*, and the reſt hereafter named, and that only 73 *Pſalms* were compoſed by *David* himſelf, namely thoſe which are intituled *ipſius David*. For the 50th and the 72d, with the 10 that follow, are beſtowed on *Aſaph* the ſon of *Barachia*, 11 others on the ſons of *Korah*, and 11 are aſcribed to *Moſes*, to wit, the 89th and the 10 following, and ſo they are intituled in the old *Hebrew* copies, tho' the *Vulgar* and *Septuagint* (three excepted) ſtyle them otherwiſe. The ſuppoſed nine authors of theſe *Pſalms*

^a 1 Chron. 29. 19. ^b 1 Kings 2. 3. ^c 1 Kings 1. 20. ^d 1 Kings 2. ^e 1 Kings 2. ^f 1 Kings 2. ^g 1 Kings 11. ^h Athan. in Synop. Hier. epiſt. 134. Lyr. in exp. 1. pf.

which *David* wrote not, ^a *Sixtus Senensis* nameth as followeth; *Solomon*, *Moses*, (whom *Aben-Ezra*, contrary to *Jerome*, maketh one of *David's* singers) *Asaph*, *Ethan-Eziachi*, *Eman-Eziakra*, *Idithum*, and the three sons of *Chore*. But *St. Chrysostome* makes *David* the sole author of all the *Psalms*, and so doth ^b *St. Augustine*, reasoning in this manner. Altho' (saith he) some there are that ascribe those *Psalms* only unto *David*, which are over-written *ipsius David*, and the rest intituled *ipsi David* to others, this opinion (saith he) *Voce evangelica Salvatoris ipsius refutatur, ubi ait quod ipse David in spiritu Christum dixerit esse suum Dominum, quoniam Psalmus 109 sic incipit: Dixit Dominus Domino meo, sede a dextris meis, &c.* The voice of the gospel refutes this opinion, where it saith, that *David* himself in the spirit called Christ his Lord, because the sixth *Psalms* begins thus, *The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou at my right hand, &c.* Lastly, his testimonies are used both by Christ and the apostles, and he was as a pattern to all the kings and princes that succeeded him.

His story, and all his particular actions, were written by the prophets, *Samuel*, *Nathan*, and *Gad*, as it is in *1 Chron.* xxix. 19. For the several parts of the books of *Samuel* which intreat chiefly of *David*, were as it seems written by these three holy men.

^c *Constantine Manasses* hath an opinion, that the *Trojans*, during the time of the siege, sought for succour from *David*, and that he stay'd neuter in that war. But it seemeth that *Manasses* did miscast the time betwixt *David* and the *Trojan* war. For it is generally received, that *Troy* fell between the times of *Abdon* and *Samson*, judges of *Israel*, about the world's year 2848, and *David* died in the year 2991.

SECT. IX.

Of the treasures of David and Solomon.

HIS treasures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 1st of *Chronicles*, chap. xxii. ver. 14. that he left *Solomon* for the building of the temple a hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver, and of brass and iron passing all weight, which is more than any king of the world possess'd besides himself, and his son to whom he left it. For it amounteth to three thousand three hundred thirty and three cartload and a third of a cartload of silver, allowing two thousand weight of silver, or six thousand pound sterling to every cartload, besides three score and seventeen millions of *French* crowns, or of our money, twenty three millions and one thousand pound: a matter, but for the testimony of the scriptures, exceeding all belief. For that any riches were left him, it doth not appear; seeing that the judges had not any treasure, nor any sovereign power to make levies: but when they went to the wars, they were followed by such volunteers as the several tribes by turns gave them: seeing also that *Saul* who was of a mean parentage, and perpetually vexed and invaded by the *Philistines*, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his territories being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part possess'd by his enemies.

Therefore it were not amiss to consider how *David* within the space of not very many years,

might amass up such mighty treasures. For though parsimony be it self a great revenue, yet needs there must have been some other great means. It seems that he made the uttermost profit of all that he had, that was profitable. *Eusebius*, in his 9th book and last chapter *de preparatione Evangelica*, citeth the words of *Eupolemus*, who reporteth that *David*, among other preparations for the temple, built a navy in *Melanis* (or, as *Villalpandus* corrects it, *Achanis*) a city of *Arabia*, and from thence sent men to dig for gold in the island *Urphe*, which *Ortelius* thinks, was *Ophir*, tho' *Eupolemus* in his place of *Eusebius* (erring perhaps in this circumstance) saith that this island is in the *Red* sea; from whence, saith this *Eupolemus*, they brought gold into *Jury*. *Pineda*, l. 4. *de rebus Salomonis*, c. 1. thinks that *David* did this way also enrich himself, and citeth this testimony of *Eupolemus*: and yet certainly *David* had many other ways to gather riches. Much land doubtless he gained by conquest, from the *Canaanites* and *Philistines*, besides those fruitful vallies near *Jordan* in *Traconitis* and *Basan*, and the best of *Syria*, and other countries bordering the *Israhelites*. These demesns be-like he kept in his own hands, and with his infinite number of captives, which he took in his wars, which were not able to redeem themselves, husbanded those grounds for his greatest advantage. For it is written, *1 Chron.* xvii. that *Jehonathan* was over his treasures in the field, in the villages, in the cities, in the towns; that *Ezri* was over the labourers that tilled his ground; *Simei* over the vineyards; and *Sabdi* over the store of the wine; *Baal Hanan* over the olive trees, and *Joash* over the store of the oil, also that he had herdsmen that had charge over his cattel, both in the high lands, and in the plains, over his sheep, camels and asses. And this custom of enriching themselves by husbandry and cattle the ancient kings every where held, both before and after *David's* time. For we read of ^d *Pharoah*, that he spoke to *Joseph* to appoint some of his brethren, or of their servants, to be rulers over his cattle. We read of ^e *Uzzia*, that he loved husbandry, had much cattle, and ploughmen, and dressers of vines: likewise we read it in all *Greeks* poets, that the wealth of the ancient kings did especially consist in their herds and flocks, whereof it were needless to cite *Augeas* and *Admetus*, or any other, for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning *David*, it is not unlikely, but that those captives which were not employ'd in husbandry, were many of them used by him in all sorts of gainful professions, as the ancient *Romans* in like manner used their slaves.

To these profits (besides the tributes and impossibilities which doubtless were great, and besides the innumerable presents which yearly were brought him, or extraordinarily sent him, by *Tobu*, and others) we may add the great spoils which he found in the cities and countries which he conquered: also the head-money which was gathered *per legem capitationis*; by the law of capitation or head-money, every man, rich or poor, paying half a sickle of the sanctuary, which is about as much as 14 pence, and so in all it amounted to a wondrous sum in that kingdom: wherein 1570000 fighting men were numbred by ^f *Joab*. Now altho' this law of capitation be thought by some very learned not to have been perpetual (which opinion of theirs nevertheless they confess is against the *Hebrew* expositions) yet *David* upon this occasion is not unlikely to have

^a Vid. Sixt. Senen. Bib. sanct. l. 1. fol. 10 & 11. ^b Aug. de Civitate Dei, l. 13. c. 14. ^c Cap. 17. §. 6, 7. In his annal. ^d Consulted out of Greek into Latin, by Joannes Leanclausius ^e Gen. 47. ^f 1 Chron. 26.

put it in practice. And by these means might he be able to leave those huge treasures to *Solomon*. Yet it may seem that this great mass of gold and silver left by *David*, the least part was his own in private, and so will it appear the less wonderful that he left so much. Of his own liberality we find, that he gave to the building of the temple 3000 talents of gold, and 7000 talents of silver, a great sum: but holding a very small proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to consider, that the treasures of the sanctuary it self were exceeding great, as needs they must have been, having received continual encrease, without any loss or diminution ever since the time of *Moses* and *Joshua*. The revenues of the sanctuary (besides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defray'd the daily expences, and maintained the priest and *Levites*) were partly raised out of the head-money beforementioned; partly out of the spoils gotten in war. For all the booty was divided into two parts, whereof the soldiers had one, and the people which remained at home, had the other half; whereby all the country received benefit of the victory, yet so that the soldiers had a far greater proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiving more for every single share.

Out of this purchase was deducted the Lord's tribute, which was one in fifty of that which the people received, and one in five hundred of that which was given to the soldiers; namely, one hundred and one thousandth part of the whole booty. So in the spoil of *Midian*, 32000 women being taken, the army had 16000 of them for slaves, and the congregation the other 16000; but out of the 16000 given to the army were exempted 32 for the Lord's tribute. Out of the people's number were taken 320. By this means the lesser that the army was which had exposed it self to danger, the greater profit had every soldier; but when it consisted of many hands, they who remaining at home were fain to undergo more than ordinary travel in domestic affairs, did receive by so much the greater portion. But the Lord's tribute was always certain, yea, many times it was increased, either by some especial commandment, as when all the gold, and silver, and other metals found in *Jericho*, were consecrated unto God; or by thankfulness of the rulers and people, as when after the victory obtained against the *Midianites* without the loss of one man, all jewels, bracelets, ear-rings, and the like, were offered up, as voluntary presents.

Now howsoever the *Israelites* were many times oppress'd, and trodden down by other nations, yet were not these treasures robbed or spoiled; for the enemies never got possession of the tabernacle that was in *Shilo*. Wherefore it cannot otherwise be, than that the wealth of the sanctuary must have been exceeding great; as containing above one hundredth part of all the money and other goods found by the *Israelites* in the whole land of *Canaan*; and of all that was purchased by so many victories, as they obtained against the bordering nations. For that this treasury was not defrauded of the due portion, it is evident; seeing that before the time of *David* and his lieutenant *Joab*, it is recorded, that *Saul* and *Abner*, and before them *Samuel*, had used to dedicate of the spoils obtained in war, to maintain the house of the Lord: the like whereof may be well presumed of the former judges and captains in other ages. Certain it is, that the conquest of *David* brought into the land far greater abun-

dance of riches, than any former victories had purchased, those of *Joshua* perhaps excepted: but these vast sums of an 100000 talents of silver, may seem rather to have been made up, by the addition of his winnings and liberality, to the treasures laid up in many former ages, than to have been the mere fruits of his own industry.

Now concerning the riches of *Solomon*, it is more manifest how he gathered them; for he received of yearly revenues, with his tributes, 666 talents of gold, besides the customs of spices. He had also six rich returns from the *East-Indies*, which greatly increased his store. For his ships performed that voyage every three years, and he began that trade in the 22d year of his reign, and ruled 40 years. Besides this, all *Judea* and *Israel* were now mastered to his hands; all the *Arabians* his borderers, the *Syrians* of *Zobab*, of *Damascena*, of *Palmyrena*, of *Iturea*; all of *Idumea*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, paid him tribute; as likewise did the *Hittites*, who with the *Perizzites*, *Hevites*, *Jebusites*, and other races of the *Canaanites*, were not as yet extinguished, tho' subjected.

Into this flourishing estate was the kingdom of *Israel* reduced by *David*, who after 40 years reign, and 70 years of life, died in a good age, full of days, riches, and honour, and was buried in the city of *David*. It is written by *Josephus*, that there was hid in *David's* tomb, a marvelous quantity of treasure, inasmuch as *Hyrcanus* (who first of the *Chasmanei*, or race of the *Maccabees*, called himself king) 1300 years after, drew thence 3000 talents, to rid himself of *Antiochus*, then besieging *Jerusalem*, and afterwards *Herod* opening another cell, had also an exceeding mass of gold and silver therein. And it was an ancient custom to bury treasure with the dead. So the *Peruvians* and other *Americans* did the like, which being discovered by the *Spaniards*, they enriched themselves by nothing so much in their first conquest. That *Solomon* did bury so much treasure in his father's grave, it would hardly be believed, in regard of the great exactions with which he was fain to burthen the people, notwithstanding all the riches which he got otherwise, or which were left unto him: were it not withal considered that his want of money grew from such magnificent employments. Particularly of the sepulchre of *David*, the scriptures have no mention, but only the sepulchres of the kings of *Juda*, as of an honourable place of burial. Yet the monuments of those kings, as (by relation of the duke of *Uluka*) they remained within these 30 years, and are like to remain still, are able to make any report credible, of cost bestowed upon them.

S E C T. X.

Of the Philistines, whom David absolutely mastered: and of sundry other contemporaries with David.

OF the *Philistines*, whose pride *David* was the first that absolutely mastered, in this conclusion of *David's* time, somewhat here may be spoken.

They descended of *Casloim*, who according to *Isidore*, l. 9. 19. and *Jos. l. 1. Ant. 17.* was one of the sons of *Misraim*, and was surnamed *Philistim*, as *Eisau* was surnamed *Edom*, and *Jacob Israel*. There were of them five cities of petty principalities; namely, *Azotus* or *Asdod*, *Gaza* or *Azzaph*, *Ascalon*, *Geth* or *Gath*, and *Accaron*. It seemeth that *Casloim* was the first founder of this nation, because

^a Numb. 31. 27. ^b Numb. 31. 40. ^c Jos. 6. 19. ^d Numb. 31. 50. ^e 1 Chron. 26. 27, 28. ^f 1 talent of gold is 100 French livres, 1 King. 10. 14. ^g 1 Kings 9. 20. and 10. 29. ^h 1 Chron. 29. 28. ⁱ Jos. Ant. 1. ^k Peripat. Hierosol. D. N. Ch. Padz. Epist. 2. ^l 1 Sam. 6.

of his kindred on either hand, the *Canaanites* and the *Egyptians*.

The first king of these *Philistines*, which the scriptures have named, was that ^a *Abimelech* which loved *Sara*, *Abraham's* wife.

The second *Abimelech* lived at once with *Isaac*, to whom *Isaac* repaired in the time of famine, *Abimelech* then residing at *Gerar* in the border of *Idumea*, which *Abimelech* fancied ^b *Isaac's* wife: as his father had done *Sara*.

After *Abimelech* the 2d, the *Philistine* kings are not remembred in the scriptures, till *David's* time: perhaps the government was turned into *Aristocratical*. For they are afterwards named princes of the *Philistines*, howsoever ^c *Achis* be named king of *Gath*, the same to whom *David* fled, and who again gave him *Siklag* to inhabit in *Saul's* time.

After him we read of another *Achis* who lived with *Solomon*, to whom *Shimei* travelled to fetch back his fugitive servant, which time the seeking of his servant was the loss of his life. *Jeremiah* the prophet speaketh of the kings of *Palestine* or *Philistine*. *Amos* nameth the king of *Ascalon*: *Zacharias*, a king of *Gaza*. The rest of the wars of the *Philistines* are remembred in the catalogue of the judges, of *Saul* and *David*, and therefore I shall not need to collect the particulars in this place.

There lived at once with *David*, the third of the *Silvii* king of *Alba* called *Latinus Silvius*, who is said to have ruled that part of *Italy* 50 years. And about his 14th year *Codrus* the last king of the *Athenians* died, to whom succeeded the first prince of those, who being called after *Medon*, *Medontidae*, without regal name governed *Athens* during their life.

The reasons which moved the *Athenians* to change their government, were not drawn from any inconvenience found in the rule of sovereignty, but in honour of *Codrus* only. For when the *Grecians* of *Doris*, a region between *Phocis* and the mountain *Oeta*, sought counsel from the oracle, for their success in their wars against the *Athenians*, it was answered, that then undoubtedly they should prevail, and become lords of that state, when they could obtain any victory against the nation, and yet preserve the *Athenian* king living. *Codrus*, by some intelligence being informed of this answer, withdrew himself from his own forces, and putting on the habit of a common soldier, entered the camp of the *Dorians*, and killing the first he encountered, was himself forthwith cut in pieces.

Eupales the 31st king of *Assyria*, which others account but the 30th, began to rule that empire, about the 13th year of *David*, and held it 38 years.

Near the same time began *Ixion* the 2d king of the *Heraclidae*, the son of *Eurysthene*s in *Corinth*; and *Agis* the 2d of the *Heraclidae* in *Lacedaemon*: in honour of which *Agis*, his successors were called *Agidae*, for many years after. He restored the *Laconians* to their former liberty: he overcame the citizens of *Ielos* in *Laconia*, who had refused to pay him tribute: he condemned them and theirs to perpetual slavery; whereof it came, that all the *Messenians*, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called *Ilelotes*.

In like sort from the *Sclavi* came the word slave. For when that nation issuing out of *Sarmatia*, now called *Russia*, had seized upon the country of *Illyria*,

and made it their own by conquest, their victory pleased them so highly, that thereupon they called themselves by a new name, *Slavos*, which is in their language *Glorious*. But in after-times (that warmer climate having thawed their northern hardness, and not ripened their wits) when they were trodden down, and made servants to their neighbours; the *Italians*, which kept many of them in bondage, began to call all their bondmen slaves, using the word as a name of reproach: in which sense it is now current thro' many countries.

Other chronologers make this *Agis*, the third king of *Sparta*, and somewhat later, about the 23d year of *David*, and say that *Achestratus* was the fourth king of this race, the same whom ^d *Eusebius* calls *Labotes*, and sets him in the thirteenth year of *Solomon*.

In the tenth year of *Achestratus*, *Androclus*, the 3d son of *Codrus*, assailed by the *Iones*, built *Ephesus* in *Caria*, who, after the adjoining of the isle of *Samos* to his territory, was slain by the *Carians*, whose country he usurped. He was buried (saith *Pausanias*) in one of the gates of ^e *Ephesus*, called *Magnetes*, his armed *statua* being set over him. *Strabo* reports, that after *Androclus* had subdued the *Ionians* (the next province to *Ephesus*, on the sea coast of *Asia* the less) he enlarged his dominions upon the *Aeoles*, which joineth to *Ionia*: and that his posterity governed the cities of ^f *Ephesus* and *Erythrae*, by the name of *Basilidae* in *Strabo's* own time. Of the expedition of the *Iones*, how they came hither out of *Peloponnesus*, I have ^g spoken already upon occasion of the return of the *Heraclidae* into *Peloponnesus*, wherein, with the *Dores*, they expelled the *Achaei*, and inhabited their places in that land: tho' this of the *Iones* succeeded that of the *Heraclidae* 100 years.

The city of *Ephesus* became exceeding famous: first, for the temple of ^h *Diana* therein built: which had in length 425 foot, and 220 in breadth, sustained with 127 pillars of marble, of 70 foot high: whereof 27 were most curiously graven, and all the rest of choice marble polish'd, the work being first set out by *Ctesiphon* of *Gnosfos*. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the first that received the Christian faith, of which *Timothy* was bishop; to whom, and to the *Ephesians*, *St. Paul* wrote his epistles so intituled. The other city possess'd by *Androclus* in *Aeolis* was also universally spoken of by reason of *Sibylla*, surnamed *Erythraea*: who lived 740 years before Christ was born. *St. Augustine* avoweth that a *Roman* proconsul shewed him in an ancient *Greek* copy certain verses of this prophets: which began (as *St. Augustine* changed them into *Latin*) in these words: *Iesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator*. Jesus Christ Son of God the Saviour.

About the time that *Joab* besieged *Rabba* in *Moab*, *Vaphres* began to govern in *Egypt*, the same that was father-in-law to *Solomon*, whose epistles to *Solomon*, and his to *Vaphres*, are remembred by *Eusebius* out of *Polemon*. In the 21st of *David*, was the city of *Magnesia* in *Asia* the less founded, the same which is seated upon the river *Meander*, where *Scipio* gave the great overthrow to *Antiochus*. In this territory are the best horses of the lesser *Asia* bred, whereof *Lucan*.

Et Magnetis equis, Minya gens cognita remis.

^a Gen. 20. ^b Gen. 26. ^c Judg. 16. ^d 1 Sam. 18. 29. ^e 1 Sam. 21. 11. ^f 1 Kings 2. ^g *Euseb. in Chron.* ^h *The east gate of Ephesus towards Magnesia upon the river Meander.* ⁱ *Arist. l. 5. pol. c. 6* ^k *See Ch. in this 17. Ch. 9. 1. post medium* ^l *Plin. l. 2. c. 58. & l. 7. c. 37.*

About the same time *Cuma* in *Campania* was built by the inhabitants of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, according to ^a*Servius*, with whom *Strabo* joineth the *Cumeans* of *Æolis*, saying that to the one of these people the government was given, with condition that the other should give name to the city. Of this *Cuma* was *Ephorus* the famous scholar of *Iso-crates*.

Eusebius and *Cassiodore* find the building of *Carthage* at this time, to wit, in the 31st year of *David*, but much mistaken. For the father of *Dido* was *Metius* the son of *Badezor* brother to *Jezabel*, who married *Achab* king of *Israel*; and between the death of *David*, and the first of *Achab*, there were wasted about 95 years.

In this time also *Acastus* lived, the second of the *Athenian* princes after *Codrus*, of which there were thirteen in descent before the state changed into a magistracy of ten years. Some ^bwriters make it probable, that the *Æolians* led by *Graus*, the grand nephew of *Orestes*, who possess'd the city and island of *Lesbos* about this time. In the 32d year of *David*, *Hiram* began to reign in *Tyre*, according to ^c*Josephus*, who saith that in his twelfth year *Solomon* began the work of the temple. But it is a familiar error in *Josephus*, to misreckon times, which in this point he doth so strangely, as if he knew not how at all to cast any account. For it is manifest that *Hiram* sent messengers, and cedars to *David*, soon after his taking of *Jerusalem*, which was in the very beginning of *David's* reign over *Israel*, when as yet he had reigned only seven years in ^d*Hebron*, over the house of *Judah*. Wherefore it must needs be that *Hiram* had reigned above thirty years before *Solomon*; unless more credit should be given to those *Tyrian* records which are cited by *Josephus*, than to the plain words of scripture contradicting them. For that it was the same *Hiram* which lived both with *David* and with *Solomon*, the scriptures make plainly manifest.

CHAP. XVIII. Of SOLOMON.

SECT. I.

Of the establishing of Solomon: of birthright, and of the cause of Adonijah's death, and of Solomon's wisdom.

Solomon, who was brought up under the prophet *Nathan*, began to reign over *Judah* and *Israel*, in the year of the world 2991. He was called *Solomon* by the appointment of God. He was also called *Jedidiab*, or *Theophilus*, by *Nathan*, because the Lord loved him.

Hiram king of *Tyre*, after *Solomon's* anointing, dispatched ambassadors towards him, congratulating his establishment: a custom between princes very ancient. Whence we read that *David* did in like sort salute ^e*Hanum* king of the *Ammonites*, after his obtaining the kingdom.

The beginning of *Solomon* was in blood, tho' his reign were peaceable. For soon after *David's* death he caused his brother *Adonijah* to be slain by *Benaiab* the son of *Jeboiada*, taking occasion from *Adonijah's* desiring by *Bathsheba*, that the young maid *Abisbag*, which lay in *David's* bosom in his latter days, to keep him warm, might be given to

him. Whatsoever he pretended, it was enough that *Adonijah* was his elder brother, and fought the kingdom contrary to the will of *David*, whom God inclined towards *Solomon*. And yet it is said, that a word is enough to the wise, and he that sees but the claw, may know whether it be a lion or no: so it may seem that to the quick-sighted wisdom of *Solomon*, this motion of *Adonijah's*, was a demonstration of a new treason. For they which had been concubines to a king, might not after be touched but by a king: whence ^f*Achitophel* wished *Abfalom* to take his father's concubines as a part of the royalty. And *David* after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not give them to any other, but shut them up, and they remained widowed until their death^g. And this it seems was the depth of *Ishbosheth's* quarrel against *Abner*, for having his father's concubine. And some signification of this custom may seem too in the words of God by *Nathan* to *David*; *I have given thee thy master's house and thy master's wives*. And in the words of *Saul*, upbraiding *Jonathan*, that he had chosen *David* to the shame of the ^hnakedness of his mother. Hereunto perhaps was some reference to this purpose of *Adonijah*, to marry with her that was always present with *David* in his latter days, and who belike knew all that was past, for the conveying of the kingdom to *Solomon*. There might be divers farther occasions, as either that he would learn such things by her as might be for the advantage of his ambition, or that he would persuade her to forge some strange tale about *David's* last testament, or any thing else that might prejudice the title of *Solomon*.

As for the right of an elder brother which ⁱ*Adonijah* pretended, tho' generally it agreed both with the law of nations, and with the customs of the *Jews*: yet the kings of the *Jews* were so absolute, as they did therein, and in all else, what they pleased. Some ^kexamples also they had (tho' not of kings) which taught them to use this paternal authority in transferring the birthright to a younger son: namely of *Jacob's* disinheriting *Reuben*, and giving the birthright (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to *Joseph*: of whom he made two tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in *David*, it appears by the words of *Bathsheba* and *Nathan* to *David*, and of *Jonathan* to *Adonijah*. For as for popular election, that it was necessary to confirm, or that the refusal of the people had authority to frustrate the elder brother's right to the kingdom, it no where appears in the stories of the *Jews*. It is said indeed that the people made *Saul* king at ^l*Gilgal*: that is, they acknowledged and established him. For that he was king long before, no man can doubt. In like manner elsewhere the phrase of chusing or making their king is to be expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they should not make themselves a king, it is said, ^m*Thou shalt make him king whom the Lord shall chuse*.

But to proceed with the acts of *Solomon*: at the same time that he put *Adonijah* to death, he rid himself also of *Joab*, and three years after of *Shimei*, as *David* had advised him: he displaced also the priest ⁿ*Abiathar*, who took part with *Adonijah* against him: (but in respect of his office, and that he followed *David* in all his afflictions, and that he followed *David* in all his afflictions, and because he

^a Serv. in *Æneid*. 3. *Strabo*, l. 5. ^b *Euseb.* in *Chron.* ^c *Herod.* in *vit.* *Hom.* & *Strab.* l. 14. ^d *Antiq.* 8. & cont. *Ap.* l. 1. ^e 2 *Sam.* 5. ^f 2 *Sam.* 10. ^g 2 *Sam.* 16. 21. ^h 2 *Sam.* 20. 3. ⁱ 1 *Sam.* 20. 30. ^j 1 *Kings* 2. 15. ^k *Deut.* 21. 15. ^l *Illium* exofe agnosco dando ei portioneim duorum: nam ipsius est jus primogenitorum. ^m 1 *Reg.* 1. 17 & 20. 29, 34. ⁿ 1 *Kings* 1. 20, 27. ^o 1 *Sam.* 11. 14. ^p *Deut.* 11. 30. ^q 1 *Kings* 2.

had borne the ark of God before his father, he spared his life. And thus being established in his kingdom, he took the daughter of *Vaphres* king of *Egypt* to wife: for so *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus* calls him. He offered a thousand sacrifices at *Gibeon*, where God appearing unto him in a dream, bad him ask what he would at his hands; *Solomon* chuseth wisdom, which pleased God. And God said unto him, *Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thy self long life, neither hast thou asked riches for thy self, neither hast asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I have done according to thy words*: by which we may inform ourselves what desires are most pleasing to God, and what not. For the coveting after long life, in respect of ourselves, cannot but proceed of self-love, which is the root of all impiety: the desire of private riches is an affection of covetousness which God abhorreth; to affect revenge, is as much as to take the sword out of God's hand, and to distrust his justice. And in that it pleased God to make *Solomon* know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in mind of his brother's slaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from *David*, or from the law of God. But because *Solomon* desired wisdom only, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule men, it pleased God to give him withal that which he desired not. And I have also given thee, saith God, that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour. This gift of wisdom our commentators stretch to almost all kinds of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and living creatures, the scriptures testify, tho' no doubt the chief excellency of *Solomon's* wisdom, was in the knowledge of governing his kingdom: whence, as it were for an example of his wisdom, the scripture telleth how soon he judged the controversy between the two harlots.

SECT. II.

Of Solomon's buildings and glory.

HE then entered into league with *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, from whom he had much of his materials, for the king's palace and the temple of God: for the building whereof he had received a double charge, one from his father *David*, and another from God. For like as it is written of *David*, *1 Chron. xxii. 6. That he called Solomon his son, and charged him to build a house for the Lord God of Israel*: so doth *Tostatus* give the force of a divine precept to these words, *Behold, a son is born unto thee, &c. He shall build an house for my name.*

He began the work of the temple, in the beginning of the fourth year of his reign, at which time also he prepared his fleet at *Ezion-gaber*, to trade for gold in the *East-Indies*, that nothing might be wanting to supply the charge of so great a work. For that the temple was in building, while his fleets were passing to and fro, it is manifest: for the pillars of the temple were made of the *Almaggim* trees brought from *Ophir*. Of this most glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof the form and example was given by God himself) many learned men have written, as *Salmeron*, *Montanus*, *Ribera*, *Barradas*, *Azorius*, *Villalpandus*, *Pineda*, and others, to whom I refer the reader.

For the cutting and squaring of the cedars which served that building, *Solomon* employed thirty thousand carpenters, ten thousand every month by course:

he also used * eighty thousand masons in the mountain, and seventy thousand labourers that bore burdens, which, it is conceived, he selected out of the profelytes, besides three thousand three hundred masters of his work, so as he paid and employed in all one hundred eighty three thousand and three hundred men, in which number the *Zidonians*, which were far more skillful in hewing timber than the *Israelites*, may, as I think, be included. For *Hiram* caused his servants to bring down the cedars and firs from *Lebanon* to the sea, and thence sent them in ratts to *Joppe*, or the next port to *Jerusalem*. For in *2 Chron. ii.* it is plain that all but the thirty thousand carpenters, and the overseers, were strangers, and, as it seemeth, the vassals of *Hiram*, and of *Vaphres* king of *Egypt*. In recompence of all this timber and stone, *Solomon* gave *Hiram* twenty thousand measures of wheat, and twenty measures of pure oil yearly. *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus*, in the ninth book of his preparation, the last chapter, hath left us a copy of *Solomon's* letter to *Suron* (which was the same as *Hiram* or *Hiram*) king of *Tyre*, in these words.

REX Salomon Suroni, Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phœnicie regi, amico paterno salutem. Scias me à Deo magno David patris mei regnum accepisse, cumque mihi pater præcepit templum Deo, qui terram creavit, condere, ut etiam ad te scriberem præcepit: Scribo igitur, & peto à te ut artifices atque fabros ad ædificandum templum Dei mittere velis.

KING Solomon to king Suron, of *Tyre*, *Sidon* and *Phœnicia*, king, and my father's friend, sendeth greeting. You may understand that I have received of the great God of my father *David*, the kingdom: and when my father commanded me to build a temple to God which created heaven and earth, he commanded also that I should write to you. I write therefore to you, and beseech you, that you would be pleased to send me artificers and carpenters to build the temple of God.

To which the king *Suron* made this answer.

SURON, Tyri, Sidonis, & Phœnicie rex, Salomoni regi salutem. Lætis litteris gratias egi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam scribis fabros ministrosque ad condendum templum esse tibi mittendos, nisi ad te millia hominum octoginta, & architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Judea, virum in rebus architecturæ mirabilem. Curabis igitur ut necessariis non egeant, & templo Dei condito ad nos redeant.

SURON of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Phœnicia* king, to king *Solomon* greeting. When I read your letters, I gave God thanks, who hath installed you in your father's kingdom. And because you write, that carpenters and workmen may be sent to build God's temple, I have sent unto you fourscore thousand men, and a master-builder a *Tyrian*, born of a *Jewish* woman, a man admirable in building. You will be careful that all necessities be provided for them, and when the temple of God is built, that they come home to us.

The copies of these letters were extant in *Josephus's* time, as himself affirmeth, and to be seen, saith he, *Tam in nostris quam in Tyrionum annalibus*; As

* *1 Kings 4. 33. 1 Kings 3. 9.*

† *1 Kings 5. 9. 1 Kings 5. 11.*

‡ *Toll. 9. 26. in 1 Chron.*

§ *Joseph. Ant. l. 8. c. 2.*

• *1 Kings 6.*

¶ *1 Chron. 28. 29.*

• *1 Kings 5.*

well in our own as in the *Tyrian* annals. But he delivereth them somewhat in different terms, as the reader may find in his antiquities. But were this intercourse between *Solomon* and *Hiram* either by message or by writing, it is somewhat otherwise delivered in the ^a scriptures, than either *Eupolemus*, or *Josephus* set it down; but so, that in substance there is little difference between the one and the other.

The like letter in effect *Solomon* is said to have written to *Vaphres* king of *Egypt*, and was answered as from *Hiram*.

But whereas some commentators upon *Solomon* find, that *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, and *Vaphres* king of *Egypt*, gave *Solomon* the title of *Rex magnus*, and cite *Eupolemon* in *Eusebius*; I do not find any such addition of *magnus* in *Eusebius* in the last chapter of that ninth book; neither is it in *Josephus* in the eighth book and second chapter of the *Jews* antiquities: it being a vain title used by some of the *Affyrian* and *Persian* kings, and used likewise by the *Parthians*, and many others after them, inso-much as in later times it grew common, and was usurped by mean persons in respect of the great *Hermes* the first, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightiness.

After the finishing and dedication of the temple and house of the Lord, *Solomon* fortified *Jerusalem* with a treble wall, and repaired *Hazor* which had been the ancient metropolis of the *Canaanites* before *Joshua*'s time: so did he *Gaza* of the *Philistines*: he built ^b*Bethoron*, *Gerar*, and the *Millo* or munition of *Jerusalem*. For *Pharaoh* (as it seemeth in favour of *Solomon*) came up into the edge of *Ephraim*, and took *Gerar* which place the *Canaanites* yet held, and put them to the sword and burnt their city. The place and territory he gave *Solomon*'s wife for a dowry. And it is probable, that because *Solomon* was then busied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the war, that he entreated his father-in-law to rid him of these neighbours, which *Pharaoh* performed. But he thereby taught the *Egyptians* to visit those parts again before they were sent for; and in his son *Rehoboam*'s time *Sheshack* this man's successor did sack *Jerusalem* itself.

Solomon also built *Megiddo* in *Manasse*, on this side *Jordan*; and *Balah* in *Dan*: also *Thadmor*, which may be either *Ptolemy*'s *Thamoron* in the desert of *Judah* (or as ^c*Josephus* thinks *Palmyra* in the desert of *Syria*) which *Palmyra* because it stood on the utmost border of *Solomon*'s dominion, to the north-east of *Libanus*, and was of *David*'s conquest when he won *Damascus*, it may seem that *Solomon* therefore bestowed thereon the most cost, and fortified it with the best art, that that age had. ^d*Josephus* calls this place *Thadamora*, by which name, saith he, given by *Solomon*, the *Syrians* as yet call it. *Jerome* in his book of *Hebrew* places, calls it *Thermeth*. In after-times, when it was rebuilt by *Adrian* the emperor, it was honoured with his name, and called *Adrianopolis*. In respect of this great charge of building, *Solomon* raised tribute throughout all his dominions, besides an hundred and twenty talents of gold received from *Hiram*'s servants, *Solomon* offered *Hiram* twenty towns in or near the the upper *Galilee*, but because they stood in an unfruitful and marish ground, *Hiram* refused them, and thereof was the territory called *Chabul*.

These towns, as it is supposed, lay in *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*, *Non quod gentes ibi habitarent: sed quia sub ditione regis gentilis erat*; Not that it was possess'd by the *Gentiles*, saith *Naclerus*, but because

it was under the rule of a king that was a *Gentile*. Howsoever it were, it is true that *Solomon* in his twenty first year fortified those places, which *Hiram* refused. Further, he made a journey into *Syria-Zobah*, and established his tributes; the first and last war (if in that expedition he were driven to fight) that he made in person in all his life. He then visited the border of all his dominions passing from *Thadmor* to the the north of *Palmyrena*; and so to the desarts of *Idumea*, from whence he visited *Ezion-gaber* and *Eloth*, the uttermost place of the south of all his territories, bordering to the *Red* sea: which cities I have described in the story of *Moses*.

SECT. III.

Of Solomon's sending to Ophir, and of some seeming contradictions about Solomon's riches, and of Pineda's conceit of two strange passages about Africk.

HERE *Solomon* prepared his fleet of ships for *India*, with whom *Hiram* joined in that voyage, and furnished him with mariners and pilots, the *Tyrians* being of all others the most expert seamen. From this part of *Arabia* which at this time belong'd to *Edom* and was conquered by *David*, did the fleet pass to the *East-Indies*, which was not far off, namely to *Ophir*, one of the islands of the *Moluccas*, a place exceeding rich in gold: witness the *Spaniards*, who notwithstanding all the abundance which they gather in *Peru*, do yet plant in those islands of the east at *Manilia*, and recover a great quantity from thence, and with less labour than they do in any one part of *Peru*, or *New Spain*.

The return which was made by these ships amounted to four hundred and twenty talents, but in 2 *Chron.* viii. it is written four hundred and fifty talents: whereof thirty went in expence for the charge of the fleet and wages of men, and four hundred and twenty talents, which makes five and twenty hundred and twenty thousand crowns, came clear. And thus must those two places be reconciled. As for the place 1 *Kings* x. 14. which speaketh of six hundred sixty and six talents of gold, that sum, as I take it, is of other receipts of *Solomon*'s which were yearly, and which came to him besides these profits from *Ophir*.

My opinion of the land of *Ophir*, that it is not *Peru* in *America* (as divers have thought, but a country in the *East-Indies*; with some reason why at those times they could not make more speedy return to *Jerusalem* from the *East-Indies* than in three years; and that *Tharsis* in scripture is divers times taken for the ocean; hath been already declared in the first book.

Only it remaineth, that I should speak somewhat of *Pineda*'s strange conceits, who being a *Spaniard* of *Batica* would fain have *Gades* or *Calismalis*, in old times called *Tartessus*, which is the south-west corner of that province, to be the *Tharsis* from whence *Solomon* fetch'd his gold; for no other reason, as it seems, but for love of his own country, and because of some affinity of sound between *Tharsis* and *Tartessus*. For whereas it may seem strange that it should be three years ere they that took ship in the *Red* sea, should return from the *East-Indies* to *Jerusalem*, this hath been in part answered already. And further, the intelligent may conceive of sundry lets, in the digging and refining of the metal, and in their other trafficks, and in their land-carriages between *Jerusalem* and the *Red* sea,

^a 1 *Kings* 5. from v. 1. to v. 9. ^b *Joseph.* Ant. l. 8. c. 2. 8. *Sc.* 9. 10. † 5. Lib. 4. de rebus Salomonis, c. 6. & 15. No. 18.

^c *Joseph.* l. 8. Ant. c. 2. ^d *Joseph.* l. 8. Ant. c. 2. ^e *Chap*

and perhaps also elsewhere: so that we have no need to make *Solomon's* men to go many thousand miles out of their way to *Gades*, round about all *Africk*, that so they might be long a coming home.

For the direct way to *Gades* (which if *Solomon* and the *Israelites* knew not, the *Tyrians* which went with them, could not have been ignorant of) was along the *Mediterranean* sea, and so (besides many wonderful inconveniencies and terrible navigation in rounding *Africa*) they should have escaped the troublesome land-carriage between *Jerusalem* and the *Red* sea, thro' dry, desert, and thievish countries: and within thirty miles of *Jerusalem* at *Joppe*, or some other haven in *Solomon's* own country, have laden and unladen their ships.

But this direct course they could not hold, saith *Pineda*, because the huge island of *Atlantis* in largeness greater than all *Africk* and *Asia* being swallowed up in the *Atlantick* ocean hindred *Solomon's* ships from passing thro' the straits of *Gibraltar*: for this he alledgeth *Plato in Timæo*. But that this calamity happened about *Solomon's*, or that thereby the straits of *Gades* were filled with mud and made unpassable, that there could be no coming to *Gades* by the *Mediterranean* sea: or that this indraught, where the sea runneth most violently, and most easily scoureth his channel, should be filled with mud, and not also the great ocean in like manner, where this huge island is supposed to have stood: or that *Solomon's* ships being in the *Red* sea, should neglect the golden mines of the *East-Indies* (which were infinitely better, and nearer to the *Red* sea, than any in *Spain*) to seek gold at *Cadiz* by the way of compassing *Africa*, it is most ridiculous to imagine. For the *Spaniard* himself, that hath also the rich *Peru* in the west, fortieth in the *East-Indies*, and inhabits some part thereof, as in *Manilia*, finding in those parts no less quantity of gold (the small territory which he there possesseth considered) than in *Peru*.

The same *Pineda* hath another strange passage round about all *Africa*, which elsewhere he dreams of: supposing whereas *Jonas* sailing to *Tharsis* the city of *Cilicia* was cast out in the *Mediterranean* sea, and taken up there by a whale, that this whale in three days swimming above twelve thousand *English* miles, along the *Mediterranean* sea, and so thro' the straits of *Gades*, and along the huge seas round about *Africa*, cast up *Jonas* upon the shore of the *Red* sea, that so he might have perhaps some six miles the shorter (tho' much the worse) way to *Nineveh*. This conceit he grounds only upon the ambiguity of the word *Suph*, which oftentimes is an epithet of the *Red* sea (as if we should call it *mare algosum*, the sea full of weeds) for the *Red* sea. But in *Jonas* ii. 5. it is generally taken in the proper signification for weeds, and not as *Pineda* would have have it, who in this place against his own rule (which elsewhere he giveth us) supposeth strange miracles without any need. For this long voyage of the whale finish'd in three days, is a greater miracle, than the very preservation of *Jonas* in the belly of the whale: and therefore seeing there is no necessity of this miracle, we send it back unto him, keeping his own rule, which in this place he forgets; *Miracula non sunt multiplicanda*. And again, *Non sunt miracula gratis danda, nec pro arbitrio nova fingenda*; Miracles are not to be multiplied without necessity, nor delivered without cause, nor feigned at pleasure. Therefore we leave this man in his dreams, which (were he not otherwise very learned and judicious) might be thought

unworthy the mentioning. But to proceed with our story of *Solomon*.

The queen of *Sheba's* coming from far to *Solomon* (as it seems from *Arabia Felix*, and not as some think from *Ethiopia*) and her rich presents, and *Solomon's* reciprocal magnificence, and his resolving of her difficult questions, those are set down at large in the text. But herein *Josephus* is greatly mistaken, who calls this queen of *Sheba* *Nicaules*, the successor (saith he out of *Herodotus*) of those thirty and eight *Egyptian* kings which succeeded *Mineus* the founder of *Memphis*; adding that after this *Egyptian*, and the father-in-law of *Solomon*, the name of *Pharaoh* was left off in *Egypt*. For as it is elsewhere proved, that the queen was of *Arabia*, not of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; so were there other *Pharaohs* after the father-in-law of *Solomon*. Yea, above three hundred years after *Solomon*, *Pharaoh-Necho* slew *Josias* king of *Judah*.

It is also written of *Solomon*, that he kept in garisons fourteen thousand chariots and twelve thousand horsemen; that he spent in court every day thirty measures of fine flour, threescore measures of wheat, one hundred sheep, besides stags and fallow deer, bugles and fowl; four thousand stalls of horses he had for his chariots and other uses, and for the twelve thousand horsemen of his guard. For the forty thousand stalls in 1 *Kings* iv. are to be taken but for so many horses, whence in 2 *Chron.* ix. it is written but four thousand stalls or teams, and in every team ten horses, as *Junius* and the *Geneva* understand it. He was said to be wiser than any man, yea, than were *Ethan* the *Ezrahite*, than *Heman*, *Chalcal*, or than *Darda*, to which *Junius* addeth a fifth, to wit, *Ezra*. For the *Geneva* maketh *Ethan* an *Ezrahite* by nation. *Josephus* writes them *Alhan*, *Aman*, *Chalceus* and *Donan*, the sons of *Hemon*. He spake three thousand proverbs, and his songs were one thousand and five, whereof either the most part perished in the captivity of *Babylon*, or else because many acts of *Solomon's* were written and kept among the publick records of civil causes and not ecclesiastical, therefore they were not thought necessary to be inserted into God's book.

SECT. IV.

Of the fall of Solomon, and how long he lived.

NOW as he had plenty of all other things, so had he no scarcity of women. For besides his seven hundred wives, he kept three hundred concubines, and (forgetting that God had commanded that none of his people should accompany the daughters of idolaters) he took wives out of *Egypt*, *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Zidon* and *Heth*: and when he fell a doating, his wives turned his heart after other Gods, as *Ashtaro*th of the *Zidonians*, *Milcom* or *Molech* of the *Ammonites*, and *Chemosh* of *Moab*.

These things God punished by *Adad* of *Idumea*, *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and by *Jeroboam* his own servant, and one of the masters of his works, who by the ordinance of God tare from his son *Rehoboam*, ten of the twelve parts of all the territory he had. *Deus dum in peccatores animadvertit, aliorum peccatis utitur, quæ ipse non fecit*; God in punishing sinners, useth the sins of others, which he himself wrought not.

In the reign of *Solomon* (as in times of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings, with other works of magnificence and that great *Indian* voyage already mentioned. Forty years he reigned: how ma-

^a De rebus Sal. l. 4. c. 12. 11. As it appears he took ship at Japho or Joppe, ch. 1. v. 3. ^b Ing. l. ^c Joseph. Ant. l. 8. 1. 2. ^d 2 Kings, c. 23. & 2 Chron. c. 25. Jer. c. 46 v. 2. ^e 1 Kings 4. 31. ^f P. Mart. in reg.

ny he lived it is not written, and must therefore be found only by conjecture. The most likely way to guess at the truth in this case, is by considering the actions of *David* before and after *Solomon's* birth, whereby we may best make estimation of the years which they consumed, and consequently learn the true, or most likely year of his nativity. Seven years *David* reigned in *Hebron*: in his 8th year he took *Jerusalem*, and warred with the *Philistines*, who also troubled him in the year following. The bringing home of the ark seems to have been in the 10th year of *David*, and his intention to build the temple in the ^a year ensuing, at which time he had sufficient leisure, living in rest. After this he had wars with the *Philistines*, *Moabites*, *Aramites*, and *Edomites*, which must needs have held him 5 years, considering that the *Aramites* of *Damasco* raised war against him, after such time as he had beaten *Hadadezer*; and that in every of these wars, he had the entire ^b victory. Neither is it likely that these services occupied any longer time, because in those days and places there were no wintering camps in use, but at convenient seasons of the year, kings went forth to war, dispatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their armies, partly upon the spoil of the enemies country, partly upon the ^c private provision which every soldier made for himself. The 17th year of *David*, in which he took *Mephibosheth* the son of *Jonathan* into his court, appeareth to have passed away in quiet; and the year following to have begun the war with *Ammon*; but somewhat late in the end of summer perhaps, it came to trial of a battel (for *Joab* after the victory, returned immediately to *Jerusalem*) the causes and preparations for that war having taken up all the summer. *David's* personal expedition against the *Aramites* wherein he brought all the tributaries of *Hadadezer* under his own allegiance, appears manifestly to have been the next year's work, wherein he did cut off all means of succour from the *Ammonites*; all *Syria*, *Moab*, and *Idumæa*, being now at his own devotion. By this reckoning it must have been the 20th year of *David's* reign, and about the 50th of his life, in which he sent forth *Joab* to besiege *Rabba*, and finished the war of *Ammon*: wherein also fell out the matter of *Uriah's* wife. So one half of *David's* reign was very prosperous: in the other half he felt great sorrow by the expectation, execution, and sad remembrance of that heavy judgment laid upon him by God, for his foul and bloody offence.

Now very manifest it is, that in the year after the death of that child, which was begotten in adultery, *Solomon* was born, who must needs therefore have been 19 years old or thereabouts, when he began to reign at the decease of his father, as being begotten in the 21st year of his father's reign, who reigned in all 40.

This account hath also good coherence with the following times of *David*, as may be collected out of ensuing actions: for 2 years passed ere *Abshalom* slew his brother *Ammon*; 3 years ere his father pardoned him; and 2 years more ere he came into the king's presence. After this he prepared horses and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which seems to have been 1 year's work. So the rebellion itself, with all that happened thereupon, as the commotion made by *Sheba*, the death of *Amasa*, and the rest, may well seem to have been in the 30th year of *David's* reign.

Whether the 3 years of famine should be reckoned apart from the last years of war with the *Philistines*, or confounded with them, it were more hard than needful to conjecture. Plain enough it is, that in the 10 remaining years of *David*, there was time sufficient, and to spare, both for the 3 years of famine, for 4 years of war, and for numbring the people, with the pestilence ensuing; as also for his own last infirmity, and disposing of the kingdom. Yet indeed it seems that the war with the *Philistines* was but one year's work, and ended in three or four fights, of which the two or three former were at *Gob* or *Nob* near unto *Gezer*, and the last at *Gath*. This war the *Philistines* undertook, as it seemeth, upon confidence gathered out of the tumults in *Israel*, and perhaps emboldened by *David's* old age, for he fainted now in the battel, and was afterwards hindered by his men from exposing himself unto danger any more. So *David* had 6 or 7 years of rest, in which time it is likely, that many of his great men of war died (being of his own age) whereby the stirring spirit of *Adonijab* found little succour in the broken party of *Joab* the son of *Zeruiah*.

At this time it might both truly be said by, ^d *David* to *Solomon*, *Thou art a wise man*, and by *Solomon* to God, *I am but a young child*; for 19 years of age might well agree with either of these two speeches.

Nevertheless there are some that gather out of *Solomon's* professing himself a child, that he was but 11 years old when he began to reign. Of these *Rabbi Solomon* seems the first author, whom others of great learning and judgment have herein followed: grounding themselves perhaps upon that which is said of ^e *Abshalom's* rebellion, that it was after 40 years, which they understood as years of *David's* reign. But whereas *Rehoboam* the son of *Solomon* was 41 years old when he began to reign, it would follow hereby that his father had begotten him, being himself but a child of 9 or 10 years old; the difference between their ages being no greater (if *Solomon* who reigned 40 years) were but 11 years old when his reign began. To avoid this inconvenience, *Josephus* allows 80 years of reign to *Solomon*; a report so disagreeing with the scriptures, that it needs no confutation. Some indeed have in favour of this opinion construed the words of *Josephus*, as if they included all the years of *Solomon's* life. But by such reckoning he should have been 40 years old at his father's death; and consequently should have been born long before his father had won *Jerusalem*; which is a manifest untruth. Wherefore the 40 years remembered in *Abshalom's* rebellion, may either seem to have reference to the space between *David's* first anointment, and the trouble which God brought upon him for his wickedness, or perhaps be read (according to *Josephus*, *Theodoret*, and the *Latin* translation) 4 years; which passed between the return of *Abshalom* to *Jerusalem*, and his breaking out.

SECT. V.

Of Solomon's writings.

THESE remain of *Solomon's* works, the *Proverbs*, the *Preacher*, and the *Song of Solomon*. In the first he teacheth good life, and correcteth manners; in the second, the vanity of human nature; in the third, he singeth as it were the *Epithalamion* of Christ and his church. For the

^a 1 Kings 7. 1.

^b 2 Sam. 11. 1.

^c 1 Sam. 17. 17. 18.

^d 1 Kings 2. 9. & 3. 1.

^e 1 Sam. 15. 7.

book intitled the wisdom of *Solomon* (which some give unto *Solomon*, and some make the elder *Philo* the author thereof :) *Jerome*, and many others of the best learned, make us think it was not *Solomon* that wrote it. *Stylus libri sapientie* (saith ^a *Jerome*) *qui Salomonis inscribitur, Græcam redolet eloquentiam*; The style of the book of wisdom, which is ascribed to *Solomon*, savoureth of the *Græcian* eloquence; and of the same opinion was *St. Augustine*, and yet he confesseth in the 19th book and 20th chapter of the city of God, that the author of that book hath a direct foretelling of the passion of Christ in these words: ^b *Circumveniamus justum, quoniam insuavis est nobis, &c.* Let us circumvent the righteous, for he is displeasing to us, he is contrary to our doings, he checketh us for offending against the law, he makes his boast to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himself the son of the Lord, &c. and so doth the course of all the following words point directly at Christ. The books of *Ecclesiastes*, *Proverbs*, and ^c *Cantica Canticorum*, *Rabbi Moses Kimchi* ascribeth to *Isaiah* the prophet. *Suidas* and *Cedrenus* report that *Solomon* wrote of the remedies of all diseases, and graved the same on the sides of the porch of the temple, which they say ^d *Ezechias* pulled down, because the people neglecting help from God by prayer, repaired thither for their recoveries.

Of *Solomon's* books of invocations and enchantments to cure diseases, and expel evil spirits, *Josephus* hath written at large, tho' as I conceive, rather out of his own invention, or from some uncertain report, than truly.

He also speaketh of one *Eliazarus*, who by the root in *Solomon's* ring, dispossest divers persons of evil spirits in the presence of *Vespasian*, and many others, which I will not stand to examine.

Certainly, so strange an example of human frailty hath never been read of as this king: who having received wisdom from God himself, in honour of whom, and for his only service, he built the first and most glorious temple of the world: he that was made king of *Israel* and *Judea*, not by the law of nature, but by the love of God, and became the wisest, richest, and happiest of all kings, did in the end, by the persuasion of a few weak and wretched idolatrous women, forget and forsake the Lord of all the world, and the giver of all goodness, of which he was more liberal to this king, than to any that ever the world had. Of whom *Siracides* writeth in this manner; *Solomon reigned in a peaceable time and was glorious, for God made all quiet round about, that he might build a house in his name, and prepare the sanctuary for ever; how wise wast thou in thy youth, and wast filled with understanding, as with a flood! thy mind covered the whole earth, and hath filled it with grave and dark sentences. Thy name went abroad in the isles, and for thy peace thou wast beloved, &c.* but thus he concludeth, *Thou didst bow thy loins to women, and wast overcome by thy body; thou didst stain thine honour, and hast defiled thy posterity, and hast brought wrath upon thy children, and felt sorrow for thy folly*, chap. xxvii.

SECT. IV.

Of the contemporaries of *Solomon*.

NEAR the beginning of *Solomon's* reign, *Agelaus* the 3d of the *Heracidae* in *Corinth*; *Labotes* in *Lacedemon*; and soon after *Sylvius Alba* the

4th of the *Sylvii*, sway'd those kingdoms: *Tanpthenes* then governing *Assyria*: *Agastus* and *Arctippus* the 2d and 3d princes after *Codrus*, ruling the *Athenians*.

In the 26th of *Solomon's* reign *Hiram* of *Tyre* died, to whom *Baliastrus* succeeded, and reigned 17 years, after *Mercator's* accmpt, who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his sons. ^e *Josephus* gives him fewer years. *Theophilus Antiochenus* against *Autolicus* finds *Bozorius* the next after *Hiram*, if there be not some kings omitted between the death of *Hiram*, and the reign of *Bozorius*.

Vaphres being dead, about the 20th of *Solomon*, *Sefac* or *Shisak* (as our *English Geneva* terms him) began to govern in *Egypt*, being the same with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Sofachis*; *Josephus*, *Sufac*; *Cedrenus*, *Susefinus*; *Eusebius* in the column of the *Egyptian* kings *Smendes*, and in that of the *Hebrews* *Sufac*. *Josephus*, in the 8th of his antiquities, reproveth it as an error in *Herodotus*, that he ascribeth the acts of *Sufac* to *Sesoftris*, which perchance *Herodotus* might have done by comparison, accounting *Sefac* another *Sesoftris*, for the great things he did.

Of the great acts and virtues of king *Sesoftris* I have spoken already in the story of the *Egyptian* princes: only in this he was reprov'd that he caused four of his captive kings to draw his chariot, when he was disposed to be seen, and to ride in triumph: one of which four, saith *Eutropius*, at such time as *Sesoftris* was carried out to take the air, cast his head continually back upon the two foremost wheels next him; which *Sesoftris* perceiving, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion; to whom the captive king answered, that in those he beheld the instability of all worldly things; for that both the lowest part of the wheel was suddenly carried about, and became the highest, and the upmost part was as suddenly turned downward and under all: which when ^f *Sesoftris* had judiciously weighed, he dismissed those princes, and all others, from the like servitude for the future. Of this *Sesoftris*, and that he could not be taken for *Sefac*, I have spoken at large in that part of the *Egyptian* kings preceding.

CHAP. XIX.

Of *Solomon's* successors until the end of *Jehosaphat*.

SECT. I.

Of *Rehoboam's* beginnings: the defection of the ten tribes, and *Jeroboam's* idolatry.

Rehoboam, the son of *Solomon* by *Nabama* an *Ammoniteſſe*, now 40 years old, succeeded his father *Solomon*, and was anointed at *Sichem*, where the 10 tribes of *Israel* were assembled: who attended awhile the return of *Jeroboam* as yet in *Egypt*, since he fled thither, fearing *Solomon*. After his arrival, the people presented a petition to *Rehoboam*, to be eased of those great tributes laid on them by his father. ^g *Sic enim firmitus ei fore imperium, si amari mallet quam metui*; So should his empire (saith *Josephus*) be more assured if he desired rather to be beloved than feared: whereof he took 3 days to deliberate before his answer, of whom

^a Hier. ad Cromaſium.

^b Sap. 2.

^c S. Sen. f. 62.

^d Reinecc in Jul. Hist.

^e Ant. lib. 3.

^f Hist. Miscel. l. 17.

^g Ant. lib. 8. c. 3.

therefore

therefore it could not be said as of *David*, that he was wiser than all his teachers. For as of himself he knew not how to resolve, so had he not the judgment to discern of counsels, which is the very test of wisdom in princes, and in all men else. But notwithstanding that he had consulted with those grave and advised men, that served his father, who persuaded him by all means to satisfy the multitude: he was transported by his familiars and favorites, not only to continue on the backs of his subjects those burdens which greatly crush'd them; but (vaunting falsely of greatness exceeding his father's) he threatned in sharp, or rather in terrible terms, to lay yet heavier, and more unsupportable loads on them. But as it appeared by the success, those younger advisers greatly mistook the nature of severity, which without the temper of clemency, is no other than cruelty it self: they also were ignorant that it ought to be used for the help, and not for the harm of subjects. For what is the strength of a king left by his people; and what cords or fetters have ever lasted long, by those which have been twisted and forged by love only; his witless parasites could well judge of the king's disposition: and being well learned therein, tho' ignorant in all things else, it sufficed and enabled them sufficiently for the places they held. But this answer of *Rehoboam* did not a little advance *Jeroboam's* designs. For being foretold by the prophet *Achiah* of his future advancement, these the king's threats (changing the people's love into fury) confirmed and gave courage to his hopes. For he was no sooner arrived, than elected king of *Israel*: the people crying out, What portion have we in *David*? we have no inheritance in the son of *Isbah*. Now tho' themselves, even ^a all the tribes of *Israel*, had consented to *David's* anointing at *Hebron* the 2d time, acknowledging that they were his bones and his flesh: yet now after the manner of rebels, they forgot both the bonds of nature, and their duty to God, and, as all alienated resolved hearts do, they served themselves for the present with impudent excuses. And now over-late, and after time, *Rehoboam* sent *Adoram*, one of the taxers of the people, a man most hateful to all his subjects, to pacify them: whom they instantly beat to death with stones. Whereupon the king affrighted, got him from ^b *Sichem* with all speed, and recover'd *Jerusalem*, where preparing to invade *Israel* with an hundred and fourscore thousand chosen men, *Shemai* in the person of God commanding to the contrary, all was stay'd for the present. In the mean time *Jeroboam* the new king fortified *Sechem* on this side, and *Penuel* on the other side of *Jordan*; and fearing that the union and exercise of one religion would also join the people's hearts again to the house of *David*; and having in all likelihood also promised the *Egyptians* to follow their idolatry: he set up two calves of gold for the children of *Israel* to worship, impiously persuading them that those were the gods, or at least by these he represented those gods, which delivered them out of *Egypt*: and refusing the service of the *Levites*, he made priests fit for such gods. It must needs be that by banishing the *Levites*, which serv'd *David* and *Solomon* thro' all *Israel*, *Jeroboam* greatly enrich'd himself: as taking into his hands all those cities which were given them by *Moses* and *Joshua*; for, as it is written, *The Levites left their suburbs, and their possession, and came to Juda, &c.* This irreligious policy of *Jeroboam* (which was the foundati-

on of an idolatry that never could be rooted out, until *Israel* for it was rooted out of the land) was by prophecy and miracles impugned sufficiently when it first began; but the affections maintaining it, were so strong, that neither ^c prophecy nor miracle could make them yield. *Jeroboam* could not be moved now by the authority of *Abia*, who from the Lord had first promised unto him the kingdom; nor by the ^e withering of his own hand as he stretched it over the altar, which also clave asunder, according to the sign, which the man of God had given by the commandment of God, who again recover'd and cured him of that defect; yet he continued as obstinate an idolater as before, for he held it the safest course in policy to proceed as he had begun. This impious invention of *Jeroboam*, who forsook God, and the religion of his forefathers, by God and his ministers taught them, was by a modern historian compared with the policies of late ages, observing well the practice of his nation, being an *Italian* born; *Sic qui hodie* (saith he) *politici vocantur, & propria commoda, presentisque utilitates sibi tanquam ultimum finem constituunt, causam quam vocant status in capite omnium ponunt: pro ipsa tuenda, promovenda, conservanda, amplianda, nihil non faciendum putant. Si injuria proximo irroganda, si justitiæ honestatisque leges subvertendæ, si religio ipsa pessundanda, si denique omnia jura divina & humana violanda, nihil intentatum, nihil per fas nefasque relinquendum censent, cuncta ruant, omnia pereant, nihil ad ipsos, modo id, quod e re sua esse sibi persuadent, obtineant, ac si nullus sit qui talia curet, castigareve possit Deus*; So they who are now called politicians, propounding to themselves, as their utmost end and scope, their own commodity and present profit, are wont to alledge the case of state forsooth, as the principal point to be regarded: for the good of the state, for advancing, preserving, or encreasing of the state, they think they may do any thing. If they mean to oppress their neighbour, to overturn all laws of justice and honesty, if religion it self must go to wrack, yea if all rights of God and man must be violated, they will try all courses, be it right, be it wrong, they will do any thing; let all go to ruin, what care they, so long as they may have what they would; as who should say, there were no God that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power to correct them.

Indeed this allegation of *Ragione del stato*, did serve as well to uphold, as at the first it had done to bring in this vile idolatry of the ten tribes. Upon this ground *Amazia* the priest of *Bethel*, counselled the prophet ^d *Amos*, not to prophesy at *Bethel*; For (saith he) *it is the king's court*. Upon this ground even ^e *Jehu* that had massacred the priests of *Baal*, in zeal for the Lord, yet would not in any wise depart from that politick sin of *Jeroboam* the son of ^f *Nebat*, which made *Israel* to sin. It was reason of state that persuaded the last famous *French* king *Henry* the fourth to change his religion; yet the protestants whom he forsook obey'd him, but some of the papists whom he followed murder'd him. So strongly doth the painted vizor of wise proceeding delude even those that know the foul face of impiety lurking under it, and behold the wretched ends that have ever followed it; whereof *Jehu* and all the kings of *Israel* had, and were themselves, very great examples.

^a 2 Sam. 5. 1. ^b 1 Kings 12. 21. ^c 1 Kings 13. 4, 5, 6.

^d Amos 7. 13.

^e 2 Kings 10. 16.

^f 2 Kings 10. 20.

S E C T. II.

Of Rehoboam's impiety; for which he was punished by Sefac: of his end and contemporaries.

WHILE *Jeroboam* was occupied in setting up his new religion, *Rehoboam* on the other side having now little hope to recover the provinces lost, strengthened the principal places remaining with all endeavour: for he fortified and victualled fifteen cities of ^a*Judah* and *Benjamin*: not that he feared *Jeroboam* alone, but the *Egyptians*, to whom *Jeroboam* had not only fastned himself, but withal invited them to invade *Judea*: laying perchance before them the unaccountable riches of *David* and *Solomon*, which might now easily be had, seeing ten of the twelve tribes were revolted, and become enemies to the *Judeans*. So as by those two ways (of late years oftentrodde) to wit, change of religion, and invitation of foreign force, *Jeroboam* hoped to settle himself in the seat of *Israel*, whom yet the powerful God for his idolatry in a few years after rooted out with all his. *Rehoboam* also having, as he thought, by ^bfortifying divers places, assured his estate, forsook the law of the living God, and made high places, and images, and groves, on every high hill, and under every green tree.

And therefore in the fifth year of his reign, *Sefac*, or *Shishac* before spoken of, being now king of *Egypt*, and with whom as well *Adad* of *Idumea*, as *Jeroboam*, were familiar, and his instruments, entred ^c*Judea* with twelve thousand chariots, and threescore thousand horse, besides footmen, which ^d*Josephus* numbers at four hundred thousand. This army was compounded of four nations; *Egyptians*, *Lubæans*, *Succæans*, and *Cusites*. The *Lubæans* were *Lybæans*, the next bordering region to *Egypt*, on the west-side. The *Cusites* were of *Petræa*, and of the desert *Arabia*, which afterwards followed *Zerab* against ^e*Afa* king of *Judah*. The *Succæans*, according to *Junius's* opinion, were of *Succoth*, which signifieth tents: he doth suppose, that they were the *Trogloditæ*, often mentioned in ^f*Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and other authors. The *Troglodites* inhabited not far from the banks of the *Red sea*, in 22 degrees from the line northward about six hundred *English* miles from the best and maritimate part of *Egypt*: and therefore I do not think that the *Succæans* or *Succæi* were those *Trogloditæ*, but rather those *Arabians* which *Ptolemy* calls *Arabes Aegyptii* or *Ichthyophagi*, which possess that part of *Egypt* between the mountains called ^g*Alabastrini*, and the *Red sea*, far nearer *Egypt*, and readier to be levied, than those removed savages of the *Trogloditæ*.

With this great and powerful army, *Sefac* invaded *Judea*, and (besides many other strong cities) won *Jerusalem* itself, of which, and of the temple, and king's house he took the spoil, carrying away (besides other treasures) the golden shields which *Solomon* had made, in imitation of those which *David* recovered from *Adadezer*, in the *Syrian* war: these *Rehoboam* supplied with targets of brass, which were fit enough to guard a king of his quality: whom *Siracides* calleth the foolishness of the people.

From this time forward the kings of *Egypt* claimed the sovereignty of *Judea*, and held the *Jews* as their tributaries: *Sefac*, as it seems, rendering up to *Rehoboam* his places on that condition. So much may be gathered out of the words of God, where promising the deliverance of *Judah* after their humiliation, he doth notwithstanding leave them

under the yoke of *Egypt* in these words. *Nevertheless they* (to wit, the *Judeans*) *shall be his servants, that is, the servants of Sefac.*

After this overthrow and dishonour, *Rehoboam* reigned twelve years, and, his losses received by *Sefac* notwithstanding, he continued the war against *Jeroboam* all his life-time: After his death *Jeroboam* governed *Israel* four years.

Rehoboam lived fifty-eight years, and reigned seventeen. His story was written at large by *Shemaiab* and *Hiddon* the prophets, but the same perished with that of *Nathan* and the rest.

With *Rehoboam*, *Archippus*, and *Tersippus*, the third and fourth *Archontes* or governours for life after *Codrus*, governed in *Athens*. *Abdastrartus* or *Abstrartus*, in *Tyre*. *Doristhus* the fifth of the *Heraclidæ* in *Sparta*, according to ^h*Eusebius* (others make him the sixth) and *Priminus* the fourth in *Corinth*. Over the *Latins* reigned *Sylvius Alba*, add *Sylvius Atys*, the fourth and fifth of the *Sylvii*.

About the 12th of *Rehoboam*, *Abdastrartus* king of *Tyre*, was murdered by his nurse's sons, or foster-brethren, the elder of which usurped the kingdom twelve years.

Towards his latter times *Periciades*, or *Pyritiades*, began to govern *Affyria*, the 34th king thereof: and not long after *Astartus* the son of *Baleastartus* recovered the kingdom of *Tyre* from the usurpers.

S E C T. III.

Of the great battle between *Jeroboam* and *Abijah*, with a corollary of the examples of God's judgments.

AB I J A H the son of *Rehoboam* inherited his father's kingdom, and his vices. He raised an army of four hundred thousand, with which he invaded *Jeroboam*, who encountred him with a double number of eight hundred thousand; both armies joined near to the mount *Ephraim*, where *Jeroboam* was utterly overthrown, and the strength of *Israel* broken; for there fell of that side five hundred thousand, the greatest overthrow that ever was given or received of those nations. *Abijah* being now master of the field, recovered *Bethel*, *Jeshanab* and *Ephron*, soon after which discomfiture, *Jeroboam* died: who reigned in all 22 years. *Abijah*, the better to strengthen himself, entred into league with *Hefion*, the third of the *Adads* of *Syria*; as may be gathered out of 2 *Chron.* xvi. 23. He reigned but three years and then died. The particulars of his acts were written by *Iddo* the prophet, as some part of his father's were.

Here we see how it pleased God to punish the sins of *Solomon* in his son *Rehoboam*: first, by an idolater and a traitor: and then by the successor of that *Egyptian*, whose daughter *Solomon* had married, thereby the better to assure his estate, which, while he served God, was by God assured against all and the greatest neighbouring kings, and when he forsook him, it was torn alunder by his meanest vassals; not that the father wanted strength to defend him from the *Egyptian Sefac*. For the son *Abijah* was able to levy four hundred thousand men, and with the same number he overthrew eight hundred thousand *Israelites*, and slew of them five hundred thousand, God giving spirit, courage, and invention, when and where it pleaseth him. And as in those times the causes were express'd, why it pleased God to punish both kings and their people: the same being both before and at the in-

^a 2 Chron. 11. ^b 1 Kings 14. 13. ^c 2 Chron. 12. 3. ^d Joseph. Ant. 8. c. 4. ^e 2 Chron. 12. 2. ^f Kings 14. An.
not. in 12. Chron. ^g Plin. l. 6. c. 29. ^h Ptol. Alie. Tab. 3. ⁱ Cap. 47. v. 23. ^j Euseb. Chron.

stant delivered by prophets ; so the same just God, who liveth and governeth all things for ever, doth in these our times give victory, courage, and discouragement, raise, and throw down kings, estates, cities, and nations, for the same offences which were committed of old, and are committed in the present : for which reason, in these and other afflictions of *Israel*, always the causes are set down, that they might be as precedents to succeeding ages. They were punished with famine in *David's* time for three years, ^a for *Saul and his bloody house*, &c. And *David*, towards his latter end, suffered all sorts of afflictions, and sorrows in effect, for *Uriah*. *Solomon* had ten tribes of twelve torn from his son for his idolatry. *Rehoboam* was spoiled of his riches and honour by *Sesac* of *Egypt*, because the people of *Judah* made images, high places and groves, &c. and because they suffered *Sodomites* in the land. *Jeroboam* was punished in himself and his posterity for the golden calves that he erected. *Jooram* had all his sons slain by the *Philistines*, and his very bowels torn out of his body by an excoriating flux, for murdering his brethren. *Abab* and *Jezebel* were slain, the blood of the one, the body of the other eaten with dogs, for the false accusing and killing of *Naboth*. So also hath God punished the same and the like sins in all after-times, and in these our days by the same famine, plagues, war, loss, vexation, death, sickness, and calamities, howsoever the wise men of the world raise these effects no higher than to second causes, and such other accidents ; which, as being next their eyes and ears, seem to them to work every alteration that happeneth.

SECT. IV.

Of Asa and his contemporaries.

TO *Abijah* succeeded *Asa*, who enjoyed peace for his first ten years, in which time he established the Church of God, ^b breaking down the altars dedicated to strange Gods, with their images, cutting down their groves, and taking away their high places. He also spared not his own ^c mother who was an idolatress, but deposing her from her regency, brake her idol, stamp it, and burnt it.

He also fortified many cities and other places, providing (as provident kings do) for the troubles of war in the leisure of peace. For not long after he was invaded by *Zerah*, who then commanded all the *Arabians* bordering *Judea*, and with such a multitude entered the territory of *Asa*, as (for any thing that I have read) were never assembled of that nation either before or since. For it is written, that there came against the *Judeans*, ^d *Zerah* of *Ethiopia* with an host of ten hundred thousand, and three hundred chariots, which *Asa* encountered with an army of five hundred and fourscore thousand, levied out of those two tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* which obeyed him, and with which he overthrew this fearful multitude, and had the spoil both of their cities and camps.

That this *Zerah* was not an *Ethiopian* I have ^e proved already, and were it but the length between *Ethiopia* and *Judea*, and the strong flourishing regions of *Egypt* interjacent (who would not suffer a million of strangers to pass thro' them) it were sufficient to make it appear how foolish the opinion is, that these invaders were *Ethiopians*. But in that the scriptures acknowledge that *Gerar* was belonging to *Zerah*, and the cities thereabouts were spoiled

by the *Judeans* in following their victory, as places belonging to *Zerah*, and that all men know that *Gerar* standeth upon the torrent of *Besor*, which *David* pass'd over when he surprized the *Amalckites* or *Arabians*, this proveth sufficiently, that *Zerah* was leader of the *Arabians*, and that *Gerar* was a frontier town standing on the uttermost south-border of all *Judea*, from all parts of *Ethiopia* six hundred miles. Also the spoils which *Asa* took, as the cattle, camels, and sheep, whereof he sacrificed five thousand, shew them to be *Arabians* adjoining, and not far off, and not unknown to the *Ethiopians*. And if it be objected, that these desert countries can hardly yield a million of men fit for the wars, I answer, that it is as like that *Arabia Petraea*, and the desert which compass two parts of the *Holy Land*, should yield ten hundred thousand, as that two tribes of the twelve should arm five hundred and fourscore thousand. Besides, it answereth to the promise of God to *Abraham*, that these nations should exceed in number ; for God spake it of *Ismael*, that he would make him fruitful, and multiply him exceedingly, that he should beget twelve princes, &c.

^f *Baasha*, a king of *Israel*, began to reign in the third of *Asa*, and fearing the greatness of *Asa* after his great victory, entertained *Benbadad* king of *Syria*, of the race of *Adadazer*, to join with him against *Asa* ; and to the end to block him up, he fortified *Rama* which lieth in the way from *Jerusalem* towards *Samaria*.

This war began according to the letter of the scriptures in the 36th year of *Asa's* reign : but because in *1 Kings* xvi. it is said that *Baasha* died in the 26th year of *Asa*, therefore could not *Baasha* begin this war in the 35th of *Asa's* reign, but in the 35th year of the division of *Judah* and *Israel* : for so many years it was from the first of *Rehoboam*, who reigned 17 years, to the 16th of *Asa*. It may seem strange, that *Asa* being able to bring into the field an army of five hundred and fourscore thousand good soldiers, did not easily drive away *Baasha*, and defeat him of his purposes, the victories of *Abia* against *Jeroboam*, and of *Asa* himself against *Zerah* being yet fresh in mind, which might well have emboldened the men of *Judah*, and as much disheartened the enemies. Questionless there were some important circumstances omitted in the text, which caused *Asa* to fight at this time with money. It may be, that the employment of so many hundred thousand of hands in the late service against *Zerah*, had caused many mens private business to lie undispached, whereby the people being now intentive to the culture of their lands, and other trades, might be unwilling to stir against the *Israelites*, chusing rather to wink at apparent inconvenience, which the building of *Rama* would bring upon them in after-times. Such backwardness of the people might have deterred *Asa* from adventuring himself with the least part of his forces, and committing the success into the hands of God. Howsoever it were, he took the treasures remaining in the temple, with which he waged *Benbadad* the *Syrian* against *Baasha*, whose employments *Benbadad* readily accepted, and brake off confederacy with *Baasha*. For the *Israelites* were his borderers and next neighbours, whom neither himself (after his invasion) nor his successors after him, ever gave over till they had made themselves masters of that kingdom. So ^g *Benbadad* being now entered into *Nephtalim* without resistance, he spoiled divers principal cities

^a 2 Sam. 21. 1. ^b 2 Chron. 14. ^c 2 Chron. 15. 16. ^d 2 Chron. 14. 9. ^e In the former book, ch. 4. sect. 14. item, ^f 2 Chron. 16. 4. ^g 2 Chron. 16. 4.

thereof, and enforced ^a*Baasha* to quit *Ramah*, and to leave the same to *Asa* with all the materials which he had brought thither, to fortify the same: which done *Benhadad*, who loved neither party, being laden with the spoils of *Israel*, and the treasures of *Judah*, returned to *Damascus*. After this, when *Hanani* the prophet reprehended *Asa* in that he now relied on the strength of *Syria*, and did not rest himself on the favour and assistance of God, he not only caused *Hanani* to be imprisoned, but he began to burden and oppress his people, and was therefore stricken with the grievous pains of the gout in his feet, wherewith after he had been two years ^bcontinually tormented, he gave up the ghost when he had reigned 41 years.

There lived with *Asa*, *Agefilaus* the sixth of the *Heraclidae*, and *Bacis* the fifth king of the same race in *Corinth*, of whom his successors were afterwards called *Bacidae*. *Astartus* and *Astarimus* were kings in *Tyre*. ^c*Astarimus* took revenge on his brother *Phelletes*, for the murder of *Ithobalus* priest of the goddess *Astarta*, whom *Solomon* in dotage worshipped. *Atys* and *Capys* ruled the *Latins*. *Pyrihiades* and *Ophrateus* the *Affyrians*: *Tersippus* and *Phorbis* the *Athenians*: *Chemmis* reigned in *Egypt*; who dying in the 36th year of *Asa*, left *Cheops* his successor that reigned fifty-six years, even to the 16th of *Joas*.

S E C T. V.

Of the great alteration falling out in the ten tribes during the reign of Asa.

IN the reign of *Asa*, the kingdom of *Israel* felt great and violent commotions, which might have reduced the ten tribes unto their former allegiance to the house of *David*, if the wisdom of God had not otherwise determined. The wickedness of *Jeroboam* had, in his latter days, the sentence of heavy vengeance laid upon it, by the mouth of *Abia*, the same prophet which had foretold the division of *Israel*; for the sin of *Solomon*, and his reign over the ten tribes. One son *Jeroboam* had, among others, in whom only God found so much piety, as (tho' it sufficed not to withhold his wrath from that family) it procured unto him a peaceable end; an honourable testimony of the people's love, by their general mourning and lamentation at his death; and (wherein he was most happy) the favourable approbation of God himself.

After the loss of this good son, the ungodly father was soon taken away: a miserable creature, so conscious of his vile unthankfulness to God, that he durst not suffer his own name to be used in consulting with an holy prophet, assured of the ruin hanging over him and his, yea, of God's extreme hatred; yet forbearing to destroy those accursed idols that wrought his confusion. So loth he was to forsake his worldly wisdom, when the world was ready to forsake him, and all belonging to him, his hateful memory excepted.

Nadab the son of *Jeroboam*, reigned in the second and third years of *Asa*, which are reckoned as two years, tho' indeed his father's last year of two and twenty did run along (how far is uncertain) with the second of *Asa*, whose third year was the first of *Baasha*; so that perhaps this *Nadab* enjoyed not his kingdom one whole year. He did not alter his father's courses, neither did God alter his sentence. It seems that he little feared the judgments denounced against his father's house: for as

a prince that was secure of his own estate, he armed all *Israel* against the *Philistines*, and besieged one of their towns. There (whether it were so, that the people were offended with his ill success, and recalled to mind their grievous loss of five hundred thousand under *Jeroboam*, counting it an unlucky family to the nation; or (whether by some particular indiscretion, he exasperated them) slain he was by *Baasha*, whom the army did willingly accept for king in his stead. *Baasha* was no sooner proclaimed king, than he began to take order with the house of *Jeroboam*, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them, without mercy, to the sword. That he did this for private respects, and not in regard of God's will to have it so, it is evident, by his continuing in the same form of idolatry which *Jeroboam* had begun. Wherefore he received the same sentence from God that had been laid upon *Jeroboam*, which was executed upon him also in the same sort. He began to infect *Asa*, by fortifying *Rama*; but was diverted from thence by the *Syrian Benhadad*, who did waste his country, destroying all the land of *Nephthelim*. Four and twenty years he reigned: and then dying, left the crown to *Elah* his; who enjoyed it, as *Nadab* the son of *Jeroboam* had done, two years current, perhaps not one compleat.

Elah was as much an idolater as his father: and withal a riotous person. He sent an army against *Gebbethon*, the same town of the *Philistines* before which *Nadab* the son of *Jeroboam* perished; but he sat at home the while, feasting and drinking with his minions, whereby he gave such advantage against himself, as was not neglected. *Zimri*, an ambitious man, remaining with the king at *Tirzah*, finding his master so dissolute, and his behaviour so contemptible, conceived hope of the like fortune as *Baasha* had found, by doing as *Baasha* had done. Wherefore he did set upon *Elah* in his drunkenness, and slew him. Presently upon which fact, he styled himself king of *Israel*: and began his reign with massacring all the house of *Baasha*; extending his cruelty not only to his children and kinsfolks, but unto all his friends in *Tirzah*. These news were quickly blown to the camp at *Gebbethon*, where they were not welcomed according to *Zimri's* expectation. For the soldiers, instead of proclaiming him king, proclaimed him traitor: and being led by *Omri* whom they saluted king, they (quitting the siege of *Gebbethon*) presented themselves before *Tirzah*; which in short space they may seem to have forced. *Zimri* wanting strength to defend the city, not courage to keep himself from falling alive into his enemies hands, did set fire on the palace, consuming it and himself together to ashes. Seven days he is said to have reigned: accounting (as is most likely) to the time that *Omri* was proclaimed in the camp. For *Zimri* was also an idolater, *Walking in the way of Jeroboam*, 1 Kings xvi. 19. and therefore is likely to have had more time wherein to declare himself, than the reign of seven days, and those consumed partly in murdering the friends of *Baasha*, partly in seeking to have defended his own life. After the death of *Elah*, there arose another king to oppose the faction of *Omri*; whereby it may seem, that *Zimri* had made his party strong, as being able to set up a new head, who doubtless would never have appeared, if there had not been ready to his hand, some strength, not unlikely to resist and vanquish the army which maintained *Omri*. How long this *Tibni*, the new competitor

^a 1 Kings 15.

^b 2 Chron. 16.

^c Euseb. in Chron.

^d 1 Kings 15. 25.

of *Omri*, held out, I do not find; only it appears that his side was decay'd, and so he died, leaving no other successor than his concurrent.

SECT. VI.

A conjecture of the causes hindring the re-union of Israel with Juda, which might have been effected by these troubles.

ANY man that shall consider the state of *Israel*, in those times, may justly wonder how it came to pass, that either the whole nation, wearied with the calamities already suffered under these unfortunate princes, and with the present civil wars, did not return to their ancient kings, and re-unite themselves with the mighty tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin*; or that *Zimri* and *Tibni*, with their oppress'd factions, did not call in *Aza*, but rather chose, the one to endure a desperate necessity of yielding, or burning himself, the other to languish away, a man forsaken: than to have recourse unto a remedy, so sure, so ready, and so honourable. To say that God was pleas'd to have it so, were a true, but an idle answer (for his secret will is the cause of all things) unless it could be prov'd, that he had forbidden *Aza* to deal in that business, as he forbade *Rehoboam* to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the restraint laid by God upon *Rehoboam*, did only bind his hands from attempting the suppression of that present insurrection, it appears by the war continu'd between *Israel* and *Juda*, so many years following: wherein *Abia* so far prevailed, that he won a great battel, and recovered some towns belonging to the other tribes; which he annexed to his own dominion. Wherefore we may boldly look into the second causes, moving the people and leaders of the ten tribes, to suffer any thing under new upstarts, rather than to cast their eyes upon that royal house of *David*, from which the succession of five kings in lineal descent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly have been laid upon the mean beginnings thereof. To think that *Omri* had prevented his competitors, in making peace with *Aza*, were a conjecture more bold than probable. For *Omri* was not only an idolater, *but did worse than all that were before him*, which as it might serve alone to prove, that *Aza*, being a godly king, would not adhere to him, so the course which he profess'd to take at the very first, of revenging the massacre committed upon the family and friends of *Baasha* (*Aza* his mortal enemy) gives manifest reason, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution, should more justly than he have expected the friendship of *Juda* in that quarrel. Wherefore, in searching out the reason of this backwardness in the ten tribes (which was such that they may seem to have never thought upon the matter) to submit themselves to their true princes; it were not amiss to examine the causes, moving the people to revenge the death of *Eli*, an idle drunkard, rather than of *Nadab* the son of *Jeroboam*, who follow'd the wars in person, as a man of spirit and courage. Surely it is apparent, that the very first defection of the ten tribes, was (if we look upon human reason) occasioned by desire of breaking that heavy yoke of bondage wherewith *Solomon* had galled their necks. Their desire was to have a king that should not oppress them; not to have no king at all. And therefore when the arrogant folly of *Rehoboam* had caused them to renounce him, they did immediately choose

Jeroboam in his stead, as a man likely to afford that liberty unto them, for which he had contend'd in their behalf. Neither were they (as it seems) herein altogether deceived. For his affection of popularity appears in his building of decay'd towns; and in the institution of his new devised idolatry; where he told the people, that it was too much for them, to travel so far as *Jerusalem*. But whether it were so, that his moderation, being voluntary, began to cease, towards the latter end of his reign, and in the reign of his son, when long time of possession had confirm'd his title, which at the first was only good by courtesy of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in such cases) were more offended by some prerogatives of a king that he still retained in his own hands, than pleas'd with his remission of other burdens: it is clearly apparent, that the whole army of all *Israel* joined with *Baasha*, taking in good part the death of *Nadab*, and eradication of *Jeroboam's* house.

Now the reign of *Baasha* himself, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) every way unfortunate; his labour and cost at *Rama* was cast away; the other side of his kingdom harried by the *Syrians*; neither did he win that one town of *Gibbethon* from the *Israelites*; but left that business to his son, who likewise appears an unprofitable sluggard. Wherefore it must needs be, that the favour of the people towards the house of *Baasha* grew from his good form of civil government, which happily he reduced to a more temperate method than *Jeroboam* ever meant to do. And surely he that shall take pains to look into those examples, which are extant of the different courses, held by the kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, in administration of justice, will find it most probable, that upon this ground it was that the ten tribes continu'd so averse from the line of *David*; as to think all adversity more tolerable than the weighty scepter of that house. For the death of *Joab* and *Shimei* was indeed by them deserved; yet in that they suffered it without form of judgment, they suffered like unto men innocent. The death of *Adonijah* was both without judgment, and without any crime objected, other than the king's jealousy: out of which, by the same rule of arbitrary justice (under which it may be supposed that many were cast away) he would have slain *Jeroboam* (if he could have caught him) before he had yet committed any offence, as appears by his confident return out of *Egypt*, like one that was known to have endured wrong, having not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, *Jehoram* did upon his brethren, and upon sundry of his greatest men; as also *Joash* did so put to death *Zachariah* the son of *Jehoiada*, who had made him king, *Even in the court of the house of the Lord: and Manasses did shed innocent blood exceeding much, till he replenish'd Jerusalem from corner to corner: and this was imputed to him as another fault; besides his sin wherewith he made Juda to sin.* Contrariwise, among the kings of *Israel* we find no monument of such arbitrary proceeding, unless perhaps the words of *Jehoram* the son of *Ahab* (which were but words) may be taken for an instance, when he said *God do so to me, and more also, if the head of Elisha the son of Shaphat shall stand on him this day: whereby it is not plain whether he meant to kill him without more ado, or to have him condemn'd as a false prophet, that had made them hold out against the Aramites, till they were slain to eat their own chil-*

^a 1 Kings 16. 25.

^b 2 Chron. 24. 25.

^c 2 Kings 21. 16.

^d 2 Kings 6. 31.

dren; which he thought a sufficient argument to prove, that it was not God's purpose to deliver them. The death of *Naboth* sheweth rather the liberty which the *Israelites* enjoy'd, than any peremptory execution of the king's will. For *Naboth* did not fear to stand upon his own right, tho' *Abab* were even sick for anger, neither was he for that cause put to death, as upon commandment, but made away by conspiracy, the matter being handled after a judicial form, which might give satisfaction to the people, ignorant of the device, tho' to God it could not.

The murder of the prophets is continually ascribed to *Jezebel*, an impudent woman, and not unto the king her husband. Neither is it certain, that there was no law made, whereby their lives were taken from them; but certain it is, that the people, being idolaters, were both pleased with their death, and labour'd in the execution. So that the doings of the kings of *Juda* (such as are registred) prove them to have used a more absolute manner of command, than the kings of the ten tribes. Neither do their sufferings witness the contrary. For of those which reigned over *Juda*, from the division of the kingdom, to the captivity of the ten tribes, three were slain by the people, and two were denied a place of burial amongst their ancestors. Yea, the death of *Abaziah* and his brethren, slain by *Jehu*, with the destruction of all the royal seed of *Athalia*, did not (for ought that we can read) stir up in the people any such thirst of revenge, as might by the suddenness and uniformity testify the affection to be general, and proceeding from a loving remembrance of their princes; unless we should think that the death of *Athalia*, after 7 years reign, were occasioned rather by the memory of her ill purchasing, than by the present sense of her tyrannical abusing the government, whereon she had seized. On the other side, such of the kings of *Israel* as perished by treason (which were seven of the twenty) were all slain by conspiracy of the great men, who aspired by treason to the crown: the people being so far from embruing their hands in the blood of their sovereigns, that (after *Nadab*) they did never forbear to revenge the death of their kings, when it lay in their power, nor approve the good success of treason, unless fear compelled them. So that the death of two kings, being thoroughly revenged upon other two, namely, the death of *Ela* and *Zacharia*, upon *Zimri* and *Shallum*, who traiterously got and usurp'd, for a little while, their places; only three of the seven remain, whose ends how the people took, it may be doubtful. Tho' indeed it is precisely said of the slaughter, committed on *Abab's* children by *Jehu*, that the people durst not fight with him that did it, because ^b *they were exceedingly afraid*: and the same fear might be in them at the death of *Peka*, whose history (as others of that time) is cursorily passed over. The like may be pronounced, and more absolutely, of the kings of *England*, that never any of them perished by fury of the people, but by treason of such as did succeed them, neither was there any motive urging so forcibly the death of king *Edward* and king *Richard*, when they were in prison, as fear lest the people should stir in their quarrel. And certainly (howsoever all that the law calls treason, be interpreted as tending finally to the king's destruction) in those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, which have here most prevailed, the fury of the multitude hath quench'd it self, with the blood of some great officers; no

such rebellions, howsoever wicked and barbarous otherwise, thirsting after the ruin of their natural sovereign, but rather forbearing the advantages gotten upon his royal person: which if any man impute unto gross ignorance, another may more charitably, and, I think, more truly, ascribe to a reverent affection. Wherefore that fable of *Briareus*, who, being loosened by *Pallas*, did with his hundred hands give assistance to *Jupiter*, when all the rest of the gods conspired against him, is very fitly expounded by Sir *Francis Bacon*, as signifying, that monarchs need not to fear any curbing of their absoluteness by mighty subjects, as long as by wisdom they keep the hearts of the people, who will be sure to come in on their side. Tho' indeed the story might very well have borne the same interpretation, as it is rehearsed by *Homer*, who tells us that *Pallas* was one of the conspiracy, and that *Thetis* alone did mar all their practice, by loosening *Briareus*. For a good form of government sufficeth by it self to retain the people, not only without assistance of a laborious wit, but even against all devices of the greatest and shrewdest politicians: every sheriff and constable, being sooner able to arm the multitude, in the king's behalf, than any over-weening rebel, how mighty soever, can against him.

This declaration of the people's love, being seldom found in *Juda*, makes it very likely, that the rule it self of government there was such, as neither gave occasion of contentment unto the subjects, nor of confidence in their good affection to the kings. Upon which reasons it may seem that the multitude was kept usually disarmed. For otherwise it would have been almost impossible, that *Athalia* the sister of *Abab*, a stranger to the royal blood of *Juda*, should by the only authority of a queen-mother have destroy'd all the seed of *David*, and usurped the kingdom very near seven years, without finding any resistance. Yea, when *Jehoiada* the high priest had agreed with the captains and principal men of the land to set up *Joash* their lawful king, whereunto the whole nation were generally well affected; he was fain to give to these captains and their men, *the spears and the shields that were king David's, and were in the house of the Lord*. But we need not enter into such particulars. Questionless, the tribes which thought obedience to their princes to be a part of their duty towards God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had kings of their own choice or admission, holding the crown by a more uncertain tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reason, why the ten tribes did never seek to return to their ancient lords: but after the destruction of their six first kings, which died in the reign of *Asa*, admitted a seventh of a new family, rather than they would consubject themselves, with those of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, under a more honourable, but more heavy yolk.

So *Asa*, having seen the death of seven kings of *Israel*, died himself after 41 years reign, leaving *Jehoshaphat* his son to deal with *Abab* the son of *Omri*, who was the eighth king over the ten tribes.

SECT. VII.

Of Jehoshaphat and his contemporaries.

Jehoshaphat, who succeeded *Asa*, was a prince religious and happy, he destroyed all the groves,

^a 2 Kings 19. 10.

^b 2 Kings 10. 4.

altars, and high places dedicated to idolatry, and sent teachers to all places and people wanting instruction, he recovered the tribute due unto him by the *Arabians* and *Philistines*: from the one he had silver, from the other sheep and goats to the number of fifteen thousand and four hundred. The numbers of his men of war were more than admirable: for it is written that ^a *Adnah* had the command of three hundred thousand, *Jehohanan* of two hundred and fourscore thousand, and *Amasia* of two hundred thousand; also that he had, besides these, in *Benjamin* of those that bare shields, which we call *Targeteers*, and of archers under *Eliada* two hundred thousand, and under the commandment of *Jehosabad* a hundred and fourscore thousand: which numbred together make eleven hundred and sixty thousand, all which are said to have waited upon the king besides his garrisons.

That *Juda* and *Benjamin*, a territory not much exceeding the county of *Kent*, should muster eleven hundred and sixty thousand fighting men, it is very strange, and the number far greater than it was found upon any other view. ^b *Joab* in *David's* time found five hundred thousand: *Rehoboam* found but an hundred and fourscore thousand: *Abia* four hundred and eight thousand: *Afa* five hundred and fourscore thousand: *Amaziah* inrolled all that could bear arms, and they amounted to three hundred thousand: *Uzziah* three hundred and seven thousand and five hundred. Surely, whereas it is written that when news was brought to *Jehoshaphat*, that *Moab* and *Ammon* were entred his territory to the west of *Jordan*, and that their numbers were many, he fear'd (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that he would have feared even the army of *Xerxes*, if he could have brought into the field eleven hundred and threescore thousand fighting men, leaving all his strong cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my self to better judgment) that these numbers specified in the second of *Chronicles* the seventeenth, distributed to several leaders, were not all at one time, but that the three hundred thousand under *Adnah*, and the two hundred and fourscore thousand under *Jehohanan*, were afterwards commanded and mustered by *Amasia*, *Eliada*, and *Jehosabad*: for the gross and total is not in that place set down, as it was under the other kings formerly named. Again, as the aids which *Jehoshaphat* brought to *Ahab*, did not shew that he was a prince of extraordinary power, so the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, which he feared could never make the one half of those numbers, which he that commanded least among *Jehoshaphat's* leaders had under him.

This mighty prince, notwithstanding his greatness, yet he joined in friendship with *Ahab* king of *Israel*, who had married that wicked woman *Jezebel*. Him *Jehoshaphat* visited at *Samaria*, and caused his son *Joram* to marry *Athaliah*, this *Ahab's* daughter.

Ahab persuaded *Jehoshaphat* to assist him in the war against the *Syrians*, who held the city of *Ramoth-Gilead* from him, and called together four hundred of his prophets, or *Baalites* to foretel the success: who promised him victory. But *Jehoshaphat* believed nothing at all in those diviners, but resolved first of all to confer with some one prophet of the Lord God of *Israel*. Hereupon *Ahab* made answer, that he had one called *Micahiah*, but he hated that prophet, because he always foretold of evil, and never of any good to-

wards him. Yet *Micahiah* was sent for to the king, but by the way the messenger prayed him to consent with prophets: and to promise victory unto them as they did. But *Micahiah* spake the truth, and repeated his vision to both the kings, which was, *That God asked who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-Gilead?* To whom a spirit that stood before the Lord answered, that he would enter into his prophets, and be in them a false spirit to delude. For as it is said by Christ, *Non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris vestri loquitur in vobis*: it is not you that speak, but the spirit of your father speaks in you: so in a contrary kind did the devil in the prophets of *Baal*, or *Satan*, encourage *Ahab* to his destruction. And as *P. Martyr* upon this place well observeth, these evil spirits are the ministers of God's vengeance, and are used as the hangmen and tormentors, which princes sometimes employ. For as it pleaseth God by his good angels, to save and deliver from destruction, of which the scriptures have many examples: so on the contrary, it is by the evil that he punisheth and destroyeth, both which are said to perform the will of their Creator, *licet non eodem animo*. *Ecclesiasticus* remembreth a second sort of malignant natures, but they are every where visible. There are spirits, saith he, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on sure strokes. In the time of destruction they shew forth their power, and accomplish the wrath of him that made them.

Now *Micahiah* having by this his revelation greatly displeased the king, and the prophets whose spirit he discovered, was stricken by *Zedekiah* one of *Baal's* prophets, and by *Ahab* himself committed to prison: where he appointed him to be reserved and fed with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But *Micahiah* not fearing to reply, answered, *If thou return in peace, the Lord hath not spoken by me*. Nevertheless *Ahab* went on in that war, and was wounded to death. *Jehoshaphat* returned to *Jerusalem*, where he was ^c reprehended by *Jehu* the prophet for assisting an idolatrous prince, and one that hated God.

After this the *Aramites* of *Damascus*, joined with the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Idumeans*, to invade *Judea*: who pass *Jordan*, and encamp at *Engaddi*, and when *Jehoshaphat* gathered his army, the prophet *Jabaziel* foretold him of the victory, which should be obtained without any blood-shed of his part: and so when *Jehoshaphat* approached, this assembly of nations, the *Ammonites* and *Moabites* disagreeing with the *Idumeans*, and quarrelling for some causes among themselves; those of *Ammon* and *Moab* set upon the *Idumeans*, and brake them utterly; which done, they also invaded each other; in which broil *Jehoshaphat* arriving, ^d took the spoil of them all without any loss of his part, as it was foretold and promis'd by God. Notwithstanding this victory, *Jehoshaphat* forgetting that he was formerly reprehended for assisting an idolatrous king, did notwithstanding join with *Ochazias* the son of *Ahab*, in preparing a fleet to send to *Ophir*, hoping of the like return which *Solomon* had: but as ^e *Eliezer* the prophet foretold him, his ships perished and were broken in the part of *Ezion-gaber*, and so that enterprize was overthrown.

Yet he taketh part with *Jehoram* the brother of *Ochazias*, against the *Moabites*, with which kings of *Judah* and *Israel* the *Edomites* join their forces, not forgetting, it seems, that the *Moabites*, assisted

^a 2 Chron. 17. ^b 2 Sam. 24. 4. ^c 2 Chron. 19. ^d 2 Chron. 20. ^e 2 Chron. 20.

by the *Ammonites*, had not long before destroyed their army.

The *Moabites*, subjects to *David* and *Solomon*, forsaking the kings of *Judah*, gave themselves for vassals to *Jeroboam*, and so they continued to his successors till the death of *Abab*: but *Jehoshaphat*, notwithstanding the idolatry of his colleague, yet, as it seemeth, he was drawn into this war both to be avenged of the *Moabites* for their defection from *Judah* to *Israel*, as also because they had lately joined themselves with the *Syrians* against *Jehoshaphat*, and thirdly, to punish their double rebellion, who first forsook *Judah* and now *Israel*.

Both kings resolved to pass by the way of *Idumea*, thereby the better to assure that nation; for we find that both *Moab*, *Ammon* and *Edom* were all in the field together at *Engaddi* against *Jehoshaphat*: but whether they had then declared themselves against *Jehoshaphat*, it is not certain; for in 2 *Chron.* xi. 8. it is written, that in the time of *Jehoram*, the son of *Jehoshaphat*, *Edom* rebelled; and therefore it seemeth to me that the *Edomites*, when they were slain by *Moab* and *Ammon*, not finding themselves satisfied in such conditions as they required, offered to turn from them, and to join themselves with the army of *Judah*: for that they were numbred among the enemies of *Jehoshaphat*, it is plain in 2 *Chron.* xx. and is plain chap. ii. 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a king, till *Jehoshaphat*'s death. Now in the passage of these kings towards *Moab*, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the year, or whether the *Idumeans* having a purpose to rebel, misled the army of *Judah* and *Israel* with intent to enfeeble them for want of water; true it is, that they suffered the same, if not a greater thirst than the armies of *Crassus* and *M. Antonius* did in their *Parthian* expeditions; and had, in all likelihood, utterly perished, had not *Elisba* taught them to cut trenches whereinto the water sprang, by which, not only *Jehoshaphat* and his army, but *Jehoram* king of *Israel* an idolater was relieved: the great mercy and goodness of God, having ever been prone to save the evil for the good, whereas he never destroyed the good for the evil.

The miserable issue of this war, and how *Moab* burnt his son, or the son of the king of *Edom* for sacrifice on the rampart of his own city, I have already written in the life of *Jehoram* among the kings of *Israel*. ^b *Jehoshaphat* reigned twenty-five years and died; he was buried in the valley of *Jehoshaphat*, and a part of the *Pyramis* set over his grave is yet to be seen, saith *Brochard*. His acts are written at large by *Jehu* the son of *Hanani*.

There lived with *Jehoshaphat*, *Ophrateneus* in *Assyria*, *Capetus* and *Tiberinus* kings of the *Albans* in *Italy*; of the latter the river *Tiber* (formerly *Albula*) took name.

In *Jehoshaphat*'s time also ruled *Macados* or *Mozades* in *Athens*: *Agelas* or *Agesilaus* in *Corinth*; and *Archilaus* of the same race, of the *Heraclidae* the seventh in *Lacedaemon*. *Badesorus* ruled the *Tyrians*; *Abab*, *Ochazias* and *Jehoram* the *Israelites*.

C H A P. XX.

Of *Jehoram* the son of *Jehoshaphat*, and *Ahaziah*.

S E C T. I.

That *Jehoram* was made king sundry times.

JEHORAM the son of *Jehoshaphat* king of *Judah* began to reign at 32 years of age, and lived until he was forty years old, being eight years a king: but of these eight years, which *Jehoram* is said to have reigned, four are to be reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the *Syrian* war with *Abab*, left this *Jehoram* king in his stead, as *Abab* did his son *Ahaziah*. This appears by the several beginnings, which are given in scripture to the two *Jehorams* kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, and to *Ahaziah* the eldest son of *Abab*: for ^a *Ahaziah* is said to have begun his reign, in the seventeenth year of *Jehoshaphat*. *Jehoram* the brother of *Ahaziah* succeeded him in the second year of *Jehoram* the son of *Jehoshaphat* king of *Judah*, that is, in the next year after that *Jehoram* of *Judah* was designed king by his father; it being (as we find elsewhere) the ^c eighteenth year of *Jehoshaphat* himself, who went with the *Israelite* against *Moab*. Hereby it appears that the full power and execution of the royal office was retained still by *Jehoshaphat*, who governed absolutely by himself, not communicating the rule with his son. But in the fifth year of ^e *Jehoram* king of *Israel*, which was the two and twentieth of *Jehoshaphat*, the old king took unto him, as partner in the government, this his eldest son, who was at that time thirty-two years old, his father being fifty-seven. Now forasmuch as *Jehoshaphat* reigned ^b twenty-five years, it is evident that his son did not reign alone till the eighth of *Jehoram* king of *Israel*. The like regard is to be had in accounting the times of other kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, who did not always reign precisely so long as the bare letter of the text may seem at first to affirm; but their years were sometimes complete, sometimes only current, sometimes confounded with the years of their successors or foregoers, and must therefore be found by comparing their times with the years of those others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing less needful than curious, to enquire into the reasons moving *Jehoshaphat* either to assume unto him his son as partner in the kingdom, whilst he was able himself to command both in peace and in war, the like having never been done by any of his progenitors, or having once (in the seventeenth of his reign) vouchsafed unto him that honour, to resume it unto himself, or at least-wise to defer the confirmation of it, until four or five years were passed. Yet forasmuch as to enter into the examination of these passages, may be a means to find some light, whereby we may more clearly discover the causes of much extraordinary business ensuing, I hold it not amiss to make such conjecture, as the circumstances of the story briefly handled in the scriptures may seem to approve.

We are therefore to consider; that this king *Jehoshaphat* was the first of *Rehoboam*'s issue that ever entered into any straight league with the kings of the ten tribes. All that reigned in *Judah* before him, had with much labour and long war, tired themselves in vain, making small profit of the greatest

^a 2 Kings 1. ^b 2 Chron. 20. ^c Broch. ter. sanct. ^d 1 Kings 22. 51. ^e 2 Kings 1. 17. ^f 2 Kings 3. 27. 1. & 9.

^g 2 Kings 8. 16. ^h 1 Kings 22. 42.

advantages that could be wished. Wherefore *Jehoshaphat* thought it the wisest way to make a league offensive and defensive between *Israel* and *Judah*, whereby each might enjoy their own in quiet.

This confederacy made by a religious king, with one that did ^a *bate the Lord*, could not long prosper, as not issuing from the true *root and fountain of all wisdom*: yet as a piece of sound policy, doubtless it wanted not fair pretences of much common good thereby likely to arise, with mutual fortifications of both those kingdoms, against the uncircumcised nations their ancient enemies. This apparent benefit being so inestimable a jewel that it might not easily be lost, but continue as hereditary from father to son, it was thought a very good course to have it confirmed by some sure bond of affinity, and thereupon was *Ataliah* the daughter of *Omri*, and sister of *Abab* king of *Israel*, given in marriage to *Jehoram*, who was son and heir apparent to the king of *Judah*. This lady was of a masculine spirit, and learn'd so much of queen *Jezabel* her brother's wife, that she durst undertake, and could thoroughly perform, a great deal more in *Jerusalem*, than the other knew how to compass in *Samaria*. She was indeed a fire-brand, ordained by God to consume a great part of the noblest houses in *Judah*, and perhaps of those men or their children, whose worldly wisdom, regardless of God's pleasure, had brought her in.

The first-fruits of this great league, was the *Syrian* war at *Ramoth Gilead*, wherein *Judah* and *Israel* did adventure equally, but the profit of the victory should have redounded wholly to *Abab*: as godly princes very seldom thrive by matching with idolaters, but rather serve the turns of those false friends, who being ill affected to God himself, cannot be well affected to his servants. Before their setting forth, *Abab* designed as king, his son *Abaziah*; not so much perhaps in regard of the uncertain events of war (for none of his predecessors had ever done the like upon the like occasions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the prophet *Micahia* (for he despised them) as inviting *Jehoshaphat* by his own example, to take the same course, where-in he prevailed.

SECT. II.

Probable conjectures of the motives inducing the old king Jehoshaphat to change his purpose often, in making his son Jehoram king.

MANY arguments do very strongly prove *Jehoram* to have been wholly over-ruled by his wife; especially for his forsaking the religion of his godly ancestors, and following the abominable superstitions of the house of *Abab*.

That she was a woman of intolerable pride, and abhorring to live a private life, the whole course of her actions witnesseth at large. Much vain matter she was able to produce, whereby to make her husband think that his brethren and kindred were but mean and unworthy persons in comparison of him, and his children, which were begotten upon the daughter and sister of two great kings, not upon base women and mere subjects. The court of *Abab*, and his famous victories obtained against the *Syrian Benhadad*, were matter sufficient to make an insolent man think highly of himself, as being allied so honourably; who could otherwise have found in his heart well enough, to despise all his brethren, as being the eldest, and heir apparent to the crown,

whereof already he had, in a manner, the possession.

How soon his vices brake out, or how long he dissimbled them and his idolatrous religion; it cannot certainly be known. Like enough it is, that some smok, out of the hidden fire, did very soon make his father's eyes to water; who thereupon caused the young man to know himself better, by making him fall back into rank among his younger brethren. And surely the doings of *Jehoshaphat* about the same time, argue no small distemper of the whole country, thro' the misgovernment of his ungodly son. For the good old king was fain to make his progress round about the land, reclaiming the people unto the service of God, and appointing judges ^b *throughout all the strong cities of Judah, city by city*. This had been a needless labour; if the religion taught and strongly maintained by *Asa*, and by himself, had not suffered alteration, and the course of justice been perverted by the power of such as had borne authority. But the necessity that then was of reformation, appears by the charge which the king did give to the judges; and by his commission given to one of the priests in spiritual causes, and to the steward of his house in temporal matters, to be general overseers.

This was not till after the death of *Abaziah* the son of *Abab*; but how long after, it is uncertain. For *Jehoram* the brother of *Abaziah* began his reign (as hath been already noted) in the eighteenth of *Jehoshaphat*, which was then accounted the second of *Jehoram*, *Jehoshaphat's* son, tho' afterwards this *Jehoram* of *Judah* had another first and second year even in his father's time, before he reigned alone, as the best chronologers and expositors of the holy text agree. So he continued in private estate, until the two and twentieth of his father's reign, at which time, tho' the occasions inducing his restitution to former dignity are not set down, yet we may not think, that motives thereto appearing substantial were wanting. *Jehoram* of *Israel* held the same correspondence with *Jehoshaphat*, that his father had done; and made use of it. He drew the *Judean* into the war of *Moab*, at which time it might well be, that the young prince of *Judah* was again ordained king by his father, as in the *Syrian* expedition he had been. Or if we ought rather to think, that the preparations for the enterprize against *Moab* did not occupy so much time, as from the eighteenth of *Jehoshaphat*, in which year that nation rebelled against *Israel*, unto his two and twentieth; yet the daily negotiations between the two kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, and the affinity between them contracted in the person of *Jehoram*, might offer some good occasions thereunto. Neither is it certain how the behaviour of the younger sons, in their elder brother's disgrace, might cause their father to put him in possession, for fear of tumult after his death; or the deep dissimulation of *Jehoram* himself, might win the good opinion both of his father and brethren; it being a thing usual in mischievous fell natures, to be as abject and servile in time of adversity, as insolent and bloody upon advantage. This is manifest, that being repossessed of his former estate, he demeaned himself in such wise towards his brethren, as caused their father to enable them, not only with store ^c *of silver, and of gold, and of precious things* (which kind of liberality other kings doubtless had used unto their younger sons) but with the custody of *strong cities in Judah*, to assure them, if it might have been, by unwonted means against unwonted perils.

^a 2 Chron. 19. 2, and 3.

^b 2 Chron. 19. 4, 5, &c.

^c 2 Chron. 21. 3.

S E C T. III.

The doings of Jehoram when he reigned alone ; and the rebellion of Edom and Libna.

BUT all this providence availed nothing ; for an higher providence had otherwise determined of the sequel. When once the good old man, their father, was dead, the younger sons of *Jehoshaphat*, found strong cities a weak defence against the power of him to whom the citizens were obedient. If they came in upon the summons of a king their brother, then had he them without any more ado ; if they stood upon their guard, then were they traitors, and so unable to hold out against him, who, besides his own power, was able to bring the forces of the *Israelitish* kingdom against them ; so that the apparent likelihood of their final overthrow, sufficed to make all forsake them in the very beginning. Howsoever it was, they were all taken and slain, and with them for company many great men of the land ; such belike, as either had taken their part, when the tyrant sought their lives, or had been appointed rulers of the country, when *Jehoram* was deposed from his government ; in which office they, without forbearing to do justice, could hardly avoid the doing of many things, derogatory to their young master, which if he would now call treason, saying that he was then king, who durst say the contrary ?

After this, *Jehoram* took upon him, as being now lord alone, to make innovations in religion ; wherein he was not contented, as other idolatrous princes, to give way and safe-conduct unto superstition and idolatry, nor to provoke and encourage the people to that sin, whereto it is wonderful that they were so much addicted, having such knowledge of God, and of his detesting that above all other sins ; but he used compulsion, and was (if not the very first) the first that is registred, to have set up irreligion by force.

Whilst he was thus busied at home, in doing what he listed, the *Edomites* his tributaries rebelled against him abroad ; and having hitherto, since *David's* time, been govern'd by a viceroy, did now make unto themselves a king. Against these *Jehoram* in person made an expedition, taking along with him his princes, and all his chariots, with which he obtained victory in the field, compelling the rebels to flee into their places of advantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing some of those, whom he should have subdued, and kept his servants. Now began the prophecy of *Isaac* to take effect, wherein he foretold, that *Esau* in process of time should break the yoke of *Jacob*. For after this, the *Edomites* could never be reclaimed by any of the kings of *Juda*, but held their own so well, that when, after many civil and foreign wars, the *Jews* by sundry nations had been brought low ; *Antipater* the *Edomite*, with *Herod* his son, and others of that race following them, became lords of the *Jews*, in the decrepit age of *Israel*, and reigned as kings, even in *Jerusalem* it self.

The freedom of the *Edomites*, tho' purchased somewhat dearly, encouraged *Libna*, a great city within *Juda*, which in the time of *Joshua* had a peculiar king, to rebel against *Jehoram*, and set it self at liberty. *Libna* stood in the confines of *Benjamin* and of *Dan*, far from the assistance of any bordering enemies to *Juda*, and therefore so un-

likely it was to have maintained it self in liberty, that it may seem strange how it could escape from utter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to have been taken by their powerful, cruel, and thoroughly incensed lord. The *Israelite* held such good intelligence at that time with *Juda*, that he would not have accepted the town, had it offered it self unto him : neither do we read that it sought how to cast it self into a new subjection, but continued a free estate. The rebellion of it against *Jehoram* was, ^a *Because he had forsaken the Lord God of his fathers* ; which I take to have not only been the first and remote cause, but even the next and immediate reason, moving the inhabitants to do as they did : for it was a town of the *Levites* : who must needs be driven into great extremities, when a religion contrary to God's law, had not only some allowance to countenance it by the king, but compulsive authority to force unto it all that were unwilling. As for the use of the temple at *Jerusalem* (which, being devout men, they might fear to lose by this rebellion) it was never deny'd to those of the ten revolted tribes by any of the religious kings, who rather invited the *Israelites* thither, and gave them kind entertainment : under idolaters they must have been without it, whether they lived free or in subjection. Yet it seems that private reasons were not wanting, which might move them rather to do than to suffer that which was unwarrantable. For in the general visitation before remembred, wherein *Jehoshaphat* reformed his kingdom, the good old king appointing new governours, and giving them especial charge to do justice without respect of persons, used these words, *The Levites shall be officers before you ; be of good courage and do it, and the Lord shall be with the good*. By these phrases, it seems, that he encouraged them against the more powerful, than just proceedings of his son ; whom if the *Levites* did (according to the trust reposed in them) neglect, in discharging their duties, likely it is, that he meant to be even with them, and make them now to feel, as many princes of the land had done, his heavy indignation. How it happened that *Libna* was not hereupon destroy'd, yea, that it was not (for ought that we can read) so much as besieged or molested, may justly seem very strange. And the more strange it is in regard of the mighty armies which *Jehoshaphat* was able to raise, being sufficient to have over-whelmed any one town, and buried it under the earth, which they might well in one month have cast into it with shovels, by ordinary approaches.

But it seems that of those great numbers which his father could have levied, there were not many whom *Jehoram* could well trust ; and therefore perhaps he thought it an easier loss, to let one town go, than to put weapons into their hands, who were more likely to follow the example of *Libna*, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of tyrants, who thinking it a greater happiness to be feared, than to be loved ; are fain themselves to stand in fear of those, by whom they might have been dreadful unto others.

S E C T. IV.

Of the miseries falling upon Jehoram, and of his death.

THESSE afflictions not sufficing to make any impression of God's displeasure in the mind of the wicked prince ; a prophecy in writing was de-

^a 2 Chron. 21. 19.

^b 2 Chron. 30.

liver'd unto him, which threatned both his people, his children, his wives, and his own body. Hereby likewise it appears, that he was a cruel persecutor of God's servants; in as much as the prophets durst not reprove him to his face, as they had done many of his predecessors, both good and evil kings, but were fain to denounce God's judgments against him by letters, keeping themselves close and far from him. This epistle is said to have been sent unto him from ^a *Elias* the prophet. But *Elias* was translated, and *Elizeus* prophesied in his stead before this time, even in the days of *Jehoshaphat* ^b. Wherefore it may be that *Elias* left this prophecy in writing behind him, or that (as some conjecture) the error of one letter in writing, was the occasion that we read *Elias* for *Elizeus*. Indeed any thing may rather be believed than the tradition held by some of the *Jewish Rabbins*, that *Elias* from heaven did send this epistle; a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Lady's letters, devised by *Erasmus*, or of the verse that was sent from heaven to *St. Giles*.

But whosoever was the author of this threatening epistle, the accomplishment of the prophecy was as terrible as the sentence. For the *Philistines* and *Arabians* brake into *Judea*, and took the king's house, wherein they found all, or many of his children, and wives, all which they slew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. These *Philistines* had not presumed since the time of *David*, to make any offensive war till now; for they were by him almost consumed, and had lost the best of their towns, maintaining themselves in the rest of their small territories, by defensive arms, to which they were constrained at *Gibbethon* by the *Israelites*. The *Arabians* were likely to have been then, as they are now, a naked people, all horsemen, and ill appointed; their country affording no other furniture, than such as might make them fitter to rob and spoil in the open fields, than to offend strong cities such as were thick set in *Juda*. True it is, that in ages long after following, they conquer'd all the south parts of the world then known, in a very short space of time, destroying some, and building other some very stately cities. But it must be considered, that this was when they had learned of the *Romans* the art of war; and that the provisions which they found, together with the arts which they learned, in one subdued province, did make them able and skilful in pursuing their conquest, and going onward into regions far removed from them. At this day having lost in effect all that they had gotten, such of them as live in *Arabia* it self are good horsemen, but ill appointed, very dangerous to passengers, but unable to deal with good soldiers, as riding stark naked, and rather trusting in the swiftness of their horses, than in any other means of resistance, where they are well opposed. And such, or little better, may they seem to have been, that spoiled *Judea* in the time of *Jehoram*. For their country was always barren and desert, wanting manual arts whereby to supply the naturals with furniture: neither are these bands named as chief in that action, but rather adherents of the *Philistines*. Out of this we may infer, that one half, yea, or one quarter of the numbers found in the least muster of *Juda* and *Benjamin* under *Jehoshaphat* (wherein were inrolled three hundred and eighty thousand fighting men) had been enough to have driven away far greater forces than these enemies are likely to have brought into the field, had not the people been unable to deal

with them, for lack of weapons, which were now kept from them by their prince's jealousy, as in *Saul's* time by the policy of the *Philistines*.

It may seem that the house of the king which these invaders took, was not his palace in *Jerusalem*, but rather some other house of his abroad in the country, where his wives and children at that time lay for their recreation: because we read not, that they did sack the city, or spoil the temple, which would have invited them as a more commodious booty, had they got possession thereof. Yet perhaps they took *Jerusalem* it self by surprise, the people being disarmed, and the king's guards too weak to keep them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, because it was so large and populous; and therefore having done what spoil they could, withdrew themselves with such purchase as they were able safely to convey away.

The slaughter committed by *Jehu* upon the two and forty brethren of *Abazia*, or (as they are called elsewhere) so many of his brothers sons, and the cruel massacre, wherein all the royal seed perished (only *Joas* excepted) under the tyranny of *Atalia*, following within two years after this invasion of the *Philistines* and *Arabians*, make it seem probable, that the sons of *Jehoram* were not all slain at once, but that rather the first murder began in his own time, and was seconded by many other heavy blows, wherewith his house was incessantly stricken, until it was in a manner quite hewed down.

After these calamities, the hand of God was extended against the body of this wicked king, smiting him with a grievous disease in his bowels, which left him not until his guts fell out, and his wretched soul departed from his miserable carcass. The people of the land, as they had small cause of comfort in his life, so had they not the good manners to pretend sorrow for his death; wherefore he was denied a place of burial among his ancestors the kings of *Juda*, tho' his own son succeeded him in the kingdom, who was guided by the same spirits that had been his father's evil angels. *Atalia* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous interring of a dead husband. She was thinking how to provide for the future, to maintain her own greatness, to retain her favourites in their authority, and to place about her son such ^c *counsellors*, of the house of *Abah*, as were fittest for her turn. Wherefore she thought it unreasonable to make much ado about a thing of nothing, and offend the people's eyes, with a stately funeral of a man by them detested: but rather chose to let the blame of things passed be lain upon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her self, and hers, which it now did concern her to avoid. Such is the quality of wicked instigators, having made greedy use of bad employments, to charge, not only with his own vices, but with their faults also, the man whose evil inclinations their sinister counsels have made worse, when once he is gone, and can profit them no longer. The death of *Jehoram* fell out indeed in a busy time; when his friend and cousin the *Israelite*, who had the same name, was entangled in a difficult war against the *Aramite*; and therefore could have had no better leisure to help *Atalia* in setting of things according to her own mind, than he had (perhaps through the same hindrance) to help her husband, when he was distressed by the *Philistines*. Yea rather, he needed and craved the assistance of the men of *Juda*, for the taking in of *Ramoth Gilead*, where they had not sped so

^a 2 Chron. 21. 12.^b 2 Kings 2. 3. 11.^c 2 Chron. 22. 4.

well the last time, that they should willingly run thither again, unless they were very fairly intreated.

The acts of this wicked man I have thought good to handle the more particularly (pursuing the examination of all occurrences, as far as the circumstances remembred in holy scripture, would guide me by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appear, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the revealed will of God, accomplish nevertheless his hidden purpose, and without miraculous means, confound themselves in the seeming-wise devices of their own folly: as likewise to the end that all men might learn to submit their judgments to the ordinance of God, rather than to think, that they may safely dispense with his commandments, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wisdom dictateth unto them. For in such kind of unhappy subtilties, it is manifest that *Athaliah* was able to furnish both her husband and her son, but the issue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appear in that which immediately followeth.

S E C T. V.

Of the reign of Ahaziah, and his business with the king of Israel.

OHAZIAH, or *Abazia*, the son of *Jehoram* and *Athaliah*, began his reign over *Judah* in the twelfth year of *Jehoram*, the son of *Ahab* king of *Israel*, and reigned but one year. Touching his age, it is a point of much more difficulty than importance to know it; yet hath it bred much disputation, whereof I see no more probable conclusion, than that of *Torniellus*, alledging the edition of the *Septuagint* at *Rome*, *Anno Domini* 1588, which saith that he was twenty years old in the beginning of his kingdom, and the annotations thereupon, which cite other copies, that give him two years more. Like enough he is to have been young; for he was governed by his mother, and her ministers, who gave him counsel by which he perished. In matter of religion he altered none of his father's courses. In matter of state, he likewise upheld the league made with the house of *Ahab*. He was much busied in doing little, and that with ill success. He accompanied his cousin the *Israelite* against *Ramoth Gilead*, which they won, but not without blows: for the *Aramites* fought so well, that the king of *Israel* was fain to adventure his own person, which escaped not unwounded.

The town being won, was manned strongly, in expectation of some attempt likely to be made by *Hazaël* king of *Aram*: which done, *Jehoram* king of *Israel* withdrew himself to the city of *Jezreel*, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his wounds; and *Abazia* returned to *Jerusalem*. It seems that he was but newly come home (for he reigned in all scanty one year, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken up a great part) when he made a new journey, as it were for good manners sake, to visit the king of *Israel*, who lay sore of his wounds. Belike *Athaliah* was brewing some new plots, which his presence would have hindred, and therefore sought every occasion to thrust him abroad: for otherwise it was but a vain piece of work so to leave his kingdom, having no other business than by way of complement to go to see one whom he had seen yesterday. Certain it is, that the Lord had resolved at this time to put in execution that heavy judgment, which he had laid by the mouth of *Elias* the prophet, upon the house of *Ahab*. And here-

unto at this time had he disposed not only the concurrence of all other things, which in man's eyes might seem to have been accidental; but the very thoughts and affections of such persons, as intended nothing less than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these *Athaliah* doubtless was one; whose mischievous purposes it will shortly be needful, for explanation of some difficulties arising, that we diligently consider and examine.

S E C T. VI.

How Ahaziah perished with the house of Ahab: and how that family was destroyed by Jehu.

THE whole army of *Israel*, with all the principal captains lying in *Ramoth Gilead*, a disciple of *Elizeus* the prophet, came in among the captains that were sitting together, who calling out from among them *Jehu*, a principal man, took him apart, and anointed him king over *Israel*; rehearsing unto him the prophecy of *Elias* against the house of *Ahab*, and letting him understand that it was the pleasure of God to make him executioner of that sentence. The fashion of the messenger was such as bred in the captains a desire to know his errand, which *Jehu* thought meet to let them know, as doubting whether they had overheard all the talk or no. When he had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forthwith proclaimed him king: for the prophecy of *Elias* was well known among them, neither durst any one oppose himself against him, that was by God ordained to perform it.

Jehu, who had upon the sudden this great honour thrown upon him, was not slow to put himself in possession of it, but used the first heat of their affections who joined with him, in setting on foot the business which nearly concerned him, and was not to be foreflowed, being no more his own than God's.

The first care taken was, that no news of the revolt might be carried to *Jezreel*, whereby the king might have had warning either to fight or flee: this being foreseen, he marched swiftly away to take the court while it was yet secure. King *Jehoram* was now so well recovered of his wounds, that he could endure to ride abroad, for which cause it seems that there was much feasting and joy made, especially by queen *Jezabel*, who kept her state so well, that the brethren of *Abazia* coming hither at this time, did make it as well their errand to salute the queen, as to visit the king.

Certain it is, that since the rebellion of *Moab* against *Israel*, the house of *Ahab* did never so much flourish as at this time. Seventy princes of the blood royal there were that lived in *Samaria*; *Jehoram* the son of queen *Jezabel* had won *Ramoth Gilead*, which his father had attempted in vain, with loss of his life; and he won it by valiant fight, wherein he received wounds, of which the danger was now past, but the honour likely to continue. The amity was so great between *Israel* and *Judah*, that it might suffice to daunt all their common enemies, leaving no hope of success to any rebellious enterprizer: so that now the prophecy of *Elias* might be forgotten, or no otherwise remembred, than as an unlucky tale, by them that beheld the majestic face of the court, wherein so great a friend as the king of *Judah* was entertained, and forty princes of his blood expected.

In the midst of this security, whilst these great estates were (perhaps) either consulting about prosecution of their intents, first against the *Aramites*, and then against *Moab*, *Edom* and other rebels and enemies;

enemies ; or else were triumphing in joy of that which was already atchieved, and the queen-mother dressing herself in the bravest manner to come down amongst them ; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a tower discovered a company coming. This news was not very troublesome : for the army, that lay in *Ramoth Gilead*, to be ready against all attempts of the *Aramites*, was likely enough to be discharged upon some notice taken, that the enemy would not, or could not stir. Only the king sent out an horseman to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The messenger coming to *Jehu*, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to give the king as little warning as might be. The seeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an answer, might argue the matter to be of small importance ; yet the king to be satisfied, sent out another, that should bring him word how all went ; and he was likewise detained by *Jehu*. These dumb shews bred some suspicion in *Jehoram*, whom the watchman certified of all that happened. And now the company drew so near, that they might, tho' not perfectly, be discerned, and notice taken of *Jehu* himself, by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the king, that was loth to discover any weakness, caused his chariot to be made ready, and issued forth with *Abaziah* king of *Judah* in his company, whose presence added majesty to his train, when strength to resist, or expedition to flee, had been more needful. This could not be done so hastily, but that *Jehu* was come even to the town's end, and there they met each other in the field of *Naboth*. *Jehoram* began to salute *Jehu* with terms of peace, but receiving a bitter answer, his heart failed him, so that crying out upon the treason to his fellow-king, he turned away to have fled. But *Jehu* soon overtook him with an arrow, wherewith he struck him dead, and threw his carcase into that field, which, purchased with the blood of the rightful owner, was to be watered with the blood of the unjust possessor. Neither did *Abaziah* escape so well, but that he was arrested by a wound, which held him till death did seize upon him.

The king's palace was joining to the wall, by the gate of the city, where *Jezabel* might soon be advertised of this calamity, if she did not with her own eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercy, whose judgment, pronounced against her long before, had overtaken her when she least expected it. But she, full of indignation and proud thoughts, made herself ready in all haste, and painted her face, hoping with her stately and imperious looks to daunt the traitor, or at the least to utter some *Apophthegm*, that should express her brave spirit, and brand him with such a reproach as might make him odious for ever. Little did she think upon the hungry dogs, that were ordained to devour her, whose paunches the *flibium*, with which she besmeared her eyes, would more offend, than the scolding language, wherewith she armed her tongue, could trouble the ears of him that had her in his power. As *Jehu* drew near, she opened her window, and looking out upon him, began to put him in mind of *Zimri*, that had not long enjoyed the fruits of his treason, and murder of the king his master. This was in mere human valuation stoutly spoken, but was indeed a part of miserable folly, as are all things, howsoever laudable, if they have an ill relation to God *the Lord of all*. Her own eunuchs, that stood by and heard her, were not affected so much as with any compas-

sion of her fortune ; much less was her enemy daunted with her proud spirit. When *Jehu* saw that she did use the little remainder of her life in seeking to vex him ; he made her presently to understand her own estate, by deeds and not by words. He only called to her servants, to know which of them would be of his side, and soon found them ready to offer their service, before the very face of their proud lady. Hereupon he commanded them to cast her down headlong : which immediately they perform'd without all regard of her greatness and estate, wherein she had a few hours before shined so gloriously in the eyes of men ; of men that considered not the judgments of God that had been denounced against her.

So perished this accursed woman by the rude hands of her own servants, at the commandment of her greatest enemy, that was yesterday her subject, but now her lord : and she perished miserably struggling in vain with base grooms, who contumeliously did hale and thrust her, whilst her insulting enemy sat on horse-back, adding indignity to her grief by scornfully beholding the shameful manner of her fall, and trampling her body under foot. Her dead carcase that was left without the walls was devoured by dogs, and her very memory was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her idolatry, murder, and oppression, with slow, but sure payment, and full interest.

Abaziah king of *Judah* flying apace from *Jehu*, was overtaken by the way where he lurked ; and receiving his deadly wound in the kingdom of *Samarina*, was suffered to get him gone (which he did in all haste) and seek his burial in his own kingdom : and this favour he obtained for his grandfather's sake, not for his father's, nor his own. He died at *Megiddo*, and was thence carried to *Jerusalem*, where he was interred with his ancestors, having reigned about one year.

C H A P. XXI.

Of Athalia, and whose son he was that succeeded her.

S E C T. I.

Of Athalia's usurping the kingdom, and what pretences she might forge.

AFTER the death of *Abaziah*, it is said, that his house was not able to retain the kingdom : which note, and the proceedings of *Athalia* upon the death of her son, have given occasion to divers opinions concerning the pedigree of *Joas* who reigned shortly after. For *Athalia* being thus dispoiled of her son, under whose name she had ruled at her pleasure, did forthwith lay hold upon all the princes of the blood, and slew them, that so she might occupy the royal throne herself, and reign as queen, rather than live a subject. She had before-hand put into great place, and made counsellors unto her son, such as were fittest for her purpose, and ready at all times to execute her will : that she kept a strong guard about her, it is very likely ; and as likely it is, that the great execution done by *Jehoram*, upon the princes, and many of the nobility, had made the people tame, and fearful to stir, whatsoever they saw or heard.

Yet ambition, how violent soever it be, is seldom or never so shameless as to refuse the commodity of goodly pretences offering themselves; but rather scrapes together all that will any way serve to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not absurd for us to think, that *Athalia*, when she saw the princes of the royal blood, all of them in a manner, slain by her husband, and afterwards his own children destroy'd by the *Philistines*, began even then to play her own game, reducing by artificial practice, into fair likelihoods, those possibilities wherewith her husband's bad fortune had presented her. Not without great shew of reason, either by her own mouth, or by some trusty creature of hers, might she give him to understand, how needful it were to take the best order whilst as yet he might, for fear of the worst that might happen. If the issue of *David*, which now remained only in his family, should by any accident fail (as woful experience had already shewed what might after come to pass) the people of *Juda* were not unlikely to choose a king of some new stock, a popular seditious man peradventure, one that to countenance his own unworthiness, would not care what aspersions he laid upon that royal house, which was fallen down. And who could assure him, that some ambitious spirit, foreseeing what might be gotten thereby, did not already contrive the destruction of him, and all his seed? Wherefore it were the wisest way to design by his authority, not only his successor, but also the reversioner, and so to provide, that the crown might never be subject to any rifling, but remain in the disposition of them that loved him best, if the worst that might be feared coming to pass, his own posterity could not retain it.

Such persuasions being urged, and earnestly followed, by the importunate sollicitation of her that governed his affections, were able to make the jealous tyrant think, that the only way to frustrate all devices of such as gaped after a change, was to make her heir the last and youngest of his house, whom it most concern'd, as being the queen-mother, to uphold the first and eldest.

If *Athalia* took no such course as this in her husband's times, yet she might do it in her son's. For *Ahazia* (besides that he was wholly ruled by his mother) was not likely to take much care for the security of his half brethren, or their children; as accounting his father's other wives, in respect of his own born-mother, little better than concubines, and their children basely begotten. But if this mischievous woman forgot herself so far in her wicked policy, that she lost all opportunity, which the weakness of her husband and son did afford, of procuring unto herself some seeming title: yet could she afterwards find some such matter, as boldly she might: being sure that none would ask to see her evidences; for fear of being sent to learn the certainty of her son or husband in another world. But I rather think that she took order for her affairs beforehand. For tho' she had no reason to suspect or fear the sudden death of her son, yet it was the wisest way to provide betimes against all that might happen, whilst her husband's issue by other women was young and unable to resist. We plainly find that the brethren or nephews of *Ahazia*, to the number of two and forty, were sent to the court of *Israel*, only to salute the children of the king, and the children of the queen. The slender occasion of which long journey, consider'd together with the quality of these persons (being in effect all the stock of *Jehoram* that could be grown to any strength)

makes it very suspicious that their entertainment in *Jezabel's* house would only have been more formal, but little differing in substance, from that which they found at the hand of *Jehu*. He that looks into the courses held both before and after by these two queens, will find cause enough to think no less. Of such as have aspired unto lordships not belonging to them, and thrust out the right heirs by pretence of testaments, that had no other validity than the sword of such as claimed by them could give, histories of late, yea of many ages, afford plentiful examples: and the rule of *Solomon* is true: *"Is there any thing whereof one may say, behold, this is new? It hath been already in the old time that was before us."* That a king might shed his brother's blood, was proved by *Solomon* upon *Adonia*; that he might alienate the crown from his natural heirs, *David* had given proof; but these had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that please them, will neglect the reasons of those examples, if they please them not, and rest contented with the practice, as more willingly shewing what they may do, than acknowledging why *Solomon* slew his brother that had begun one rebellion, and was entering into another. ^b *Jehoram* slew all his brethren, which were better than he. *David* purchased the kingdom, and might the more freely dispose of it, yet he disposed of it as the Lord appointed; if *Jehoram*, who had lost much and gotten nothing, thought that he might alienate the remainder at his pleasure; or if *Ahazia* sought to cut off the succession of his brethren, or of their issue; either of these was to be answered with the words which *Jehoiada* the priest used afterwards, in declaring the title of *Joash*: *Behold, the king's son must reign; as the Lord hath said of the sons of David.* Wherefore, tho' I hold it very probable, that *Athalia* did pretend some title, whatsoever it might be, to the crown of *Juda*; yet it is most certain, that she had thereunto no right at all, but only got it by treachery, murder, and open violence; and so she held it six whole years, and a part of the seventh in good seeming security.

SECT. II.

How Jehu spent his time in Israel, so that he could not molest Athalia.

IN all this time *Jehu* did never go about to disturb her; which in reason he was likely to desire, being an enemy to her whole house. But he was occupied at the first in establishing himself, rooting out the posterity of *Ahab*, and reforming somewhat in religion: afterwards in wars against the *Aramites*, wherein he was so far overcharged, that hardly he could retain his own, much less attempt upon others. Of the line of *Ahab* there were seventy living in *Samaria*, out of which number *Jehu* by letter, advised the citizens to set up some one as king, and to prepare themselves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident he was, which they well understood to proceed from greater power about him, than they could gather to resist him. Wherefore they took example by the two kings whom he had slain, and being exceedingly afraid of him, they offered him their service; wherein they so readily shewed themselves obedient, that in less than one day's warning, they sent him the heads of all those princes, as they were enjoined by a second letter from him. After this, he surprized all the priests of *Baal* by a subtilty, feigning a great sacrifice to their god, by which

^a Eccles. 1. 10.

^b 2 Chron. 21. 13.

means he drew them altogether into one temple, where he slew them: and in the same zeal to God, utterly demolished all the monuments of that impiety.

Concerning the idolatry devised by *Jeroboam*, no king of *Israel* had ever greater reason than *Jehu* to destroy it. For he needed not to fear lest the people should be allured unto the house of *David*; it was (in appearance) quite rooted up, and the crown of *Juda* in the possession of a cruel tyranness: he had received his kingdom by the unexpected grace of God; and further, in regard of his zeal expressed in destroying *Baal* out of *Israel*, he was promised, notwithstanding his following the sin of *Jeroboam*, that the kingdom should remain in his family, to the fourth generation. But all this would not serve; he would needs help to piece out God's providence with his own circumspection; doing therein like a foolish greedy gamester, who by stealing a needless card to assure himself of winning a stake, forfeits his whole test. He had questionless displeased many, by that which he did against *Baal*; and many more he should offend by taking from them the use of a superstition, so long practised as was that idolatry of *Jeroboam*. Yet all these, how many soever they were, had never once thought upon making him king, if God, whom (to retain them) he now forsook, had not given him the crown, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the means of holding it.

This ingratitude of *Jehu* drew terrible vengeance of God upon *Israel*, whereof *Hazael* king of *Damascus* was the executioner. The cruelty of this barbarous prince we may find in the prophecy of *Elizeus*, who foretold it, saying: "Their strong cities shalt thou set on fire; and their young men shalt thou slay with the sword, and shalt dash their infants against the stones, and rent in pieces their women with child." So did not only the wickedness of *Abab* cause the ruin of his whole house, but the obstinate idolatry of the people bring a lamentable misery upon all the land. For the fury of *Hazael's* victory was not quenched with the destruction of a few towns, nor wearied with one invasion; but he smote them in all the coasts of *Israel*, and wasted all the country beyond the river of *Jordan*. Notwithstanding all these calamities, it seems that the people repented not of their idolatry (For in those days the Lord began to loath *Israel*) but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the noble house of *Abab*, under which they had beaten those enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had bravely fought for the conquest of *Syria*, where they had enlarged their border, by winning *Ramoth Gilead*, and compelled *Benhadad* to restore the cities which his father had won: whereas now they were fain to make woful shifts, living under a lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his master that had put him in trust, than in defending his people from their cruel enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can find all manner of difficulties in serving him, to whom nothing is difficult, are, instead of the ease and pleasure to themselves propounded by contrary courses, overwhelmed with the troubles which they sought to avoid, and therein by God whom they first forsook, forsaken, and left unto the wretched labours of their own blind wisdom, wherein they had reposed all their confidence.

SECT. III.

Of Athalia's government.

THESE calamities falling upon *Israel*, kept *Athalia* safe on that side, giving her leisure to look to things at home; as having little to do abroad, unless it were so that she held some correspondence with *Hazael*, pretending therein to imitate her husband's grandfather king *Asa*, who had done the like. And some probability that she did so, may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For we find, that this wicked *Athalia* and her children brake up the house of God, and all things that were dedicate for the house of the Lord did they bestow upon *Baalim*. Such a sacrilege, tho' it proceeded from a desire to set out her own idolatry, with such pomp as might make it the more glorious in the people's eyes, was not likely to want some fair pretext of necessity of the state so requiring: in which case others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next successor was fain to do the like, being thereunto forced by *Hazael*, who perhaps was delighted with the taste of that which was formerly thence extracted for his sake.

Under this impious government of *Athalia*, the devotion of the priests and *Levites* was very notable, and served (no doubt) very much to retain the people in the religion taught by God himself, howsoever the queen's proceedings advanced the contrary. For the poverty of that sacred tribe of *Levi* must needs have been exceeding great at this time, all their lands and possessions in the ten tribes being utterly lost, the oblations and other perquisites, by which they liv'd, being now very few, and small; and the store laid up in better times under godly kings, being all taken away by shameful robbery. Yet they upheld in all this misery the service of God, and the daily sacrifice, keeping daily their courses, and performing obedience to the high priest, no less than in those days wherein their entertainment was far better.

SECT. IV.

Of the preservation of Joas.

JEHOLADA then occupied the priesthood, an honourable, wise, and religious man. To his carefulness it may be ascribed, that the state of the church was in some slender sort upheld in those unhappy times. His wife was *Jehoshabeth*, who was daughter of king *Jehoram*, and sister to *Abazia*, a godly lady and virtuous, whose piety makes it seem that *Athalia* was not her mother, tho' her access to the court argue the contrary: but her discreet carriage might more easily procure her welcome to her own father's house, than the education under such a mother could have permitted her to be such as she was. By her care *Joas* the young prince that reigned soon after, was convey'd out of the nursery, when *Athalia* destroy'd all the king's children, and was carried secretly into the temple, where as secretly he was brought up. How it came to pass that this young child was not hunted out, when his body was missing; nor any great reckoning (for ought that we find) made of his escape, I will not stand to examine; for it was not good in policy, that the people should hear say, that one of the children had avoided that cruel blow; it might have made them hearken after innovations, and so be the less conformable to the present go-

^a 2 Kings 8. 12.

^b 2 Kings 10. 32.

^c 2 Chron. 24. 7.

vernment. So *Joas* was delivered out of that slaughter, he and his nurse being gone no man could tell whither, and might be thought peradventure to be cast away, as having no other guard than a poor woman that gave him suck, who foolishly doubting that she herself should have been slain, was fled away with him into some desolate place, where it was like enough that she and he should perish. In such cases flatterers, or men desirous of reward, easily coin such tales, and rather swear them to be true in their own knowledge, than they will lose the thanks due to their joyful tidings.

S E C T. V.

Whose son Joas was.

† I.

Whether Joas may be thought likely to have been the son of Ahazia.

NOW concerning this *Joas*, whose son he was, it is a thing of much difficulty to affirm, and hath caused much controversy among writers. The places of scripture, which call him *the son of Ahazia*, seem plain enough. How any figure of the *Hebrew* language might give the title of *son* unto him, in regard that he was his successor, I neither by myself can find, nor can by any help of authors learn how to answer the difficulties, appearing in the contrary opinions of them, that think him to have been, or not, the natural son of *Abazia*. For whereas it is said, that *the house of Abazia was not able to retain the kingdom*; some do infer that this *Joas* was not properly called his son, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore succeeded him, as a son in the inheritance of his father. And hereunto the murder committed by *Athalia*, doth very well agree. For she perceiving that the kingdom was to fall into their hands, in whom she had no interest, might easily find cause to fear, that the tyranny exercised by her husband, at her instigation, upon so many noble houses, would now be revenged upon herself. The ruin of her idolatrous religion might in this case terrify both her and her minions; the sentence of the law rewarding that offence with death, and the tragedy of *Jezabel* teaching her what might happen to another queen. All this had little concerned her, if her own grandchild had been heir to the crown; for she that had power enough to make herself queen, could with more ease, and less envy, have taken upon her the office of a protector, by which authority she might have done her pleasure, and been the more both obeyed by others, and secure of her own estate, as not wanting an heir. Wherefore it was not needful, that she should be so unnatural, as to destroy the child of her own son, of whose life she might have made greater use, than she could of his death; whereas indeed the love of grand-mothers to their nephews is little less than that of mothers to their children.

This argument is very strong; for it may seem incredible, that all natural affection should be cast aside, when as neither necessity urgeth, nor any commodity thereby gotten requireth it; yea when all human policy doth teach one the same, which nature without reason would have persuaded.

† II.

That Joas did not descend from Nathan.

BUT (as it is more easy to find a difficulty in that which is related, than to shew how it might have otherwise been) the pedigree of this *Joas* is, by them which think him not the son of *Abazia*, set down in such sort that it may very justly be suspected. They say that he descended from *Nathan* the son of *David*, and not from *Solomon*; to which purpose they bring a history (I know not whence) of two families of the race of *David*, saying that the line of *Solomon* held the kingdom with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the family of *Nathan* should succeed it. Concerning this *Nathan*, the son of *David*, there are that would have him to be *Nathan* the prophet, who (as they think) was by *David* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origen*, as also *St. Augustine* sometime was; but afterwards he revoked it, as was meet; for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the sons of *David*, by *Bathsua* the daughter of *Ammiel*, and therefore could not be the prophet. *Gregory Nazianzene* (as I find him cited by *Peter Martyr*) and after him *Erasmus* and *Faber Stapulensis*, have likewise held the same of *Joas*, deriving him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan*, and those other brethren of *Solomon* by the same mother, are thought, upon good likelihoods, to have been the children of *Uria* the *Hittite*: and so are they accounted by sundry of the fathers, and by *Lyra*, and *Abulensis*, who follow the *Hebrew* expositors of that place in the first of *Chronicles*. The words of *Solomon*, calling himself the only begotten of his mother, do approve this exposition; for we read of no more than two sons which *Bathsua* or *Bathsheba* did bear unto *David*, whereof the one, begotten in adultery, died an infant, and *Solomon* only of her children by the king did live. So that the rest must needs have been the children of *Uria*, and are thought to have been *David's* only by adoption. Wherefore, if *Joas* had not been the son of *Abazia*, then must that pedigree have been false, wherein *St. Matthew* deriveth him lineally from *Solomon*; yea, then had not our blessed Saviour issued from the loins of *David*, according to the flesh, but had only been of his line by courtesy of the nation, and form of law, as any other might have been. As for the authority of *Philo*, which hath drawn many late writers into the opinion that *Joas* was not of the posterity of *Solomon*, it is enough to say that this was *Frier Annius's Philo*: for no other edition of *Philo* hath any such matter: but *Annius* can make authors to speak what he lists.

† III.

That Joas may probably be thought to have been the son of Jehoram.

IN so doubtful a case, if it seem lawful to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought upon, methinks it were not amiss to lay open at once, and peruse together two places of *Scripture*, whereof the one telling the wickedness of *Jehoram*, the son of *Jehoshaphat*, king of *Judah*, for which he and his children perished, rehearseth it as one of God's mercies towards the house of *David*, that according to his promise he would give him a light, and to his children for ever: the other doth say, that for the offences of the same *Jehoram*, there was not a son left him save *Jehoahas*, the youngest of his sons. Now, if it were in regard of God's promise to *Da-*

^a 2 Kings 11. 2. 2 Chron. 22. 11.

^b 2 Chron. 22. 9.

^c 1 Chron. 3. 5.

^d 2 Kings 8. 19.

vid, that, after those massacres of *Jehoram* upon all his brethren, and of the *Philistines* and *Arabians* upon the children of *Jehoram*, one of the seed of *David* escaped; why may it not be thought that he was said to have escaped, in whom the line of *David* was preserved? for had all the race of *Solomon* been rooted up in these woeful tragedies, and the progeny of *Nathan* succeeded in place thereof, like enough it is, that some remembrance more particular would have been extant of an event so memorable. That the race of *Nathan* was not extinguished, it is indeed apparent by the *Genealogy* of our Lord, as it is recounted by *St. Luke*; but the preservation of the house of *David*, mentioned in the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, was performed in the person of *Jeboahas*, in whom the royal branch of *Solomon*, the natural, and not only legal issue remaining of *David*, was kept alive. Wherefore it may be thought that this *Joas*, who followed *Athalia* in the kingdom, was the youngest son of *Jehoram*, whose life *Athalia*, as a step-dame, was not unlikely to pursue. For it were not easily understood, why the preservation of *David's* line, by God's especial mercy in regard of his promise made, should pertain rather to that time, when besides *Abazia* himself there were two and forty of his^a brethren, or (as in another place they are called) sons of his brethren, remaining alive, which afterwards were all slain by *Jehu*, than have reference to the lamentable^b destruction, and little less than extirpation of that progeny, wherein one only did escape. Certainly that inhuman murder which *Jehoram* committed upon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the history) revenged upon his own children, then was not this vengeance of God accomplished by the *Philistines* and *Arabians*, but being only begun by them, was afterwards prosecuted by *Jehu*, and finally took effect by the hands of that same wicked woman, at whose instigation he had committed such barbarous outrage. And from this execution of God's heavy judgment laid upon^c *Jehoram* and all his children, only *Jeboahas*, his youngest son, was exempted; whom therefore if I should affirm to be the same with *Joas*, which is called the son of *Abazia*, I should not want good probability. Some further appearance of necessity there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwise have been. For it was the youngest son of *Jehoram* in whom the race was preserved, which could not in any likelihood be *Abazia*, seeing that he was twenty years old at the least (as is already noted) when he began to reign, and consequently was born in the eighteenth or twentieth year of his father's age. Now I know not whether of the two is more unlikely, either that *Jehoram* should have begotten many children before he was eighteen years old, or that having (as he had) many wives and children, he should upon the sudden, at his eighteenth year, become unfruitful, and beget no more in twenty years following: each of which must have been true, if this were true that *Abazia* was the same *Jeboahas*, which was his youngest son. But this inconvenience is taken away, and those other doubts arising from the causeless cruelty of *Athalia*, in seeking the life of *Joas*, are easily cleared, if *Joas* and *Jeboahas* were one. Neither doth his age withstand this opinion, for he was^d *seven years old when he began to reign*; which if we understand of years compleat, he might have been a year old at the death of *Jehoram*, being begotten somewhat after the beginning of his sickness. Neither is it more absurd to say that he was the natural son of *Jehoram*, though called the son

of *Abazia*, than it were to say, as great authors have done, this difficulty notwithstanding, that he was of the posterity of *Nathan*. One thing indeed I know not how to answer; which, had it concurred with the rest, might have served as the foundation of this opinion. The name of *Jeboahas*, that soundeth much more near to *Joas*, than to *Abazia*, in an *English* ear, doth in the *Hebrew* (as I am informed by some skilful in that language) through the diversity of certain letters, differ much from that which it most resembleth in our western manner of writing, and little from the other. Now although it be so that *Abazia* himself be also call'd^e *Azaria*, and must have had three names, if he were the same with *Jeboahas*; in which manner *Joas* might also have had several names; yet because I find no other warrant hereof than a bare possibility, I will not presume to build an opinion upon the weak foundation of mine own conjecture, but leave all to the consideration of such as have more ability to judge, and leisure to consider of this point.

† IV.

Upon what reasons Athalia might seek to destroy Joas, if he were her own grand-child.

IF therefore we shall follow that which is commonly received, and interpret the text according to the letter, it may be said that *Athalia* was not only blinded by the passions of ambition and zeal to her idolatrous worship of *Baalim*, but pursued the accomplishment of some natural desires, in seeking the destruction of her grand-child, and the rest of the blood royal. For whether it were so that *Athalia* (as proud and cruel women are not always chaste) had imitated the liberty of *Jezabel*, her sister-in-law, whose^f whoredoms were upbraided by *Jehu* to her son; or whether she had children by some former husband, before she was married unto *Jehoram* (which is not unlikely in regard of her age, who was daughter of *Omri*, and sister to *Abab*) certain it is that she had sons of her own, and those old enough to be employed, as they were, in robbing of the temple. So it is not greatly to be wondered at, that to settle the crown upon her own children, she did seek to cut off, by wicked policy, all other claims. As for *Joas*, if she were his grand-mother, yet she might mistrust the interest which his mother would have in him, lest when he came to years it might withdraw him from her devotion. And hereof (besides that women do commonly better love their daughters husbands than their sons wives) there is some appearance in the reign of her son: for she made him spend all his time in idle journies, to no other apparent end, than that she might rule at home; and he living abroad, be estranged from his wife, and entertain some new fancies, wherein *Jezabel* had cunning enough to be his tutors. But when the sword of *Jehu* had rudely cut in sunder all these fine devices, then was *Athalia* fain to go roundly to work, and do as she did, whereby she thought to make all sure. Otherwise, if (as I could rather think) she were only step-dame to *Joas*, we need not seek into the reasons moving her to take away his life; her own hatred was cause enough to dispatch him among the first.

^a 2 Kings 10. 13

^b 2 Chron. 22. 8.

^c 2 Chron. 21. 14.

^d 2 Chron. 24. 1.

^e 2 Chron. 22. 6.

^f Kings 9. 22.

SECT. VI.

A digression, wherein is maintained the liberty of using conjecture in histories.

THUS much concerning the person of *Joas*, from whom, as from a new root, the tree of *David* was propagated into many branches. In handling of which matter, the more I consider the nature of this history, and the diversity between it and others, the less methinks I need to suspect mine own presumption, as deserving blame, for curiosity in matter of doubt, or boldness in liberty of conjecture. For all histories do give us information of human counsels and events, as far forth as the knowledge and faith of the writers can afford; but of God's will, by which all things are ordered, they speak only at random, and many times falsely. This we often find in prophane writers, who ascribe the ill success of great undertakings to the neglect of some impious rites, whereof indeed God abhorred the performance as vehemently, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omission. Hereat we may the less wonder, if we consider the answer made by the *Jews* in *Egypt* unto *Jeremy* the prophet, reprehending their idolatry. For, howsoever the written law of God was known unto the people, and his punishments laid upon them for contempt thereof were very terrible, and even then but newly executed; yet were they so obstinately bent unto their own wills, that they would not by any means be drawn to acknowledge the true cause of their affliction. But they told the prophet roundly, that they would worship the queen of heaven, as they and their fathers, their kings and their princes had used to do; ^a *For then, said they, had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and felt no evil*: adding that all manner of miseries were befallen them, since they left off that service of the *Queen of heaven*. So blind is the wisdom of man, in looking into the counsel of God, which to find out there is no better or other guide than his own written will, not perverted by vain additions.

But this history of the kings of *Israel* and *Judah* hath herein a singular prerogative above all that have been written by the most sufficient of merely human authors: it setteth down expressly the true and first causes of all that happened; not imputing the death of *Ahab* to his over-forwardness in battle, the ruin of his family to the security of *Jeroboam* in *Jezebel*, nor the victories of *Hazael* to the great commotions raised in *Israel*, by the coming in of *Jehu*; but referring all unto the will of God, I mean, to his revealed will: from which, that his hidden purposes do not vary, this story, by many great examples, gives most notable proof. True it is, that the concurrence of second causes with their effects, is in these books nothing largely described; nor perhaps exactly in any of those histories that are in these points most copious. For it was well noted by that worthy gentleman ^b *Sir Philip Sidney*, that historians do borrow of poets, not only much of their ornament, but somewhat of their substance. Informations are often false, records not always true, and notorious actions commonly insufficient to discover the passions, which did set them first on foot. Wherefore they are slain (I speak of the best, and in that which was allowed: for to take out of *Livy* every one circumstance of *Claudius* his journey against *Asdrubal* in *Italy*, fitting all to another business, or any practice of that kind, is neither historical nor poetical) to search into the particular hu-

mours of princes, and of those which have governed their affections, or the instruments by which they wrought, from whence they do collect the most likely motives, or impediments of every business; and so figuring, as near to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they judiciously consider the defects in counsel, or obliquity in proceeding.

Yet all this, for the most part, is not enough to give assurance, howsoever it may give satisfaction. For the heart of man is unsearchable; and princes, howsoever their intents be seldom hidden from some of those many eyes which pry both into them, and into such as live about them, yet sometimes either by their own close temper, or by some subtle mist, they conceal the truth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themselves lie dead, and buried in oblivion, when the preparations which they begat are converted to another use. The industry of an historian having so many things to weary it, may well be excused, when finding apparent cause enough of things done, it forbeareth to make further search; tho' it often fall out, where sundry occasions work to the same end, that one small matter in a weak mind is more effectual than many that seem far greater. So comes it many times to pass, that great fires, which consume whole houses or towns, begin with a few straws that are wasted or not seen; when the flame is discovered, having fastned upon some wood pile, that catcheth all about it. Questionless it is, that the war commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against the *Greeks*, proceeded from a desire of the *Persians* to enlarge their empire: howsoever the enterprise of the *Athenians* upon *Sardes*, was noised abroad as the ground of that quarrel; yet ^c *Herodotus* telleth us, that the wanton desire of queen *Atossa*, to have the *Grecian* dames her bondwomen, did first move *Darius* to prepare for this war, before he had received any injury; and when he did not yet so much desire to get more, as to enjoy what was already gotten.

I will not here stand to argue whether *Herodotus* be more justly reprehended by some, or defended by others, for alledging the vain appetite, and secret speech of the queen in bed with her husband, as the cause of those great evils following; this I may boldly affirm (having, I think, in every estate some sufficient witness) that matters of much consequence, founded in all seeming upon substantial reasons, have issued indeed from such petty trifles, as no historian would either think upon, or could well search out.

Therefore it was a good answer that *Sixtus Quintus* the pope made to a certain friar coming to visit him in his popedom, as having long before, in his meaner estate, been his familiar friend. This poor friar being emboldned by the pope to use his old liberty of speech, adventured to tell him, that he very much wondred how it was possible for his holiness, whom he rather took for a direct honest man, than any cunning politician, to attain unto the papacy; in compassing of which, all the subtilty, said he, of the most crafty brains, find work enough; and therefore the more I think upon the art of the conclave, and your unaptness thereto, the more I needs must wonder. Pope *Sixtus*, to satisfy the plain-dealing friar, dealt with him again as plainly, saying, Hadst thou lived abroad as I have done, and seen by what folly this world is governed, thou wouldst wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this be referred unto those exorbitant

^a Jer. 44. 17, 18.

^b *Sir Philip Sidney*, in his apology for poets.

^c Herod. l. 1.

engines, by which the course of affairs is moved. The pope said true: for the wisest of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutual toleration, work more closely, and earnestly, than right reason either needs or can. But if we lift up our thoughts to that supreme governor, of whose empire all that is true, which by the poet was said of *Jupiter*:

*Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventosum, & urbes, regnaque tristia,
Divosque, mortalesque turmas,
Imperio regit unus æquo.*

Who rules the duller earth, the wind-swoln streams,
The civil cities, and th'infernal realms,
Who th'host of heaven and the mortal band,
Alone doth govern by his just command.

Then shall we find the quite contrary. In him there is no uncertainty nor change; he foreseeth all things, and all things disposeth to his own honour; he neither deceiveth nor can be deceived; but continuing one and the same for ever, doth constantly govern all creatures by that law which he hath prescribed, and will never alter. The vanities of men beguile their vain contrivers, and the prosperity of the wicked is the way leading to their destruction: yea, this broad and headlong passage to hell, is not so delightful as it seemeth at the first entrance, but hath growing in it, besides the poisons which infect the soul, many cruel thorns deeply wounding the body; all which, if any few escape, they have only this miserable advantage of others, that their descent was the more swift and expedite. But the service of God is the path guiding us to perfect happiness, and hath in it a true, tho' not compleat felicity, yielding such abundance of joy to the conscience, as doth easily countervail all afflictions whatsoever: tho' indeed those brambles that sometimes tear the skin of such as walk in this blessed way, do commonly lay hold upon them at such time as they sit down to take their ease, and make them wish themselves at their journies end, in presence of their Lord, whom they faithfully serve; in whose *Presence is the fulness of joy, and at whose right hand are pleasures for evermore*, Psal. xvi. 11.

Wherefore it being the end and scope of all history, to teach by examples of times past, such wisdom as may guide our desires and actions, we should not marvel tho' the chronicles of the kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, being written by men inspired with the spirit of God, instruct us chiefly in that which is most requisite for us to know, as the means to attain unto true felicity, both here, and hereafter, propounding examples which illustrate this infallible rule, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom*. Had the expedition of *Xerxes* (as it was foretold by *Daniel*) been written by some prophet after the captivity, we may well believe, that the counsel of God therein, and the execution of his righteous will, should have occupied either the whole, or the principal room in that narration. Yet had not the purpose of *Darius*, the desire of his wife, and the business at *Sardes*, with other occurrences, been the less true, tho' they might have been omitted, as the less material: but these things it had been lawful for any man to gather out of prophane histories, or out of circumstances otherwise appearing, wherein he should not have done injury to the sacred writings, as long as he had forbore to derogate from the first causes, by ascribing to the second more than was due.

Such, or little different, is the business that I have now in hand: wherein I cannot believe that any man of judgment will tax me as either fabulous or presumptuous. For he doth not feign, that rehearseth probabilities as bare conjectures; neither doth he deprive the text, that seeketh to illustrate, and make good in human reason, those things which authority alone, without further circumstance, ought to have confirmed in every man's belief. And this may suffice in defence of the liberty which I have used in conjectures, and may hereafter use when occasion shall require, as neither unlawful, nor unbecoming an historian.

S E C T. VII.

The conspiracy against Athalia.

WHEN *Athalia* had now six years and longer worn the crown of *Judah*, and had found neither any foreign enemy, nor domestical adversary to disturb her possession, suddenly the period of her glory, and reward of her wickedness meeting together, took her away without any warning, by a violent and shameful death. For the growth of the young prince began to be such, as permitted him no longer to be concealed; and it had been very unfitting that his education should be simple, to make him seem the child of some poor man (as for his safety it was requisite) when his capacity required to have been endued with the stomach and qualities meet for a king. All this *Jehoiada* the priest considered, and withal the great increase of impiety, which taking deep root in the court, was likely to spread itself over all the country, if care were not used to weed it up very speedily. Wherefore he associated unto himself five of the captains, in whose fidelity he had best assurance, and having taken an oath of them, and shewed them the king's son, he made a covenant with them, to advance him to the kingdom. These drew in others of the principal men to countenance the action, procuring at the first only, that they should repair to *Jerusalem*, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many persuasions to win them to the business: the promise of the Lord unto the house of *David* was enough to assure them, that the action was both lawful, and likely to succeed as they desired.

But in compassing their intent, some difficulties appeared. For it was not to be hoped, that with open force they should bring their purpose to good issue; neither were the captains, and other associates of *Jehoiada*, able by close working to draw together so many trusty and serviceable hands as would suffice to manage the business. To help in this case, the priest gave order to such of the *Levites* as had finished their courses in waiting on the divine service at the temple, and were now relieved by others that succeeded in their turns, that they should not depart until they knew his farther pleasure. So by admitting the new comers, and not discharging the old, he had, without any noise, made up such a number as would be able to deal with the queen's ordinary guard, and that was enough; for if the tyranness did not prevail against them at the first brunt, the favour of the people was like to shew itself on their side who made head against her. These *Levites* were placed in the inner court of the temple, about the person of the king, who as yet was kept close; the followers of the captains, and other adherents were bestowed in the outer courts: as for weapons, the temple itself had store enough; king *David*,

David had left an armoury to the place, which was now employ'd to the defence of his issue.

All things being in a readiness, and the day come wherein this high design was to be put in execution, *Jehoiada* deliver'd unto the captains armour for them and their adherents, appointed a guard unto the king's person, produc'd him openly, and gave unto him the crown; using all ceremonies accustomed in such solemnities, with great applause of the people. Of these doings the queen was the last that heard any word; which is not so strange as it may seem; for insolent natures, by dealing outrageously with such as bring them ill tidings, do commonly lose the benefit of hearing what is to be feared, whilst yet it may be prevented, and have no information of danger, till their own eyes, amazed with the suddenness, behold it in the shape of inevitable mischief.

All *Jerusalem* was full of the rumour, and entertained it with very good liking. Some carried home the news, others ran forth to see, and the common joy was so great, that without apprehension of peril, under the windows of the court, were the people running and praising the king^a. *Athalia* hearing and beholding the extraordinary concourse, and noise, of folks in the streets, making towards the temple, with much unusual passion in their looks, did presently conceive, that somewhat worthy of her care was happened; tho' what it might be she did not apprehend. Howsoever it were, she meant to use her own wisdom in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occasion might happen to require. It may be, that she thought it some especial solemnity used in the divine service, which caused this much ado; and hereof the unaccustomed number of *Levites*, and of other devout men, about the town, might give some presumption.

Many things argue that she little thought upon her own tragedy; altho' *Josephus* would make it seem otherwise. For we find in the text, ^b *She came to the people into the house of the Lord* (which was near to her palace) and that when she looked and saw the king stand by his pillar, as the manner was, with the princes, or great men of the land by him, and the trumpeters proclaiming him, she rent her cloaths, and cry'd, Treason, Treason. Hereby it appears, that she was quietly going, without any mistrust or fear, to take her place, which when she found occupied by another, then she began to afflict herself, as one cast away, and cry'd out in vain upon the treason whereby she saw that she must perish. But that she came with a guard of armed men to the temple (as *Josephus* reporteth) and that her company being beaten back, she entred alone, and commanded the people to kill the young tyrant, I find no where in scripture, neither do I hold it credible. For had she truly known how things went, she would surely have gathered her friends about her, and used those forces in defence of her crown, by which she got it, and hitherto had held it. Certainly, if it were granted, that she, like a new *Semiramis*, did march in the head of her troop, yet it had been meer madness in her to enter the place alone, when her assistants were kept out; but if she, perceiving that neither her authority, nor their own weapons, could prevail to let in her guard, would nevertheless take upon her to command the death of the new king, calling a child of seven years old a conspirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom she saw to be armed in his defence, may we not think that she

was mad in the most extreme degree? Certain it is, that the counsel of God would have taken effect, in her destruction, had she used the most likely means to disappoint it: yet we need not so cut her throat with any moral impossibilities. It is enough to say, that the godly zeal of *Jehoiada* found more easy success, through her indiscretion, than otherwise could have been expected; so that at his appointment she was without more ado carried out of the temple and slain; yea so, that no blood save her own was shed in that quarrel; her small train, that she brought along with her, not daring to stand in her defence.

SECT. VIII.

The death of Athalia, with a comparison of her and Jezabel.

MOST like it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the rashness of her nephew *Jehoram* the *Israelite*, who did foolishly cast himself into the very throat of danger, gaping upon him, only through his eager desire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: yet she herself, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and having lived such a life as *Jezabel* had done, was rewarded with a suitable death. These two queens were in many points much alike, each of them was daughter, wife, and mother to a king; each of them ruled her husband; was an idolatress, and a murderers. The only difference appearing in their conditions, is, that *Jezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious: so that each of them surviving her husband about eight years, did spend the time in satisfying her own affections; the one using tyranny, as the exercise of her haughty mind; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her unchast body. In the manner of their death, little difference there was, or in those things which may seem in this world to pertain unto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the sudden by conspirators, and each of them exclaiming upon the treason, received sentence from the mouth of one that had lived under her subjection; in execution whereof, *Jezabel* was trampled under the feet of her enemies horses; *Athalia* slain at her own horse-gate; the death of *Athalia* having (tho' not much) the more leisure to vex her proud heart; that of *Jezabel*, the more indignity, and shame of body. Touching their burial, *Jezabel* was devoured by dogs, as the Lord had threatened by the prophet *Elias*; what became of *Athalia* we do not find. Like enough it is, that she was buried, as having not persecuted and slain the Lord's prophets, but suffered the priests to exercise their function; yet of her burial their is no monument; for she was a church-robber. The service of *Baal*, erected by these two queens, was destroy'd as soon as they were gone; and their chaplains, the priests of that religion, slain. Herein also it came to pass alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the kings who slew them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the same hand of *Hazael* the *Syrian*; in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the *Syrian* (who seems to have been her good friend) pretended her revenge, as any part of his quarrel to *Juda*. Concerning children, all belonging to *Jezabel* perish'd in few days after her: whether *Athalia* left any behind her, it is uncertain; she had sons living after she was queen; of whom,

^a 2 Chron. 23. 12. ^b 2 Chron. 23. 12, 13 2 Kings 11. 13, 14

or of any other, that they were slain with her, we do not find.

This is a matter not unworthy consideration, in regard of much that may depend upon it. For if the children of *Athalia* had been in *Jerusalem*, when their mother fell, their death would surely have follow'd hers as nearly, and been registred, as well as the death of *Mattan* the priest of *Baal*. That law by which ^a*God forbid that the children should die for the fathers*, could not have saved these ungracious imps, whom the clause following would have cut off, which commands, that every man shall die for his own sin. Seeing therefore that they had been professors and advancers of that vile and idolatrous worship of *Baal*, yea, had robb'd the temple of the Lord, and enrich'd the house of *Baal* with the spoil of it; likely it is, that they should not have escap'd with life, if *Jehoiada* the priest could have gotten them into his hands. As there was lawful cause enough requiring their death, to the security of the king and his friends, that is, of all the land, crav'd as much, and that very earnestly. For these had been esteem'd as heirs of their mother's crown, and being reckon'd as her assistants in that particular business of robbing the temple, may be thought to have carried a great sway in other matters, as princes and fellows with their mother in the kingdom. Therefore it is evident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following *Hazael* in the wars against *Jebu*) absent from *Jerusalem*; whereby *Jehoiada* might with the more confidence, adventure to take arms against their mother, that was desolate.

C H A P. XXII.

Of Joas and Amasia, with their contemporaries; where somewhat of the building of Carthage.

S E C T. I.

Of Joas's doings whilst Jehoiada the priest lived.

BY the death of *Athalia*, the whole country of *Juda* was filled with great joy and quietness; wherein *Joas* a child of seven years old or thereabout, began his reign, which continu'd almost forty years. During his minority, he liv'd under the protection of that honourable man *Jehoiada* the priest, who did as faithfully govern the kingdom, as he had before carefully preserv'd the king's life, and restor'd him unto the throne of his ancestors. When he came to man's estate, he took by appointment of *Jehoiada* two wives, and begat sons and daughters, repairing the family of *David* which was almost worn out. The first act that he took in hand, when he began to rule without a protector, was the reparation of the temple. It was a needful piece of work, in regard of the decay wherein that holy place was fallen, thro' the wickedness of ungodly tyrants; and requisite it was that he should uphold the temple, whom the temple had upheld. This business he follow'd with so earnest a zeal, that not only the *Levites* were more slack than he, but even *Jehoiada* was fain to be quicken'd by his admonition. Money was gather'd for the charges of the work, partly out of the tax impos'd by ^b*Moses*, partly out of the liberality of the people: who gave so freely, that the temple, besides all reparations, was enrich'd with vessels of gold and silver, and

with all other utensils. The sacrifices likewise were offer'd, as under godly kings they had been, and the service of God was magnificently celebrated.

S E C T. II.

The death of Jehoiada, and apostacy of Joas.

BUT this endured no longer than the life of *Jehoiada* the priest: who having lived an hundred and thirty years, died before his country could have spared him. He was buried among the kings of *Juda*, as he well deserv'd, having preserved the race of them, and restor'd the true religion, which the late princes of that house, by attempting to eradicate, fail'd but a little of rooting up themselves, and all their issue. Yet this honourable funeral seems to have been given to him, at the motion of the people; it being said, *They buried him in the city of David*. As for the king himself, who did owe to him no less than his crown and life, he is not likely to have been author of it, seeing that he was as easily comforted after his death, as if he had thereby been discharg'd of some heavy debt.

For after the death of *Jehoiada*, when the princes of *Juda* began to flatter their king, he soon forgot, not only the benefits received by this worthy man his old counsellor, but also the good precepts which he had received from him, yea, and God himself, the author of all goodness. These princes drew him to the worship of idols, wherewith *Jehoram* and *Athalia* had so infected the country, in 15 or 16 years; that 30 years, or thereabouts, of the reign of *Joas*, wherein the true religion was exercised, were not able to clear it from that mischief. The king himself, when once he was entred into these courses, ran on headlong, as one that thought it a token of his liberty, to despise the service of God; and a manifest proof of his being now king indeed, that he regarded no longer the four admonitions of devout priests. Hereby it appears, that his former zeal was only counterfeited, wherein like an actor upon the stage, he had striven to express much more lively affection, than they could shew, that were indeed religious.

S E C T. III.

The causes and time of the Syrians invading Juda in the days of Joas.

BUT God, from whom he was broken loose, gave him over into the hands of men, that would not easily be shaken off. *Hazael*, king of *Aram*, having taken *Gath*, a town of the *Philistines*, address'd himself towards *Jerusalem*, whither the little distance of way, and great hope of a rich booty, did invite him. He had an army hearten'd by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the war (if his ambition car'd for pretences) it was enough, that the kings of *Juda* had assisted the *Israelites*, in their enterprises upon *Aram*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. Yet I think he did not want some further instigation. For if the kingdom of *Juda* had molested the *Aramites*, in the time of his predecessor, this was thoroughly recompensed, by forbearing to succour *Israel*, and leaving the ten tribes in their extream misery, to the fury of *Hazael* himself. Neither is it likely, that *Hazael* should have gone about to awake a sleeping dog, and stir up against himself a powerful enemy, before he had assured the conquest of *Israel*, that lay between *Jerusalem* and his own kingdom, if some opportunity had not promised such easy and good success, as

^a Deut. 24. 16.

^b 2 Chron. 24.

might rather advance, than, any way disturb, his future proceedings against the ten tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the sons of *Athalia*, mention'd before, were with him in this action, promising (as men expell'd their countries usually do) to draw many partakers of their own to his side; and not to remain, as *Joas* did, a neutral in the war between him and *Israel*, but to join all their forces with his, as they had cause, for the rooting out of *Jebu's* posterity, who, like a bloody traitor, had utterly destroy'd all the kindred of the queen's, their mother, even the whole house of *Ahab*, to which he was a subject. If this were so, *Hazael* had the more apparent reason to invade the kingdom of *Juda*. Howsoever it were, we find it plainly, that *Joas* was afraid of him, and therefore "took all the hallowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord, or in his own house, with which present he redeemed his peace: the *Syrian* (questionless) thinking it a better bargain, to get so much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazard the assurance of this, for the possibility of not much more. So *Hazael* departed with a rich booty of unhappy treasure, which, belonging to the living God, remain'd a small while in the possession of this mighty, yet corruptible man, but sent him quickly to the grave. For in the 37th year of *Joas*, which was the 15th of *Jeboabaz*, he made this purchase; but in the same, or the very next year, he died, leaving all that he had unto his son *Beubadad*, with whom these treasures prosper'd none otherwise, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

This enterprize of *Hazael* is, by some, confounded with that war of the *Aramites* upon *Juda*, mention'd in the 2d book of *Chronicles*. But the reasons alledg'd by them that hold the contrary opinion, do forcibly prove, that it was not all one war. For the former was compounded without bloodshed or fight; in the latter, *Joas* tried the fortune of a battle, wherein being put to the worst, he lost all his princes, and hardly escap'd with life: in the one, *Hazael* himself was present; in the other, he was not named: but contrariwise, the king of *Aram* then reigning (who may seem to have then been the son of *Hazael*) is said to have been at *Damascus*. The first army came to conquer, and was so great that it terrified the king of *Juda*; the second was a ^bsmall company of men, which did animate *Joas* (in vain, for God was against him) to deal with them, as having a very great army.

Now concerning the time of this former invasion, I cannot perceive that God forsook him, till he had first forsaken God. There are indeed some, very learned, who think that this expedition of *Hazael* was in the time of *Jeboiada* the priest, because that story is joined unto the restoration of the temple. This had been probable, if the death of *Jeboiada* had been afterwards mention'd in that place of the 2d book of *Kings*, or if the apostacy of *Joas*, or any other matter implying so much, had follow'd in the relation. For it is not indeed to be doubted, that the Lord of all may dispose of all things, according to his own will and pleasure; neither was he more unjust in the afflictions of *Job* that righteous man, or the death of *Josias* that godly king, than in the plagues which he laid upon *Pharaoh*, or his judgments upon the house of *Ahab*. But it appears plainly, that the rich furniture of the temple, and the magnificent service of God there-withal, which are join'd together, were us'd "in the house of the Lord continually, all the days of *Jeboiada*; soon after whose death, if not immediately

upon it, that is (as some very learnedly collect) in the 36th or 37th year of this *Joas's* reign, the king falling away from the God of his father, became a foul idolater.

And indeed we commonly observe, that the crosses which it hath pleas'd God sometimes to lay upon his servants, without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, have always tended unto the bettering of their good. In which respect, even the suffering of the blessed martyrs ("the death of the saints being precious in the sight of the Lord") are to their great advantage. But with evil and rebellious men, God keepeth a more even, and more strict account; permitting usually their faults to get the start of their punishment, and either delaying his vengeance (as with the *Amorites*) till their wickedness be full: or not working their amendment by his correction, but suffering them to run on in their wicked courses, to their greater misery. So hath he dealt with many; and so it appears that he dealt with *Joas*. For this unhappy man did not only continue an obstinate idolater, but grew so forgetful of God and all goodness, as if he had striven to exceed the wickedness of all that went before him, and to leave such a villainous pattern unto others, as few or none of the most barbarous tyrants should indure to imitate.

SECT. IV.

How Zacharia was murdered by Joas.

Sundry prophets having labour'd in vain to reclaim the people from their superstition, *Zacharia*, the son of *Jeboiada* the priest, was stirred up at length by the spirit of God to admonish them of their wickedness, and made them understand the punishment due unto it, whereof they stood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a man so honourable, and son to a man so exceeding beloved in his life time, and revered, that if *Joas* had reputed him (as *Ahab* did *Elias*) his open enemy, yet ought he in common honesty to have cloaked his ill affection, and have us'd at least some part of the respect that was due to such a person: on the other side, the singular affection which he and his father had borne unto the king, and the unrecountable benefits which they had done unto him, from his first infancy, were such, as should have plac'd *Zacharia* in the most hearty and assur'd love of *Joas*, yea, tho' he had been otherwise a man of very small mark, and not very good condition. The truth is, that the message of a prophet sent from God, should be heard with reverence, how simple soever he appears that brings it. But this king *Joas* having already scorn'd the admonitions and protestations of such prophets as first were sent, did now deal with *Zacharia*, like as the wicked husbandman in that parable of our Saviour dealt with the heir of the vineyard; who said, "This is the heir, come let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours. By killing *Zacharia* he thought to become an absolute commander, supposing belike that he was no free prince, as long as any one durst tell him the plain truth, how great soever that man's deserving were, that did so, yea, though God's commandment requir'd it. So they conspired against this holy prophet, and ston'd him to death at the king's appointment; but whether by any form of open law, as was practis'd upon *Naboth*; or whether surprising him by any close treachery, I do neither read nor conjecture. The dignity of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracy, makes

^a 2 Kings 12. 18.

^b 2 Chron. 24. 24.

^c 2 Chron. 24. 14.

^d Psal. 115. 15.

^e Luke 20. 14.

it probable, that they durst not call him into public judgment; though the manner of his death, being such as was commonly, and by order of law, inflicted upon malefactors, may argue the contrary. Most likely it is, that the king's commandment, by which he suffered, took place in stead of law: which exercise of mere power (as hath been already noted) was nothing strange among the kings of *Juda*.

S E C T. V.

How Joas was shamefully beaten by the Aramites, and of his death.

THIS odious murder, committed by an unthankful snake upon the man in whose bosom he had been fostered, as of itself alone it sufficed to make the wretched tyrant hateful to men of his own time, and his memory detested in all ages; so had it the well-deserved curse of the blessed martyr, to accompany it unto the throne of God, and to call for vengeance from thence, which fell down swiftly and heavily upon the head of that ungrateful monster. It was the last year of his reign; the end of his time coming then upon him, when he thought himself beginning to live how he listed, without controulment. When that year was expired, the *Aramites* came into the country, rather as may seem to get pillage, than to perform any great action; for they ^a *came with a small company of men*; but God had intended to do more by them than they themselves did hope for.

That *Joas* naturally was a coward, his bloody malice against his best friend is, in my judgment, proof sufficient: though otherwise his base composition with *Hazael*, when he might have levied (as his son after him did muster) three hundred thousand chosen men for the war, doth well enough shew his temper. Yet now he would needs be valiant, and make his people know, how stout of disposition their king was, when he might have his own will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encounter with a few bands of rovers, he took a very great army; so that wise men might well perceive, that he knew what he did, making shew as if he would fight for his country, and expose his person to danger of war, when as indeed all was meer ostentation, and no peril to be feared; he going forth so strongly appointed, against so weak enemies. Thus might wise men think, and laugh at him in secret, considering what ado he made about that, which in all apparent reason was (as they say) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wisdom of this world is foolishness, did laugh, not only at this vain-glorious king, but at them that thought their king secure, by reason of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the *Aramites* and king *Joas* met, whether it were by some folly of the leaders, or by some amazement happening among the soldiers, or by whatsoever means it pleased God to work, so it was, that that great army of *Juda* received a notable overthrow, and all the princes were destroyed: the princes of *Juda*, at whose persuasion the king had become a rebel to the King of kings. As for *Joas* himself (as *Abulensis* and others expound the story) he was sorely beaten and hurt by them, being (as they think) taken and shamefully tormented, to wring out of him an excessive ransom.

And surely all circumstances do greatly strengthen this conjecture. For the text (in the old translati-

on) saith, they exercised upon *Joas* ignominious judgments; and that departing from him, they dismissed him in great languor. All which argues, that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill-favouredly. Now at that time, *Joas* the son of *Jeboabaz* reigned over *Israel*, and *Benbadad* the son of *Hazael* over the *Syrians* in *Damascus*; the one a valiant undertaking prince, raised up by God to restore the state of his miserable country; the other inferior every way to his father, of whose purchases he lost a great part, for want of skill to keep it. The difference in condition found between these two princes, promising no other event than such as after followed, might have given to the king of *Juda* good cause to be bold, and pluck up his spirits, which *Hazael* had beaten down, if God had not been against him. But his fearful heart being likely to quake upon any apprehension of danger, was able to put the *Syrian* king in hope, that by terrifying him with some shew of war at his doors, it were easy to make him crave any tolerable conditions of peace. The unexpected good success heretofore, already related, and the (perhaps as unexpected) ill success, which the *Aramites* found in their following wars against the king of *Israel*, sheweth plainly the weakness of all earthly might resisting the power of the Almighty. For by his ordinance, both the kingdom of *Juda*, after more than forty years time of gathering strength, was unable to drive out a small company of enemies; and the kingdom of *Israel*, having so been trodden down by *Hazael*, that only fifty horsemen, ten chariots, and ten thousand footmen were left, prevailed against his son, and recovered all from the victorious *Aramites*. But examples hereof are every-where found, and therefore I will not insist upon this; though indeed we should not, if we be God's children, think it more tedious to hear long and frequent reports of our heavenly Father's honour, than of the noble acts performed by our fore-fathers upon earth.

When the *Aramites* had what they listed, and saw that they were not able, being so few, to take any possession of the country, they departed out of *Juda* laden with spoil, which they sent to *Damascus*, themselves belike falling upon the ten tribes, where it is to be thought that they sped not half so well. The king of *Juda* being in ill case, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the sons of an *Ammonite*, and of a *Moabite*, whom some (because only their mothers names, being strangers, are expressed) think to have been bondmen. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or fear, lest (as tyrants use) he should revenge his disaster upon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatsoever else it were that animated them to murder their king; the scripture tells us plainly, that ^b *for the blood of the children of Jehoiaha* this befell him. And the same appears to have been used as the pretence of their conspiracy, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For *Amaziah*, the son and successor of *Joas*, durst not punish them, till his kingdom was established; but contrariwise, his body was judged unworthy of burial in the sepulchres of the kings; whereby it appears, that the death of *Zacharia* caused the treason, wrought against the king, to find more approbation than was requisite among the people, though afterwards it was recompensed by his son, upon the traitors, with well-deserved death.

^a 2 Chron. 24. 24.

^b 2 Chron. 24. 25.

SECT. VI.

Of the princes living in the time of Joas: Of the time when Carthage was built; and of Dido.

THERE lived with *Joas*, *Mezades* and *Diognetus* in *Athens*; *Eudemus* and *Aristomedes* in *Corinth*: about which time *Agrippa Sylvius*, and after him *Sylvius Alladius*, were kings of the *Albans* in *Italy*. *Ocraxapes*, commonly called *Anacyndaraxes*, the thirty-seventh king succeeding unto *Opbratanes*, began his reign over the *Affyrians*, about the eighteenth year of *Joas*, which lasted forty-two years. In the sixteenth of *Joas*, *Cephrenes*, the fourth from *Sesac*, succeeded unto *Cheops* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and held it fifty years.

In this time of *Joas* was likewise the reign of *Pygmalion* in *Tyre*, and the foundation of *Carthage* by *Dido*; the building of which city is, by divers authors, placed in divers ages, some reporting it to be seventy years younger than *Rome*, others above four hundred years elder, few or none of them giving any reason of their assertions, but leaving us uncertain whom to follow: ^a *Josephus*, who had read the annals of *Tyre*, counting one hundred forty and three years and eight months from the building of *Solomon's* temple, in the twelfth year of *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, to the founding of *Carthage* by *Dido*, in the seventh of *Pygmalion*. The particulars of this account (which is not rare in *Josephus*) are very perplexed, and serve not very well to make clear the total sum. But whether it were so that *Josephus* did omit, or else that he did mis-write some number of the years, which he reckoneth in fractions, as they were divided among the kings of *Tyre*, from *Hiram* to *Pygmalion*; we may well enough believe, that the *Tyrian* writers, out of whose books he gives us the whole sum, had good means to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, between two works no longer following one the other, than the memory of three or four generations might easily reach. This hundred forty and four years current, after the building of *Solomon's* temple, being the eleventh year of *Joas*, was a hundred forty and three years before the birth of *Rome*, and after the destruction of *Troy* two hundred eighty and nine: a time so long after the death of *Aeneas*, that we might truly conclude all to be fabulous which *Virgil* hath written of *Dido*, as *Ausonius* noteth, who doth honour her statue with this epigram.

*Ille ego sum Dido vultu quam conspicis hospes,
Assimulata modis pulchraque mirificis.
Talis eram, sed non Maro quam mihi finxit, erat
mens,
Vita nec incestis leta cupidinibus.
(Namque nec Aeneas vidit me Troius unquam,
Nec Libyam advenit, classibus Iliacis:
Sed furias fugiens, atque arma procacis Iarbae,
Servavi, fateor, morte pudicitiam;
Pectore transfixo, castos quod pertulit enses.)
Non furor, aut leso crudus amore dolor.
Sic cecidisse juvat: vixi sine vulnere fama,
Ulti virum, positis mœnibus appetii.
Invida cur in me stimulas Musa Maronem,
Fingeret ut nostræ damna pudicitie?
Nos magis historicis, lectores, credite de me,
Quam qui furta delum concubitusque canunt.
Falsidici vates, temerant qui carmine verum,
Humanisque deos assimulant vitiis.*

Which in effect is this:

I am that *Dido* which thou here do'st see,
Cunningly framed in beauteous imag'ry.
Like this I was, but had not such a soul,
As *Maro* feign'd, incestuous and foul.
Aeneas never with his *Trojan* host
Beheld my face, or landed on this coast:
But flying proud *Iarba's* villany,
Not mov'd by furious love or jealousy,
I did with weapon chaste, to save my fame,
Make way for death untimely, ere it came.
This was my end; but first I built a town,
Reveng'd my husband's death, liv'd with renown.
Why did'st thou stir up *Virgil*, envious Muse,
Falsely my name and honour to abuse?
Readers, believe historians; not those
Which to the world *Jove's* thefts and vice ex-
Poets are liars, and for verses fake (pose.
Will make the gods of human crimes partake.

From the time of *Dido* unto the first *Punic* war, that *Carthage* grew and flourished in wealth and conquests, we find in many histories: but in particular we find little of the *Carthaginian* affairs before that war, excepting those few things that are recorded of their attempts upon the isle of *Sicily*. We will therefore defer the relation of matters concerning that mighty city, until such time as they shall encounter with the estate of *Rome*, by which it was finally destroyed; and prosecute in the mean while the history that is now in hand.

SECT. VII.

The beginning of Amazia's reign. Of Joas king of Israel, and Elisha the prophet.

AMAZIA, the son of *Joas*, being twenty-five years old when his father died, took possession of the kingdom of *Juda*, wherein he labour'd so to demean himself, as his new beginning reign might be least offensive. The law of *Moses* he profess'd to observe; which howsoever it had been secretly despised since the time of *Jehoram*, by many great persons of the land, yet had it, by provision of good princes, yea and of bad ones (in their best times) imitating the good, but especially by the care of holy priests, taken such deep root in the people's hearts, that no king might hope to be very plausible, who did not conform himself unto it. And at that present time, the slaughter, which the *Aramites* had made of all the princes, who had withdrawn the late king from the service of God, being seconded by the death of the king himself, even whilst that execrable murder, committed by the king upon *Zecharia*, was yet fresh in memory, did serve as a notable example of God's justice against idolaters, both to animate the better sort of the people in holding the religion of their fathers, and to discourage *Amazia* from following the way which led to such an evil end. He therefore, having learn'd of his father the art of dissimulation, did not only forbear to punish the traytors that had slain king *Joas*, but gave way to the time, and suffered the dead body to be interred, as that of *Jehoram* formerly had been, in the city of *David*, yet not among the sepulchres of the kings of *Juda*. Nevertheless after this, when (belike) the noise of the people having wearied itself into silence, it was found that the conspirators (howsoever their deed done was applauded as the handy work of GOD) had neither any mighty partakers in their fact, nor

^a Joseph. cont. App. lib. 1.

^b Auson. Ep. 117.

strong maintainers of their persons; but rested secure, as having done well, seeing it was not ill taken; the king, who perceived his government well established, called them into question, at such a time, as the heat of mens affections, being well allayed, it was easy to distinguish between their treasons and God's judgments, which, by their treasons, had taken plausible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the law did require) were suffered to live; which could not but give contentment to the people, seeing that their king did the office of a just prince, rather than of a revenging son. This being done, and his own life better secured, by such exemplary justice, against the like attempts; *Amazia* carried himself outwardly as a prince well affected to religion, and so continued in rest, about twelve or thirteen years.

As *Amazia* gathered strength in *Judah* by the commodity of a long peace, so *Joas* the *Israelite*, grew as fast in power, by following the war hotly against the *Aramites*. He was a valiant and fortunate prince, yet an idolater, as his predecessors had been, worshipping the calves of *Jero-boam*. For this sin had God so plagued the house of *Jehu*, that the ten tribes wanted little of being utterly consumed, by *Hazael* and *Benbadad*, in the time of *Jehu* and his son *Jehoabaz*. But as God's benefits to *Jehu* sufficed not to withdraw him from this politick idolatry; so were the miseries, rewarding that impiety, unable to reclaim *Jehoabaz* from the same impious course: yet the mercy, of God beholding the trouble of *Israel*, condescended unto the prayers of this ungodly prince, even then when he and his miserable subjects were obstinate in following their own abominable ways. Therefore in temporal matters, the ten tribes recovered apace, but the favour of God, which had been infinitely more worth, I do not find, nor believe that they fought; that they had it not, I find in the words of the prophet, saying plainly to *Amazia*, ^a*The Lord is not with Israel, neither with all the house of Ephraim.*

Whether it were so, that the great prophet *Elisha*, who lived in those times, did foretell the prosperity of the *Israelites* under the reign of *Joas*; or whether *Jehoabaz*, wearied and broken with long adversity, thought it the wisest way to discharge himself in part of the heavy cares attending those unhappy *Syrian* wars, by laying the burden upon his hopeful son; we find, ^b*That in the thirty-seventh year of Joas, king of Judah, Joas the son of Jehoabaz began to reign over Israel in Samaria*, which was in the fifteenth year of his father's reign, and some two or three years before his death.

It appears that this young prince, even from the beginning of his rule, did so well husband that poor stock which he received from his father, of ten chariots, fifty horsemen, and ten thousand foot, that he might seem likely to prove a thriver. Among other circumstances, the words which he spake to *Elisha* the prophet, argue no less. For *Joas* visiting the prophet, who lay sick, spake unto him thus; ^c*O my father, my father, the chariots of Israel, and the horsemen of the same*; by which manner of speech he did acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had stood his kingdom in more stead, than all the horses and chariots could do.

This prophet, who succeeded unto *Elias*, about the first year of *Jehoram* the son of *Ahab* king of *Israel*, died (as some have probably collected) about the third or fourth year of this *Joas*, the nephew

of *Jehu*. To shew how the spirit of *Elias* was doubled, or did rest upon him; it exceedeth my faculty. This is recorded of him, that he did not only raise a dead child unto life, as *Elias* had done, but when he himself was dead, it pleased God that his dead bones should restore life unto a carcase, which touched them in the grave. In fine, he bestowed, as a legacy, three victories upon king *Joas*, who thereby did set *Israel* in a fair way of recovering all that the *Aramites* had usurped, and weakening the kings of *Damascus* in such sort, that they were never after terrible to *Samaria*.

S E C T. VIII.

Of Amazia's war against Edom; his apostacy, and overthrow by Joas:

THE happy success which *Joas* had found in his war against the *Aramites*, was such as might kindle in *Amazia* a desire of undertaking some expedition, wherein himself might purchase the like honour. His kingdom could furnish three hundred thousand serviceable men for the wars; and his treasure was sufficient for the payment of these and the hire of many more. Cause of war he had very just against the *Edomites*, who having rebelled in the time of his grandfather *Jehoram*, had about fifty years been unreclaimed; partly by reason of the troubles happening in *Judah*, partly thro' the sloth and timorousness of his father *Joas*. Yet, forasmuch as the men of *Judah* had in many years been without all exercise of war (excepting that unhappy fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the *Aramites*) he held it a point of wisdom to encrease his forces, with soldiers waged out of *Israel*, whence he hired for an hundred talents of silver, ^d*an hundred thousand valiant men*, as the scripture telleth us, tho' ^e*Josephus* diminishes the number, saying, that they were but twenty thousand.

This great army, which with so much cost *Amazia* had hired out of *Israel*, he was fain to dismiss, before he had employed it, being threatned by a prophet with ill success, if he strengthened himself with the help of those men, whom God (tho' in mercy he gave them victory against the cruel *Aramites*) did not love, because they were idolaters. The *Israelites* therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this dismissal, as an high disgrace; which to revenge, they fell upon a piece of *Judah* in their return, and shewed their malice in the slaughter of three thousand men, and some spoil, which they carried away. But *Amazia* with his own forces, knowing that God would be assistant to their journey, entered courageously into the *Edomites* country; over whom obtaining victory, he slew ten thousand, and took other ten thousand prisoners, all which he threw from an high rock; holding them, it seems, rather as traitors, than as just enemies. This victory did not seem to reduce *Edom* under the subjection of the crown of *Judah*, which might be the cause of that severity, which was used to the prisoners; the *Edomites* that had escaped, refusing to buy the lives of their friends and kinsmen at so dear a rate, as the loss of their own liberty. Some towns in mount *Seir*, *Amazia* took, as appears by his carrying away the idols thence; but it is like they were the places most indefensible, in that he left no garrisons there, whereby he might another year the better have pursued the conquest of the whole country. Howsoever it were, he got both honour

^a 2 Chron. 25. 7.^b 2 Kings 13. 10.^c 2 Kings 13. 14.^d 2 Chron. 25. 6.^e Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. 9. cap. 10.

by the journey, and gains enough, had he not lost himself.

Among other spoils of the *Edomites*, were carried away their gods, which being vanquished and taken prisoners, did deserve well to be led in triumph. But they contrariwise, I know not by what strange witchcraft, so besotted this unworthy king *Amazia*, ^a *That he set them up to be his gods, and worshipped them, and burnt incense unto them.*

When he was rebuked for this by a prophet sent from God, he gave a churlish and threatening answer; asking the prophet, Who made him a counsellor, and bidding him hold his peace for fear of the worst. If either the costly stuff whereof these idols were made, or the curious workmanship and beauty with which they were adorned by artificers, had ravished the king's fancy, methinks he should have rather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as household ornaments and things of pleasure, than thereby have suffered himself to be blinded with such unreasonable devotion towards them. If the superstitious account wherein the *Edomites* had held them, were able to work much upon his imagination; much more should the bad service which they had done to their old clients, have moved him thereupon to laugh, both at the *Edomites* and them. Wherefore it seems to me, that the same affections carried him from God unto the service of idols, which afterwards moved him to talk so roughly to the prophet reprehending him. He had already obeyed the warning of God by a prophet, and sent such auxiliary forces as he had gathered out of *Israel*; which done, it is said, that he ^b *was encouraged, and led forth his people*, thinking belike, that God would now rather assist him by miracle, than let him fail of obtaining all his heart's desire. But with better reason he should have limited his desires by the will of God, whose pleasure it was, that *Esau*, having broken the yoke of *Jacob* from his neck, accordingly as *Isaac* had foretold, should no more become his servant. If therefore *Amazia* did hope to re-conquer all the country of *Edom*, he failed of his expectation; yet so, that he brought home both profit and honour, which might have well contented him.

But there is a foolish and a wretched pride, wherewith men being transported, can ill endure to ascribe unto God the honour of those actions, in which it hath pleased him to use their own industry, courage or foresight. Therefore it is commonly seen, that they, who entering into battle, are careful to pray for aid from heaven, with due acknowledgment of his power who is the giver of victory; when the field is won, do vaunt of their own exploits: one telling how he got such a ground of advantage; another, how he gave check to such a battalion; a third, how he seized on the enemies cannon; every one striving to magnify himself, whilst all forget God, as one that had not been present in the action. To ascribe to fortune the effects of another man's virtue, is, I confess, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he, which findeth better success, than he did, or in reason might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the author of his happiness; so he, whose mere wisdom and labour hath brought things to a prosperous issue, is doubly bound to shew himself thankful, both for the victory, and for those virtues by which the victory was gotten. And indeed so far from weakness is the nature of such thanksgiving, that it may well be called the height of magnanimity; no virtue being so truly heroical, as that

by which the spirit of man advanceth it self with confidence of acceptation, unto the love of God. In which sense it is a brave speech that *Evander* in *Virgil* useth to *Aeneas*, none but a Christian being capable of the admonition.

Aude hospes contemnere opes, & te quoque dignum Finge Deo.

With this philosophy *Amaziah* (as appears by his carriage) troubled not his head: he had shewed himself a better man of war than any king of *Juda*, since the time of *Jehoshaphat*, and could be well contented, that his people should think him little inferior to *David*: of which honour he saw no reason why the prophets should rob him, who had made him lose an hundred talents, and done him no pleasure, he having prevailed by plain force and good conduct, without any miracle at all. That he was distempered with such vain thoughts as these (besides the witness of his impiety following) ^c *Josephus* doth testify, saying, That he despised God, and that being puff'd up with his good success, of which nevertheless he would not acknowledge God to be the author, he commanded *Joas* king of *Israel* to become his subject, and to let the ten tribes acknowledge him their sovereign, as they had done his ancestors king *David* and king *Solomon*. Some think that his quarrel to *Joas* was rather grounded upon the injury done to him by the *Israelites*, whom he dismissed in the journey against mount *Seir*. And likely it is, that the sense of a late wrong had more power to stir him up, than the remembrance of an old title forgotten long since, and by himself neglected thirteen or fourteen years. Nevertheless it might so be, that when he was thus provoked, he thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would also call old matters into question; that so the kings of *Israel* might, at the least, learn to keep their subjects from offending *Judah*, for fear of endangering their own crowns. Had *Amazia* desired only recompence for the injury done to him, it is not improbable that he should have had some reasonable answer from *Joas*, who was not desirous to fight with them. But the answer which *Joas* returned, likening himself to a cedar, and *Amazia* in respect of him no better than a thistle, shews that the challenge was made in insolent terms, stuffed perhaps with such proud comparison of nobility, as might be made (according to that which *Josephus* hath written) between a king of ancient race, and one of less nobility than virtue.

It is by ^d *Sophocles* reported of *Ajax*, that when going to the war of *Troy*, his father had bid him to be valiant, and get victory by God's assistance, he made answer, that by God's assistance, a coward could get victory, but he would get it alone without such help; after which proud speech, tho' he did many valiant acts, he had small thanks, and finally killing himself in a madness, whereinto he fell upon disgrace received, was hardly allowed the honour of burial. That *Amaziah* did utter such words, I do not find: but having once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of such words, he was rewarded with success according. The very first council wherein this war was concluded, serves to prove that he was a wise prince indeed at *Jerusalem*, among his parasites; but a fool when he had to deal with his equals abroad. For it was not all one, to fight with the *Edomites*, a weak people, trusting more in the site of their country, than the valour of their

^a 2 Chron. 25. 14.

^b 2 Chron. 25. 11.

^c Joseph. Ant. l. 9. c. 10.

^d Sophocles in *Ajace* Lon.

soldiers;

soldiers; and to encounter with *Joas*, who from so poor beginnings had raised himself to such strength, that he was able to lend his friend an hundred thousand men, and had all his nation exercised, and trained up, in a long victorious war. But as *Amaziah* discover'd much want of judgment, in undertaking such a match; so in prosecuting the business, when it was set on foot, he behaved himself as a man of little experience, who having once only tried his fortune, and found it to be good, thought that in war there was nothing else to do, than send a defiance, fight, and win. *Joas*, on the contrary side, having been accusom'd to deal with a stronger enemy than the king of *Juda*, us'd that celerity, which peradventure had often stood him in good stead against the *Aramite*. He did not sit waiting till the enemies broke in and wasted his country, but presented himself with an army in *Juda*, ready to bid battel to *Amaziah*, and save him the labour of a long journey. This could not but greatly discourage those of *Juda*; who (besides the impression of fear which an invasion beats into people, not inur'd to the like) having devour'd, in their greedy hopes, the spoil of *Israel*, fully persuading themselves to get as much, and at as easy a rate, as in the journey of *Edom*, were so far disappointed of their expectation, that well they might suspect all new assurance of good luck, when the old had thus beguiled them. Notwithstanding all this, their king that had stomach enough to challenge the patrimony of *Solomon*, thought like another *David*, to win it by the sword. The issue of which fool-hardiness might easily have been foreseen in human reason; comparing together, either the two kings, or the quality of their armies, or the first and ominous beginning of the war. But meer human wisdom, howsoever it might foresee much, could not have prognosticated all the mischief that fell upon *Amaziah*. For as soon as the two armies came in sight, God, whose help this wretched man had so despised, did (as ^a *Josephus* reports it) strike such terror and amazement into the men of *Juda*, that without one blow given, they fled all away, leaving their king to shift for himself, which he did so ill, that his enemy had soon caught him, and made him change his glorious humour into most abject baseness. That the army which fled, sustained any other loss than of honour, I neither find in the scriptures, nor in *Josephus*; it being likely that the soon beginning of their flight, which made it the more shameful, made it also the more safe. But of the mischief that follow'd this overthrow, it was God's will that *Amaziah* himself should sustain the whole disgrace. For *Joas* carried him directly to *Jerusalem*, where he bad him procure that the gates might be open'd, to let him in and his army; threatening him otherwise with present death. So much amaz'd was the miserable captive, with these dreadful words, that he durst do no other, than persuade the citizens to yield themselves to the mercy of the conqueror. The town, which afterwards being in weaker state held out two years against *Nebuchadnezzar*, was utterly dismay'd, when the king, that should have given his life to save it, us'd all his force of command and intreaty to betray it. So the gates of *Jerusalem* were open'd to *Joas*, with which honour (greater than any king of *Israel* had ever obtained) he could not rest contented, but, the more to despight *Amaziah* and his people, he caused four hundred cubits of the wall to be thrown down, and entered the city in his chariot through that breach, carrying the king be-

fore him, as in triumph. This done, he sack'd the temple; and the king's palace; and so, taking hostages of *Amaziah*, he dismissed the poor creature that was glad of his life, and returned to *Samaria*.

SECT. IX.

A discourse of the reasons hindering Joas from uniting Juda to the crown of Israel, when he had won Jerusalem, and held Amaziah prisoner. The end of Joas's reign.

WE may justly marvel how it came to pass; that *Joas*, being thus in possession of *Jerusalem*, having the king in his hands, his enemies forces broken, and his own entire, could be so contented to depart quietly, with a little spoil, when he might have seiz'd upon the whole kingdom. The reign of *Athalia* had given him cause to hope, that the issue of *David* might be dispossessed of that crown; his own nobility, being the son and grandchild of kings, together with the famous acts that he had done, were enough to make the people of *Juda* think highly of him; who might also have prefer'd his form of government before that of their own king's, especially at such a time, when a long succession of wicked princes had smothered the thanks, which were due to the memory of a few good ones. The commodity that would have ensu'd, upon the union of all the twelve tribes, under one prince, is so apparent, that I need not to insist on it. That any message from God forbade the *Israelites* (as afterwards in the victory which *Peka* the son of *Romelia* got upon *Abaz*) to turn his present advantage to the best use, we do not read. All this makes it the more difficult to resolve the question, why a prince so well exercised, as *Joas* had been, in recovering his own, and winning from his enemy, should forsake the possession of *Jerusalem*, and wilfully neglect the possibilities, or rather cast away the full assurance of so fair a conquest, as the kingdom of *Juda*.

But concerning that point, which of all others had been most material, I mean the desire of the vanquished people to accept the *Israelite* for their king, it is plainly seen, that entering *Jerusalem* in triumphant manner, *Joas* was unable to concoct his own posterity. For the opening of the gates had been enough to have let him not only into the city, but into the royal throne; and the people's hearts, whom by fair intreaty (especially having sure means of compulsion) he might have made his own, when they saw themselves betray'd, and basely given away by him whose they had been before. The fair mark which this opportunity presented he did not aim at, because his ambition was otherwise and more meanly busied, in levelling at the glory of a triumphant entry through a breach. Yet this error might afterwards have been corrected well enough, if entering as an enemy, and shewing what he could do, by spending his anger upon the walls, he had within the city done offices of a friend, and labour'd to shew good will to the inhabitants. But when his pride had done, his covetousness began and sought to please it self, with that which is commonly most ready to the spoiler, yet should be most forborn. The treasure wherewith *Sesac*, *Hazaël*, and the *Philistines*, men ignorant of the true God and his religion, had quench'd their greedy thirst, ought not to have tempted the appetite of *Joas*, who, tho' an idolater, yet acknowledg'd also and worshipp'd the eternal God, whose temple was at

^a *Jos. Ant.* l. 9. c. 10.

Jerusalem. Therefore when the people saw him take his way directly to that holy place, and lay his ravenous hands upon the consecrated vessels, calling the family of *Obed Edom* (*whose children had hereditary charge of the treasury*) to a strict account, as if they had been officers of his own exchequer, they considered him rather as an execrable church-robber, than as a noble prince, an *Israelite* and their brother, tho' of another tribe. Thus following that course, which the most virtuous king of our age (taxing it with the same phrase) hath wisely avoided; by stealing a few apples, he lost the inheritance of the whole orchard. The people detested him, and after the respite of a few days, might by comparing themselves one to one, perceive his soldiers to be no better than men of their own mould, and inferiour in number to the inhabitants of so great a city. It is not so easy to hold by force a mighty town entered by capitulation, as to enter the gates open'd by unadvised fear. For when the citizens, not being disarmed, recover their spirits, and begin to understand their first error; they will think upon every advantage, of place, of provisions, of multitude, yea of women armed with tile-stones, and rather choose by desperate resolution, to correct the evils grown out of their former cowardise, than suffer those mischiefs to poison the body, which in such half-conquests, are easily tasted in the mouth. A more lively example hercof cannot be desired, than the city of *Florence*, which through the weakness of *Peter de Medices*, governing therein as a prince, was reduced into such hard terms, that it opened the gates unto the *French* king *Charles* the eighth, who not plainly professing himself either friend or foe to the state, entered the town with his army, in triumphant manner, himself and his horse armed, with his lance upon his thigh. Many insolencies were therein committed by the *French*, and much argument of quarrel ministred, between them and the townsmen: so far forth, that the *Florentines*, to preserve their liberty, were driven to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, *Charles* propounds intolerable conditions, demanding huge sums of ready money, and the absolute seignory of the state, as conquered by him, who entred the city in arms. But *Peter Caponi*, a principal citizen, catching these articles from the king's secretary, and tearing them before his face, bid him sound his trumpets, and they would ring their bells: which peremptory words made the *French* bethink themselves, and come readily to this agreement, that for forty thousand pounds, and not half of that money to be paid in hand, *Charles* should not only depart in peace, but restore whatsoever he had of their dominion, and continue their assured friend. So dangerous a matter did it seem for that brave army, which in few months after won the kingdom of *Naples*, to fight in the streets, against the armed multitude of that populous city. It is true, that *Charles* had other business (and so perhaps had *Joas*, as shall anon be shewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehension of imminent danger that made him come to reason. In such cases the firing of houses usually draws every citizen to save his own, leaving victory to the soldier: yet where the people are prepar'd and resolv'd, women can quench, as fast as the enemy, having other things to look unto, can set on fire. And indeed that commander is more given to anger than regardful of profit,

who, upon the uncertain hope of destroying a town, forsakes the assurance of a good composition. Diversity of circumstance may alter the case: it is enough to say, that it might be in *Jerusalem*, as we know it was in *Florence*.

How strongly soever *Joas* might hold himself within *Jerusalem*, he could not easily depart from thence, with his booty safe, if the army of *Juda*, which had been more terrified than weaken'd in the late encounter, should reinforce itself, and give him a check upon the way. Wherefore it was wisely done of him, to take hostages for his better security, his army being upon return, and better loaden than when it came forth; for which causes it was the more unapt to fight.

Besides these impediments, within the city and without, serving to cool the ambition of *Joas*, and keep it down from aspiring to the crown of *Juda*; it appears that somewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of *Elisha* the prophet; who, when this *Joas* had smitten the ground with his arrows thrice, told him that he should no oftner smite the *Aramites*. The three victories which *Israel* had against *Aram*, are by some, and with great probability, referred unto the fifth, sixth and seventh years of *Joas*, after which time, if any losses ensuing had blemished the former good success, ill might the king of *Israel* have likened himself to a stately cedar, and worse could he have either lent the *Judean* one hundred thousand men, or meet him in battel, who was able to bring into the field three hundred thousand of his own. Seeing therefore it is made plain by the words of *Elisha*, that after three victories, *Joas* should find some change of fortune, and suffer loss; we must needs conclude, that the *Aramite* prevailed upon him this year, it being the last of his reign. That this was so, and that the *Syrians*, taking advantage of *Joas*'s absence, gave such a blow to *Israel*, as the king at his return was not able to remedy, but rather fell himself into new misfortunes, which increased the calamity, we may evidently perceive in that which is spoken of *Jeroboam*'s son. For it is said, *That the Lord saw the exceeding bitter afflictions of Israel, and that having not decreed to put out the name of Israel from under the heaven, he preserved them by the hand of Jeroboam, the son of Joas.* This is enough to prove, that the victorious reign of *Joas* was concluded with a sad catastrophe; the riches of the temple hastning his misery and death, as they had done with *Sesac*, *Athalia* and *Hazael*, and as afterwards they wrought with *Antiochus*, *Craesus*, and other sacrilegious potentates.

Thus either thro' indignation conceived against him, by the people of *Jerusalem*, and courage which they took to set upon him within the walls: or thro' preparation of the army that lay abroad in the country, to bid him battel in open field, and recover by a new charge the honour which was lost at the former encounter; or thro' the miseries daily brought upon his own country, by the *Syrian* in his absence, if not by all these; *Joas* was driven to lay aside all thought of winning the kingdom of *Juda*; and taking hostages for his quiet passage, made all haste homewards, where he found a sad welcome, and being utterly forsaken of his wonted prosperity, forsook also his life in few months after, leaving his kingdom to *Jeroboam* the second, his fortunate and valiant son.

S E C T. X.

The end of Amazia's reign and life.

ANY man is able to guess how *Amazia* look'd, when the enemy had left him. He that had vaunted so much of his own great prowess and skill in arms, threatening to work wonders, and set up anew the glorious empire of *David*, was now uncased of his lion's hide, and appeared nothing so terrible a beast as he had been painted. Much argument of scoffing at him he had ministred unto such as held him in dislike; which at this time, doubtless, were very many: for the shame that falls upon an insolent man seldom fails of meeting with abundance of reproach. As for *Amazia* (besides that the multitude are always prone to lay the blame upon their governours, even of those calamities which have happened by their own default) there was no child in all *Jerusalem*, but knew him to be the root of all this mischief. He had not only challenged a good man of war, being himself a dastard, but when he was beaten and taken by him, had basely pleaded for the common enemy, to have him let into the city, that with his own eyes he might see what spoil there was, and not make a bad bargain by hear-say. The father of this *Amazia* was a beastly man; yet when the *Aramites* took him, and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his own life at so dear a rate, as the city and temple of *Jerusalem*. Had he offered; should they have made his promise good? Surely the haste which they had made, in condescending to this hard match, was very unfortunate: for by keeping out the *Israelite* (which was easy enough) any little while, they should soon have been rid of him, seeing that the *Aramites* would have made him run home with greater speed than he came forth. Then also, when having trussed up his baggage, he was ready to be gone, a little courage would have served to persuade him to leave his load behind; had not their good king delivered up hostages, to secure his return, as loth to defraud him of the recompence due to his pains taken.

Such exprobrations could not but vex the heart of this unhappy king: it had been well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his faults unto God, that had punished him by all this dishonour. But we find no mention of his amendment. Rather it appears, that he continued an idolater to the very last. For it is said of him, that after his turning away from the Lord, *they wrought treason against him in Jerusalem*; a manifest proof that he was not reclaimed, unto his life's end. And certainly they, which tell a man in his adversity of his faults passed, shall sooner be thought to upbraid him with his fortune, than to seek his reformation. Wherefore it is no marvel, that priests and prophets were less welcome to him than ever they had been. On the other side, flatterers, and such as were desirous to put a heart into him, whereof themselves might always be masters, wanted not plausible matter to revive him. For he was not first, nor second, of the kings of *Juda*, that had been overcome in battle. *David* himself had abandoned the city, leaving it, before the enemy was in sight, unto *Abshalom* his rebellious son. Many besides him had received losses, wherein the temple bare a part. If *Joas* might so easily have been kept out; why did their ancestors let *Sesac* in? *Asa* was reputed a virtuous prince, yet with his own hands he emptied the temple, and was not blamed, but held excusable

by necessity of the state. Belike these traducers would recommend no actions but of dead princes; if so, he should rather live to punish them, than die to please them. Though wherein had he given them any cause of displeasure? It was he indeed that commanded to set open the gates to *Joas*; but it was the people that did it. Good servants ought not to have obeyed their master's commandments to his disadvantage, when they saw him not master of his own person. As his captivity did acquit him from blame, of all things that he did or suffered in that condition; so was that misfortune itself, in true estimation, as highly to his honour, as deeply to his loss. For had he been as hasty to fly as others were, he might have escaped as well as others did. But seeking to teach the base multitude courage, by his royal example, he was shamefully betrayed by those in whom he trusted. Unworthy creatures that could readily obey him, when speaking another man's words, being prisoner, he commanded them to yield; having neglected his charge, when leading them in the field, he bad them stand to it, and fight like men. The best was, that they must needs acknowledge his mischance, as the occasion whereby many thousand lives were saved; the enemy having wisely preferred the surprise of a lion that was captain, before the chase and slaughter of an army of stags, that followed him.

These or the like words comforting *Amazia*, were able to persuade him, that it was even so indeed. And such excuses might have served well enough to please the people, if the king had first studied how to please God. But he that was unwilling to ascribe unto God the good success foretold by a prophet, could easily find how to impute this late disaster unto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning fortune, it seems that he meant to keep himself safe from her, by sitting still; for in fifteen years following (so long he out-lived his honour) we find not that he stirred. As for his subjects, though nothing henceforth be recorded of his government; yet we may see by his end, that the middle time was ill spent among them, increasing their hatred to his own ruin. He that suspecteth his own worth, or other mens opinions, thinking the less regard is had of his person, than he believeth to be due to his place, will commonly spend all the force of his authority, in purchasing the name of a severe man. For the affected sourness of a vain fellow doth many times resemble the gravity of one that is wise: and the fear wherein they live, which are subject unto oppression, carries a shew of reverence to him that does the wrong; at least it serves to dazzle the eyes of underlings, keeping them from prying into the weakness of such as have jurisdiction over them. Thus the time, wherein, by well using it, men might attain to be such as they ought, they do usually mispend, in seeking to appear such as they are not. This is a vain and deceivable course; procuring, instead of the respect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous consequence; especially when an unable spirit, being over-perted with so high authority, is too passionate in the execution of such an office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therefore *Amazia* thought by extreme rigour to hold up his reputation, what did he else than strive to make the people think he hated them, when of themselves they were apt enough to believe that he did not love them? The best was, that he had, by revenging his father's death, provided well enough for his own security: but who should take vengeance

(or upon whom?) of such a murder, where-in every one had a part? Surely God himself, who had not given commandment or leave unto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in shedding the blood of his anointed. Yet as *Amaziah*, careless of God, was carried headlong by his own affections; so his subjects, following the same ill example, without requiring what belonged unto their duties, rose up against him, with such headlong fury, that being unable to defend himself in *Jerusalem*, he was driven to forsake the City, and fly to *Lachis* for safeguard of his life. But so extreme was the hatred conceived against him, and so general, that neither his absence could allay the rage of it in the capital city, nor his presence in the country abroad procure friends to defend his life. Questionless, he chose the town of *Lachis* for his refuge, as a place of all other best affected to him; yet found he there none other favour, than that the people did not kill him with their own hands: for when the Conspirators (who troubled not themselves about raising an army for the matter) sent pursuers after him, he was abandon'd to death. *Lachis* was the utmost city of his dominion westward, standing somewhat without the border of *Juda*; so that he might have made an easy escape (if he dar'd adventure) into the territory of the *Philistins*, or the kingdom of *Israel*. Therefore it may seem that he was detained there, where certain it is that he found no kind of favour: for had not the people of this town added their own treason to the general insurrection; the murderers could not, at so good leisure as they did, have carried away his body to *Jerusalem*, where they gave him burial with his Fathers.

S E C T. XI.

Of the Interregnum, or vacancy, that was in the Kingdom of Juda, after the death of Amaziah.

IT hath already been shewed, that the reigns of the kings of *Juda* and *Israel* were sometimes to be measured by compleat years; otherwhiles, by years current: and that the time of one king is now and then confounded with the last years of his father's reign, or the foremost of his son's. But we are now arrived at a mere vacation, wherein the crown of *Juda* lay void eleven whole years: a thing not plainly set down in scriptures, nor yet remembered by *Josaphus*, and therefore hard to be believed, were it not proved by necessary consequence.

Twice we find it written, that *Amaziah king of Juda, lived after the death of Joas king of Israel fifteen years*; whereupon it follows, that the death of *Amaziah*, was about the end of fifteen years compleat, which *Jeroboam* the second (who *in the fifteenth year of Amaziah was made king over Israel*) had reigned in *Samaria*. But the succession of *Uzziah*, who is also called *Azaria*, unto his father in the Kingdom of *Juda*, was eleven years later than the sixteenth of *Jeroboam*: for it is expressed, that *Azaria began to reign in the seven and twentieth year of Jeroboam*; the sixteenth year of his life being joined with the first of two and fifty that he reigned. So the *Interregnum* of eleven years cannot be divided, without some hard means used, of interpreting the text otherwise than the letter sounds.

Yet some conjectures there are made, which tend to keep all even, without acknowledging any void time. For it is thought, that in the place last of all

cited, by the seven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam*, we should perhaps understand the seven and twentieth year of his life; or else (because the like words are no-where else interpreted in the like sense) that *Azaria* was eleven years under age, that is, five years old, when his father died, and so his sixteenth year might concur with the seven and twentieth of *Jeroboam*; or, that the text itself may have suffered some wrong, by miswriting twenty-seven for seventeen years, and so, by making the 17th year of *Jeroboam* to be newly begun, all may be saved. These are the conjectures of that worthy man *Gerard Mercator*: concerning the first of which it may suffice, that the author himself doth easily let it pass as improbable; the last is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit, that upon every doubt, we should call the text in question, which could not be satisfied in all copies, if perhaps it were in one: as for the second, it may be held with some qualification, that *Azaria* began his reign being five years old; but then must we add those 11 years which passed in his minority, to the 52 that followed his 16th year, which is all one, in a manner, with allowing an *interregnum*.

But why should we be so careful to avoid an *interregnum* in *Juda*, seeing that the like necessity hath enforced all good writers to acknowledge the like vacancy twice happening within few years, in the kingdom of *Israel*? The space of time between *Jeroboam's* death, and the beginning of *Zachariah's* reign, and such another gap found between the death of *Peka*, and the beginning of *Hosea*, have made it easily to be admitted into *Samaria*, which the consideration of things as they stood in *Juda*, when *Amaziah* was slain, doth make more probable to have happened there, yea altho' the necessity of computation were not so apparent.

For the publick fury, having so far extended itself, as unto the destruction of the king's own person, was not like to be appeased without order taken for obtaining some redress of those matters, which had caused it at the first to break forth into such extremity. We need not therefore wonder how it came to pass, that they, which had already thrown themselves into such an horrible treason, should afterwards dare to withhold the crown from a prince of that age, which being invested in all ornaments of regality, is nevertheless exposed to many injuries, proceeding from headstrong and forgetful subjects.

As for their conjecture, who make *Azaria* to have been king but 41 years, after he came out of his non-age, I dare not allow it, because it agrees too harshly with the text. The best opinion were that, which gives unto *Jeroboam* 11 years of reign with his father, before he began to reign single in the 15th of *Amaziah*; did it not swallow up almost the whole reign of *Joas*, and extending they ears of those which reigned in *Israel* (by making such of them compleat, as were only current) and take at the shortest the reigns of princes auling in other nations. But I will not stand to dispute further of this: every man may follow his own opinion, and see mine more plainly in the chronological table drawn for these purposes.

S E C T. XII.

Of princes contemporary with Amaziah, and more particularly of Sardanapalus.

THE princes living with *Amaziah*, and in the eleven years that followed his death, were

^a 2 Chron. 25. 2. & 2 Kings 14. 17.

^b 2 Kings 14. 23.

^c 2 Kings 15. 1.

Joas and *Jeroboam* in *Israel*; *Cephrenes* and *Myserinus* in *Egypt*; *Sylvius Alladius*, and *Sylvius Aventinus* in *Alba*; *Agamemnon* in *Corinth*; *Diognetus Pheredus*, and *Ariphron* in *Athens*; in *Lacedæmon* *Theleetus*, in whose time the *Spartans* won from the *Achaïans*, *Gerauthæ*, *Amycle*, and some other towns.

But more notable than all these, was *Affyrian Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth year of *Amazia* succeeded his father *Ocraxapes* or *Anacyn-daraxes*, reigned twenty years, and was slain the last of the eleven void years which forewent the reign of *Azaria*. In him ended (as most agree) the line of *Ninus*, which had held that empire one thousand two hundred and forty years. A most luxurious and effeminate palliard he was, passing away his time among strumpets, whom he imitated both in apparel and behaviour.

In these voluptuous courses he lived an unappy life, knowing himself to be so vile, that he durst not let any man have a sight of him; yet seen he was at length, and the sight of him was so odious, that it procured his ruin. For *Arbaces*, who governed *Media* under him, finding means to behold the person of his king, was so incensed with that beastly spectacle, of a man disguised in womans attire, and striving to counterfeit an harlot, that he thought it great shame to live under the command of so unworthy a creature. Purposing therefore to free himself and others from so base subjection, he was much encouraged by the prediction of *Belesus* or *Belofus* a *Chaldean*, who told him plainly, that the kingdom of *Sardanapalus* should fall into his hands. *Arbaces*, well pleased with this prophecy, did promise unto *Belesus* himself the government of *Babylon*; and so concluding how to handle the business, one of them stirred up the *Medes*, and allured the *Persians* into the quarrel, the other persuaded the *Babylonians* and *Arabians* to venture themselves in the same cause. These four nations armed forty thousand men against *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himself, but gathering such forces as he could, out of other nations, encountered the rebels, as one that would by deeds refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that war answer to the manner of his retiredness. For in three battles he carried away the better, driving *Arbaces* and his followers into such fearful terms, that had not *Belesus* promised them constantly some unexpected succours, they would forthwith have broken up their camp. About the same time, an army out of *Bactria* was coming to assist the king; but *Arbaces* encountering it upon the way, persuaded so strongly by promise of liberty, that those forces joined themselves with his. The sudden departure of the enemy seeming to be a flight, caused *Sardanapalus* to feast his army, triumphing before victory. But the Rebels being strengthened with this new supply, came upon him by night, and forced his camp, which through over-great security, was unprepared for resistance.

This overthrow did so weaken the king's heart, that leaving his wife's brother *Salamenus* to keep the field, he withdrew himself into the city of *Niniveh*; which, till new aids that he sent for should come, he thought easily to defend; it having been prophesied, that *Niniveh* should never be taken till the river were enemy to the town. Of the greatness and strength of *Niniveh*, enough hath been spoken in our discourse of *Ninus*. It was so well victualled, that *Arbaces* (having in two battles

overthrown the king's army, and slain *Salamenus*) was fain to lie two whole years before it, in hope to win it by famine; whereof yet he saw no appearance. It seems that he wanted engines and skill to force those walls, which were a hundred foot high, and thick enough for three chariots in front to pass upon the rampire. But that which he could not do in two years, the river of *Tigris* did in the third: for being high swoln with rains, it not only drown'd a part of the city through which it ran, but threw down twenty furlongs of the wall, and made a fair breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

Sardanapalus, either terrified with the accomplishment of the old oracle, or seeing no means of resistance left, shutting up himself into his palace, with his wives, eunuchs, and all his treasures, did set the house on fire, wherewith he and they were together consum'd. ^a *Strabo* speaks of a monument of his, that was in *Anchiale*, a city of *Cilicia*, whereon was found an inscription, shewing that he built that city and *Tharsus* upon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding men eat and drink and make merry, encouraging others, with verses well known, to a voluptuous life, by his own example, testify'd that his nature was more prone to sensuality, than to any virtue befitting a prince.

There are some that faintly report otherwise of his end; saying that *Arbaces*, when he first found him among his concubines, was so enrag'd, that suddenly he slew him with a dagger. But the more general consent of writers agree with this relation of ^b *Diodorus Siculus*, who citeth *Ctesias* a *Greek* writer, that liv'd in the court of *Persia*, where the truth might best be known.

Concerning the princes which reigned in *Affyria*, from the time of *Semiramis*, unto *Sardanapalus*, tho' I believe that they were sometimes (yet not, as *Orosius* hath it, incessantly) busied, in offensive or else defensive arms; yet for the most part of them I do better trust ^c *Diodorus Siculus*, who saith, that their names were overpassed by *Ctesias*, because they did nothing worthy of memory. Whatsoever they did; that which ^d *Theophilus Antiochenus* hath said of them is very true; *Silence and oblivion hath oppressed them*.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of UZZIA.

SECT. I.

The prosperity of Uzzia, and of Jeroboam the second, who reigned with him in Israel. Of the anarchy that was in the ten tribes after the death of Jeroboam. Of Zacharia, Sallum, Menahem and Pekahia.

UZZIA, who is also called *Azaria*, the son of *Jotham*, was made king of *Juda*, when he was 16 years old, in the 27th year of *Jeroboam* the son of *Joas* king of *Israel*. He served the God of his father *David*, and had therefore good success in all his enterprises. He built *Eloth*, a town that stood near to the *Red sea*, and restored it to *Juda*. He overcame the *Philistines*, of whose towns he dismantled some, and built others in sundry parts of their territories. Also he got the mastery over some parts of *Arabia*, and brought the *Ammonites* to pay him tribute. Such were the fruits of his prosperous wars, wherein (as *Josephus* rehear-

^a Strab. l. 9. ^b Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 7. ^c Diod. l. 2. c. 6. ^d Theophilus Antiochenus, l. 8.

seth his acts) he began with the *Philistines*, and then proceeded unto the *Arabians* and *Ammonites*. His army consisted of three hundred and seven thousand men of war, over which were appointed two thousand six hundred captains. For all this multitude the king prepared ^a shields, and spears, and helmets, and other arms requisite; following therein happily a course quite opposite unto that which some of his late predecessors had held, who thought it better policy to use the service of the nobility, than of the multitude; carrying forth to war *the princes and all the chariots*, 2 Chron. xxi. 9.

As the victories of *Uzzia* were far more important, than the achievements of all that had reign'd in *Juda*, since the time of *David*; so were his riches and magnificent works equal, if not superiour, to any of theirs that had been kings between him and *Solomon*. For besides that great conquests are wont to repay the charges of war with triple interest, he had the skill to use, as well as the happiness to get. He turn'd his lands to the best use, keeping ploughmen and dressers of vines, in grounds convenient for such husbandry. In others places he had cattel feeding, whereof he might well keep great store, having won so much from the *Ammonites* and *Arabians*, that had abundance of waste ground serving for pasturage. For defence of his cattel and herdsmen, he built towers in the wilderness. He also digg'd many cisterns or ponds. *Josephus* calls them water-courses; but in such dry grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the most likely places. If by these towers he so commanded the water, that none, could without his consent, relieve themselves therewith; questionless he took the only course, by which he might securely hold the lordship over all the wilderness; it being hardly passable, by reason of the extreme drought, when the few springs therein found, are left free to the use of travellers.

Besides all this cost, and the building both of *Eloth* by the *Red* sea, and of sundry towns among the *Philistines*; he repaired the wall of *Jerusalem*, which *Joas* had broken down, and fortified it with towers, whereof some were an hundred and fifty cubits high.

The state of *Israel* did never so flourish, as at this time, since the division of the twelve tribes into two kingdoms. For as *Uzzia* prevailed in the south, so (if not more) *Jeroboam* the son of *Joas*, king of the ten tribes, enlarged his border on the north; where, obtaining many victories against the *Syrians*, he won the royal city of *Damascus*, and he won *Hamat*, with all the country thereabout ^b from the entering of *Hamat*, unto the sea of the wilderness, that is (as the most expound it) unto the vast desarts of *Arabia*, the end whereof was undiscover'd. So the bounds of *Israel* in those parts, were in the time of this *Jeroboam*, the same (or not much narrower) which they had been in the reign of *David*.

But it was not for the piety of *Jeroboam*, that he thrived so well; for he was an idolater; it was only the compassion which the Lord had on *Israel*, seeing the exceeding bitter affliction, whereinto the *Aramites* had brought his people, which caused him to alter the success of war, and to throw the victorious *Aramites*, under the feet of those, whom they had so cruelly oppress'd. The line of *Jehu*, to which God had promised the kingdom of ^c *Israel* unto the fourth generation, was now not far from the end; and now again it was invited unto repentance, by new benefits, as it had been at the beginning. But the sin of *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat*, was held

so precious, that neither the kingdom it self, given to him by God, was able to draw *Jehu* from that politic idolatry; nor the misery falling upon him and his posterity, to bring them to a better course of religion; nor yet, at the last, this great prosperity of *Jeroboam* the son of *Joas*, to make him render the honour that was due to the only giver of victory. Wherefore the promise of God, made unto *Jehu*, that his sons, unto the fourth generation, should sit on the throne of *Israel*, was not enlarged; but, being almost expired, gave warning of the approaching end, by an accident (so strange, that we, who find no particulars recorded, can hardly guess at the occasions) foregoing the last accomplishment.

When *Jeroboam*, the son of *Joas*, after a victorious reign of 41 years, had ended his life, it seems in all reason that *Zacharia* his son should forthwith have been admitted, to reign in his stead; the nobility of that race having gotten such a lustre by the immediate succession of four kings, that any competitor, had the crown pass'd by election, must needs have appear'd base; and the virtue of the last king, having been so great, as might well serve to lay the foundation of a new house, much more to establish the already confirmed right of a family so rooted in possession. Notwithstanding all this, two or three and twenty years did pass before *Zacharia* the son of *Jeroboam* was, by uniform consent, received as king. The true original causes hereof were to be found at *Dan* and *Bethel*, where the golden calves did stand: yet second instruments of this disturbance, are likely not to have been wanting, upon which the wisdom of man was ready to cast an eye. Probable it is, that the captains of the army (who afterwards slew one another, so fast, that in 14 years there reign'd 5 kings) did now by headstrong violence, rent the kingdom asunder, holding each what he could, and either despising or hating some qualities in *Zacharia*; until, after many years, wearied with dissension, and the principal of them perhaps, being taken out the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they consented to yield all quietly to the son of *Jeroboam*. That this anarchy lasted almost 23 years, we find by the difference of time, between the 15th year of *Uzzia*, which was the last of *Jeroboam's* 41st (his 27th concurring with the 1st of *Uzzia*) and the 38th of the same *Uzzia*, in the last 6 months whereof, *Zacharia* reigned in *Samaria*. There are some indeed, that by supposing *Jeroboam* to have reigned with his father 11 years, do cut off the *interregnum* in *Juda* (before-mentioned) and by the same reason, abridge this anarchy, that was before the reign of *Zacharia* in *Israel*. Yet they leave it 12 years long; which is time sufficient to prove that the kingdom of the ten tribes, was no less distempered, than as is already noted. But I choose rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other princes reigning abroad in the world, than this doubtful conjecture, which gives to *Jeroboam* 52 years, by adding three quarters of his father's reign unto his own, which was it self indeed so long, that he may well seem to have begun it very young: for I do not think, that God blessed this idolater, both with a longer reign, and with a longer life, than he did his servant *David*.

Thus much being spoken of the time, wherein the throne of *Israel* was void, before the reign of *Zacharia*; little may suffice to be said of his reign it self, which lasted but a little while. Six months

^a 2 Chron. 26. 14.^b 2 Kings 14. 25, 28^c 2 Kings 10. 13

only was he king ; in which time he declared himself a worshipper of the golden calves ; which was enough to justify the judgment of God, whereby he was slain. He was the last of *Jehu's* house, being (inclusively) the first of that line ; which may have been some cause of the troubles impeaching his orderly succession: the prophecy having determined that race in the 4th generation. But (besides that God's promise was extended unto the utmost) there was no warrant given to *Sallum*, or to any other, for the death of *Zacharia*, as has been given to *Jehu*, for the slaughter of *Jehoram*, and for the eradication of *Abab's* house.

Zacharia having been 6 months a king, was then slain by *Sallum*, who reigned after him, ^a *the space of a month in Samaria*. What this *Sallum* was, I do not find ; save only that he was a traitor, and the son of one *Jabesh*, whereby his father got no honour. It seems that he was one of those, who in time of faction had laboured for himself ; and now, when all other competitors were fitten down, thought easily to prevail against that king, in whose person the race of *Jehu* was to fail. Manifest it is, that *Sallum* had a strong party: for *Tiphshab* or *Thaphsa*, and the coast thereof even from *Tirzah*, where *Menabem*, his enemy and supplanter, then lay, refused to admit, as king in his stead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one month, *Sallum* received the reward of his treason, and was slain by *Menabem* who reigned in his place.

Menabem the son of *Gadi*, reigned after *Sallum* 10 years. In opposition to *Sallum*, his hatred was deadly, and inhuman ; for he not only destroy'd *Tiphshab*, and all that were therein, or thereabouts, but he rip'd up all their women with child, because they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this cruelty been used in revenge of *Zacharia's* death, it is like that he would have been as earnest, in procuring unto him his father's crown when it was first due. But in performing that office, there was used such long deliberation, that we may plainly discover ambition, disdain, and other private passions, to have been the causes of this beastly outrage.

In the time of *Menabem*, and (as it seems) in the beginning of his reign, *Pul*, king of *Assyria*, came against the land of *Israel* ; whom this new king appeased, with a thousand talents of silver, levied upon all the substantial men in his country. With this money the *Israelite* purchased not only the peace of his kingdom, but his own establishment therein : some factious man (belike) having either invited *Pul* thither, or (if he came uncalled) fought to use his help, in deposing this ill-beloved king. ^b *Josephus* reports of this *Menabem*, that his reign was no milder than his entrance. But after ten years, his tyranny ended with his life : and *Pekabiah*, his son, occupied his room.

Of this *Pekabiah* the story is short: for he reigned only two years ; at the end whereof he was slain by *Peka*, the son of *Remaliah*, whose treason was rewarded with the crown of *Israel*, as, in time coming another man's treason against himself shall be. There needs no more to be said of *Menabem*, and his son, save that they were, both of them, idolaters ; and the son (as we find in ^c *Josephus*) like to his father in cruelty. Concerning *Pul* the *Assyrian* king, who first opened unto those northern nations the way into *Palestina* ; it will shortly follow, in order of the story, to deliver our opinion: whether he were that *Belofus* (called also *Beleses*, and by some, *Phul Belochus*) who joined with *Arbaces* the *Median*, against *Sardanapalus*, or whether he

were some other man. At the present it is more fit that we relate the end of *Uzzia's* life, who outlived the happiness wherein we left him.

S E C T. II.

The end of Uzzia's reign and life.

AS the zeal of *Jehoiada*, that godly priest, was the means to preserve the lineage of *David*, in the person of *Joas* ; so it appears, that the care of holy men was not wanting to *Uzzia*, to bring him up, and advance him to the crown of *Juda*, when the hatred borne to his father *Amazia*, had endangered his succession. For it is said of *Uzzia*, That ^d *he sought God in the days of Zacharia (which understood the visions of God) and when he sought the Lord, God made him prosper.*

^e But, when he was strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction: for he transgressed against the Lord his God: and went into the temple of the Lord to burn incense, upon the altar of incense. Thus he thought to enlarge his own authority, by meddling in the priests office, whose power had in every extremity been so helpful to the kings of *Juda*, that meer gratitude, and civil policy, should have held back *Uzzia* from encroaching thereupon ; yea, tho' the law of God had been silent in this case, and not forbidden it. Howsoever the king forgot his duty, the priests remembered theirs, and God forgot not to assist them. *Azaria* the high priest interrupted the king's purpose, and gave him to understand, how little to his honour it would prove, that he took upon him the office of the sons of *Aaron*. There were with *Azaria* fourscore other priests, valiant men, but their valour was shew'd, only in assisting the high priest, when (according to his duty) he reprehended the king's presumption. This was enough, the rest God himself perform'd. We find in *Josephus*, l. 9. c. 11. that the king had apparell'd himself in priestly habit, and that he threaten'd *Azaria* and his companions, to punish them with death, unless they would be quiet. *Josephus* indeed enlargeth the story, by inserting a great earth-quake, which did tear down half an hill, that rouled four furlongs, till it rested against another hill, stopping up the high-ways, and spoiling the king's garden in the passage. With this earthquake, he saith, that the roof of the temple did cleave, and that a sun-beam did light upon the king's face, which was presently infected with leprosy. All this may have been true ; and some there are who think that this earthquake is the same, which is mention'd by the prophet *Amos* ; wherein they do much misreckon the times. For the earthquake spoken of by *Amos*, was in the days of *Jeroboam* king of *Israel*, who died 37 years before *Uzzia* ; so that *Jotham* the son of *Uzzia*, which supplied his father's place in government of the land, should, by this account, have been then unborn: for he was but 25 years old, when he began to reign as king. Therefore thus far only we have assurance ; that while *Uzzia*, was wroth with the priests, the leprosy rose up in his forehead, before the priests, 2 Chron. xxvi. 20. Hereupon he was caused, in all haste, to depart the place, and to live in a house by himself, until he died ; the rule over the king's house, and over all the land, being committed to *Jotham*, his son and successor. *Jotham* took not upon himself the style of a king, till his father was dead ; whom they buried in the same field wherein his ancestors lay interred, yet in a monument apart from the rest, because he was a leper.

^a 2 Kings 15. 13.

^b Jos. Ant. l. 9. c. 11.

^c Jos. ibid.

^d 2 Chron. 26. 5.

^e 2 Chron. 26. 16.

SECT. III.

Of the prophets which lived in the time of Uzzia ; and of princes then ruling in Egypt, and in some other countries.

IN the time of *Uzzia* were the first of the lesser prophets, *Hosea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadiah* and *Jonas*. It is not indeed set down, when *Joel* or *Obadiah* did prophesy : but if the prophets, whose times are not expressed, ought to be ranged (according to *St. Jerome's* rule) with the next before them ; then must these two be judged contemporary with *Hosea* and *Amos*, who lived under king *Uzzia*. To enquire which of these five was the most ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at least, a superfluous labour ; yet if the age wherein *Homer* lived, hath so painfully been sought, without reprehension ; how can he be taxed, which offers to search out the antiquity of these holy prophets ? It seems to me, that the first of these, in order of time, was the prophet *Jonas*, who foretold the great victories of *Jeroboam* king of *Israel* ; and therefore is likely to have prophesied in the days of *Joas*, whilst the affliction of *Israel* was exceeding bitter, the text it self intimating no less : by which consequence, he was elder than the other prophets, whose works are now extant. But his prophecies, that concerned the kingdom of *Israel*, are now lost. That which remaineth of him, seems, not without reason, unto some very learned, to have belonged unto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whose days *Nineveh* was first of all destroyed. This prophet rather taught Christ by his sufferings, than by his writings now extant : in all the rest are found express promises of the *Messias*.

In the reign of *Uzzia* likewise it was, that *Isaiab*, the first of the four great prophets, began to see his visions. This difference of greater and lesser prophets, is taken from the volumes which they have left written (as ^b*St. Augustine* gives reason of the distinction) because the greater have written larger books. The prophet *Isaiab* was great indeed, not only in regard of his much writing ; or of his nobility (for their opinion is rejected, who think him to have been the son of *Amos* the prophet) and the high account wherein he lived ; but for the excellency, both of his style, and argument, wherein he so plainly telleth the birth, miracles, passion, and whole history of our Saviour, with the calling of the *Gentiles*, that he might as well be called an evangelist, as a prophet ; having written in such wise, that (as ^c*Jerome* saith) *One would think he did not foretel of things to come, but compile an history of matters already past.*

Bocchoris was king of *Egypt*, and the ninth year of his reign, by our computation (whereof in due place we will give reason) was current, when *Uzzia* took possession of the kingdom of *Judah*.

After the death of *Bocchoris*, *Apychis* followed in the kingdom of *Egypt*, unto him succeeded *Anyfis* ; and these two occupied that crown six years. Then *Sabacus*, an *Ethiopian*, became king of *Egypt*, and held it fifty years, whereof the ten first ran along with the last of *Uzzia's* reign and life. Of these and other *Egyptian* kings, more shall be spoken, when their affairs shall come to be intermeddled with the business of *Judah*.

In *Athens*, the two last years of *Ariphron's* twenty, the seven and twentieth of *Thespis's*, the twentieth of *Agamemnor*, and the three first of *Aischylus's* three and twenty, made even with the two and fifty

of *Uzzia* : as likewise did in *Alba* the last seven of *Sylvius Aventinus's* seven and thirty, together with the three and twenty of *Sylvius Procas*, and two and twenty the first of *Sylvius Amulius*. In *Media*, *Arbaces* began his new kingdom, in the first of *Uzzia*, wherein, after eight and twenty years, his son *Sofarmus* succeeded him, and reigned thirty years. Of this *Arbaces*, and the division of the *Assyrian* empire between him and others, when they had oppressed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it convenient to use more particular discourse, that we may not wander in too great uncertainty in the story of the *Assyrian* kings, who have already found the way into *Palestina*, and are not likely to forget it.

SECT. IV.

Of the Assyrian kings descending from Phul : and whether Phul and Belosus were one person ; or heads of sundry families, that reigned apart in Nineveh and Babylon.

BY that which hath formerly been shewed of *Sardanapalus's* death, it is apparent that the chief therein was *Arbaces* the *Median* ; to whom the rest of the confederates did not only submit themselves in that war, but were contented afterwards to be judged by him, receiving by his authority sentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited lives. The first example of this his power, was shewn upon *Belosus* the *Babylonian*, by whose especial advice and help, *Arbaces* himself was become so great. Yet was not this power of *Arbaces* exercised in so tyrannical a manner, as might give offence in that great alteration of things, either to the princes that had assisted him, or to the generality of the people. For in the condemnation of *Belosus*, he used the counsel of his other captains, and then pardoned him of his own grace ; allowing him to hold, not only the city and province of *Babylon*, but also those treasures, for embezzeling whereof his life had been endangered.

In like manner, he gave rewards to the rest of his partakers, and made them rulers of provinces ; retaining (as it appears) only the sovereignty to himself, which to use immoderately he did naturally abhor. He is said, indeed, to have excited the *Medes* against *Sardanapalus*, by propounding unto them hope of transferring the empire to their nation. And to make good this his promise, he destroyed the city of *Nineveh* ; permitting the citizens nevertheless to take and carry away every one his own goods. The other nations that joined with him, as the *Persians* and *Bactrians*, he drew to his side, by the allurements of liberty ; which he himself so greatly loved, that by slackning too much the reins of his own sovereignty, he did more harm to the general estate of *Media*, than the pleasure of the freedom which it enjoyed could recompense. For both the territory of that country was pared narrower by *Salmanassar* (or perhaps by some of his progenitors) whom we find, in the scriptures, to have held some towns of the *Medes* ; and the civil administration was so disorderly, that the people themselves were glad to see that reformation, which *Deioces*, the fifth of *Arbaces's* line, did make in that government, by reducing them into stricter terms of obedience.

How the force of the *Assyrians* grew to be such, as might in fourscore years, if not sooner, both extend it self unto the conquest of *Israel*, and tear away

^a Chron. 14. 25, 26.^b Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 10.^c Hieron. in post. super. P'salmum.

some part of *Media*, is a question hardly to be answered; not only in regard of the destruction of *Nineveh*, and subversion of the *Affyrian* kingdom, whereof the *Medes*, under *Arbaces*, had the honour, who may seem at that time to have kept the *Affyrians* under their subjection, when the rest of the provinces were set at liberty; but, in consideration of the kings themselves, who reigned afterwards in *Babylon* and *Nineveh*, are confounded by some, and distinguished by others; whereby their history is made uncertain.

I will first therefore deliver the opinion generally received, and the grounds whereupon it stands: then, producing the objections made against it, I will compare together the determination of that worthy man *Joseph Scaliger*, with those learned that subscribe thereunto, and the judgment of others that were more ancient writers, or have followed the ancients in this doubtful case. Neither shall it be needful to set down apart the several authorities and arguments of sundry men, adding somewhat of weight or of clearness one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole substance of each discourse: which I will do as briefly as I can, and without fear to be taxed of partiality, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancy of mine own, but merely led by those reasons, which upon examination of each part, seemed to me most forcible, tho' to others they may perhaps appear weak.

That which, until of late, hath passed as current, is this: That *Belofus* was the same king, who first, of the *Affyrians*, entred *Palestina* with an army; being called *Pul*, or *Phul*, in the scriptures, and by *Annius's* authors, with such as follow them, *Phul Belochus*. Of this man it is said, that he was a skillful astrologer, subtil and ambitious; that he got *Babylon* by composition made with *Arbaces*; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of *Affyria*: finally, that he reigned eight and forty years, and then dying, left the kingdom to *Teglat Phalasar* his son, in whose posterity it continued some few descents, till the house of *Merodach* prevailed. The truth of this, if *Annius's Metasthenes* were sufficient proof, could not be gain said: for that author, such as he is, is peremptory herein. But howsoever *Annius's* authors deserve to be suspected, it stands with no reason, that we should conclude all to be false which they affirm. They, who maintain this tradition, justify it by divers good allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumstances found in all authors, and repugnant unto no history at all. For it is manifest by the relation of *Diodorus* (which is indeed the foundation whereupon all have built) that *Arbaces* and *Belofus* were partners in the action against *Sardanapalus*; and that the *Bactrians*, who joined with them, were thought well rewarded with liberty, as likewise other captains were with governments: but that any third person was so eminent, as to have *Affyria* itself, the chief country of the empire, bestowed upon him, it is a thing whereof not the least appearance is found in any history. And certainly it stood with little reason, that the *Affyrians* should be committed unto a peculiar king at such time as it was not thought meet to trust them in their own walls and houses. Rather it is apparent, that the destruction of *Nineveh* by *Arbaces*, and the transplantation of the citizens, was held a needful policy, because thereby the people of that nation might be kept down, from aspiring to recover the sovereignty, which else they would have thought

to belong, as of right, unto the seat of the empire.

Upon such considerations did the *Romans*, in ages long after following, destroy *Carthage*, and dissolve the corporation, or body politick, of the citizens of *Capua*; because those two towns were capable of the empire: a matter esteemed over-dangerous even to *Rome* itself, that was mistress of them both. This being so, how can it be thought, that the *Affyrians* in three or four years had erected their kingdom anew, under one *Pul*? or what must this *Pul* have been (of whose deserving, or intermeddling, or indeed of whose very name, we find no mention in the war against *Sardanapalus*) to whom the principal part of the empire fell, either by general consent in division of the provinces, or by his own power and purchase very soon after? Surely he was none other than *Belofus*; whose near neighbourhood gave him opportunity (as he was wise enough to play his own game) both to get *Affyria* to himself, and to impeach any other man that should have attempted to seize upon it. The province of *Babylon*, which *Belofus* held; being, as *Herodotus* reports, in riches and power, as good as the third part of the *Persian* empire, was able to furnish him with all that was requisite for such a business: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his own hands all the gold and silver that had been in the palace of *Nineveh*. And questionless to restore such a city as *Nineveh*, was an enterprize fit for none to take in hand, except he had such means as *Belofus* had; which *Pul*, if he were not *Belofus*, is likely to have wanted.

Besides all this, had *Pul* been a distinct person from *Belofus*, and lord of *Affyria*, which lay beyond the countries of *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia*, it would not have been an easy matter for him, to pass quite thro' another man's kingdom with an army, seeking booty afar off in *Israel*: the only action by which the name of *Phul* is known. But if we grant, that he, whom the scriptures call *Pul*, or *Phul*, was the same whom prophane writers have called *Belofus*, *Beleses*, and *Belestis*, in like manner as *Josephus* acknowledgeth, that he, whom the scriptures called never otherwise than *Darius* the *Mede*, was the son of *Aflyages*, and called of the *Greeks* by another name (that is, *Cyaxares*) then is this scruple utterly removed. For *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia* did border upon *Syria* and *Palestina*: so that *Belofus*, having settled his affairs in *Affyria* towards the east and north, might with good leisure encroach upon the countries that lay on the other side of his kingdom, to the south and west. He that looks into all particulars, may find every one circumstance concurring, to prove that *Phul*, who invaded *Israel*, was none other than *Belofus*. For the prince of the *Arabians*, who joined with *Arbaces*, and brought no small part of the forces wherewith *Sardanapalus* was overthrown, did enter into that action, merely for the love of *Belofus*. The friendship of these *Arabians* was a thing of main importance, to those that were to pass over *Euphrates* with an army into *Syria*. Wherefore *Belofus*, that held good correspondence with them, and whose most fruitful province adjoining to their barren quarters, might yearly do them inestimable pleasures, was not only like to have quiet passage thro' their borders, but their utmost assistance; yea, it stands with good reason, that they, who loved not *Israel*, should, for their own behoof, have given him intelligence of the destruction

^a Tull. contra Rullum, Or. 2.

^b Herod. l. 1.

^c Joseph. Ant. l. 10. cap. 12.

and civil broils among the ten tribes; whereby, as this *Phul* got a thousand talents, so it seems that the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, that had felt an heavy neighbour of *Jeroboam*, recovered their own, setting up a new king in *Damasco*, and clearing the coast of *Arabia* (from the sea of the wilderness to *Hamath*) of the *Hebrew* garrisons. Neither was it any new acquaintance, that made the nations divided by *Euphrates* hold together in so good terms of friendship: it was ancient consanguinity; the memory whereof was available to the *Syrians*, in the time of *David*, when the *Aramites* beyond the river came over willingly, to the succour of *Hadadezer*, and the *Aramites* about *Damasco*. So *Belofus* had good reason to look into those parts; what a king, reigning so far off as *Nineveh*, should have to do in *Syria*, if the other end of his kingdom had not reached to *Euphrates*, it were hard to shew.

But concerning this last argument of the business, which might allure the *Chaldeans* into *Palestina*, it may be doubted, lest it should seem to have ill coherence with that which hath been said of the long anarchy that was in the ten tribes. For if the crown of *Israel* were worn by no man in three and twenty years, then is it likely that *Belofus* was either unwilling to stir, or unable to take the advantage when it was fairest, and first discovered. This might have compelled those, who alone were not strong enough, to seek after help from some prince that lay further off; and so the opinion of those that distinguish *Phul* from *Belofus*, would be somewhat confirmed. On the other side, if we say, that *Belofus* did pass the river of *Euphrates*, as soon as he found likelihood of making a prosperous journey; then may it seem that the *interregnum* in *Israel* was not so long as we have made it: for three and twenty years leisure would have afforded better opportunity, which ought not to have been lost.

For answer hereto, we are to consider what *Orosius* and *Eusebius* have written concerning the *Chaldees*: the one, that after the departure of *Arfaces* into *Media*, they laid hold on a part of the empire: the other, that they prevailed and grew mighty, between the times of *Arbaces* and *Deioces* the *Medes*. Now, tho' it be held an error of *Orosius*, where he supposeth that the occupying of *Babylonia*, by the *Chaldeans*, was in manner of a rebellion from the *Medes*; yet herein he and *Eusebius* do concur, that the authority of *Arbaces* did restrain the ambition, which by his absence grew bold, and by his death regardful only of itself. Now, tho' some have conjectured that all *Assyria* was given to *Belofus* (as an overplus, besides the province of *Babylon*, which was his by plain bargain made afore-hand) in regard of his high deservings; yet the opinion more commonly received is, that he did only encroach upon that province by little and little, whilst *Arbaces* lived, and afterwards dealing more openly got it all himself. Seeing therefore, that there passed but twelve years between the death of *Arbaces*, and the beginning of *Menabem's* reign, manifest it is, that the conquest of *Assyria*, and settling of that country, was work enough to hold *Belofus* occupied, besides the restoration of *Nineveh*, which alone was able to take up all the time remaining of his reign, if perhaps he lived to see it finished in his own days. So that this argument may rather serve to prove that *Phul* and *Belofus* were one person; forasmuch as the journey of *Phul* against *Israel* was not made until *Belofus* could find leisure; and the time of advantage which *Belofus* did let slip, argued his business in some other quarter, namely in that province of which *Phul* is call'd king. Briefly, it may be said, that he who con-

quered *Assyria*, and performed somewhat upon a country so far distant as *Palestina*, was likely to have been at least named in some history, or if not himself, yet his country to have been spoken of for those victories: but we neither hear of *Phul* in any prophane author, neither doth any writer, sacred or prophane, once mention the victories or acts whatsoever of the *Assyrians*, done in those times; whereas of *Belofus*, and the power of the *Chaldeans*, we find good record.

Surely that great slaughter of so many thousand *Assyrians*, in the quarrel of *Sardanapalus*, together with other calamities of that long and unfortunate war, which overwhelmed the whole country, not ending but with the ruin and utter desolation of *Nineveh*, must needs have so weaken'd the state of *Assyria*, that it could not in thirty years space be able to invade *Palestina*, which the ancient kings, reigning in *Nineveh*, had in all their greatness forbore to attempt. Yet these afflictions, disabling that country, did help to enable *Belofus* to subdue it; who having once extended his dominions to the borders of *Medea*, and being (especially if he had compounded with the *Medes*) by the interposition of that country, secure of the *Scythians*, and other warlike nations on that side, might very well turn southward, and try his fortune in those kingdoms, whereinto civil dissension of the inhabitants, and the bordering envy of the *Arabians* and *Aramites* about *Damasco*, friends and cousins to the *Chaldeans* and *Mesopotamians*, did invite him. For these, and the other before-alleged reasons, it may be concluded, that what is said of *Phul* in the scriptures ought to be understood of *Belofus*; even as by the names of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Darius the Mede*, *Artaxasht*, and *Ahasuerus*, with the like, are thought or known to be meant the same, whom prophane historians, by names better known in their own countries, have called *Nabopolassar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Artaxerxes*: especially considering, that hereby we shall neither contradict any thing that hath been written of old, nor need to trouble ourselves and others with framing new conjectures. This in effect is that which they alledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly received.

Now this being once granted, other things of more importance will of themselves easily follow. For it is a matter of no great consequence to know the truth of this point (considering it apart from that which depends thereon) whether *Phul* were *Belofus*, or some other man: the whole race of these *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* kings, wherein are found those famous princes, *Nabonassar*, *Mardocempadus*, and *Nabopolassar* (famous for the astronomical observations recorded from their times) is the main ground of this contention. If therefore *Belofus* or *Belesis* were that *Phul* which invaded *Israel*; if he and his posterity reigned both in *Nineveh* and in *Babylon*; if he were father of *Teglat-Phul-Asar*, from whom *Salmanasar*, *Sennacherib*, and *Asar-baddon* descended; then it is manifest, that we must seek *Nabonassar*, the *Babylonian* king, among these princes; yea, and conclude him to be none other than *Salmanasar*, who is known to have reigned in those years, which *Ptolomy* the mathematician hath assigned unto *Nabonassar*. As for *Merodach*, who supplanted *Asar-baddon*, manifest it is, that he and his successors were of another house. This is the scope and end of all his disputation.

But they that maintain the contrary part, will not be satisfied with such conjectures. They lay hold upon the conclusion, and by shaking that into pieces, hope to overthrow all the premises, upon which it is inferred. For (say they) if *Nabonassar*,
that

that reigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmanassar*, or any of those other *Affyrian* kings, then is it manifest, that the races were distinct, and that *Phul* and *Belofus* were several kings. This consequence is so plain, that it needs no confirmation. To prove that *Nabonassar* was a distinct person from *Salmanassar*, are brought such arguments as would stagger the resolution of him that had sworn to hold the contrary. For first, *Nabonassar* was king of *Babylon*, and not of *Affyria*. This is proved by his name, which is merely *Chaldean*, whereas *Salman*, the first part of *Salmanassar*'s name, is proper to the *Affyrians*. It is likewise proved by the astronomical observations, which proceeding from the *Babylonians*, not from the *Affyrians*, do shew that *Nabonassar*, from whom *Ptolemy* draws that *epocha*, or account of times, was a *Babylonian*, and no *Affyrian*. Thirdly, and more strongly, it is confirmed by the successor of *Nabonassar*, which was *Mardocempadus*, called in his own language *Mero-dac-ken-pad*, but more briefly, in *Esay*'s prophecy, *Merodac*, by the former part of his name; or *Merodac Baladan*, the son of *Baladan*. Now if *Mero-dach*, the son of *Baladan*, king of *Babel*, were the son of *Nabonassar*, then was *Nabonassar* none other than *Baladan* king of *Babel*, and not *Salmanassar* king of *Affyria*.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of these two names, *Nabonassar* and *Salmanassar*, which in *Greek* or *Latin* writing hath no difference, we are taught by *Scaliger*, that in the *Hebrew* letters there is found no affinity therein. So concerning the places of *Babylonia*, whereinto *Salmanassar* carried captive some part of the ten tribes, it may well be granted, that in the province of *Babylon* *Salmanassar* had gotten somewhat, yet will it not follow that he was king of *Babylon* itself. To conclude, *Merodach* began his reign over *Babylon* in the sixth year of *Iezekia*, at which time *Salmanassar* took *Samaria*; therefore, if *Salmanassar* were king of *Babylon*, then must we say that he and *Merodach*, yea and *Nabonassar*, were all one man. These are the arguments of that noble and learned writer *Joseph Scaliger*, who not contented to follow the common opinion, founded upon likelihood of conjectures, hath drawn his proofs from matter of more necessary inference.

Touching all that was said before of *Phul Belofus*, for the proving that *Phul* and *Belofus* were not sundry kings; *Joseph Scaliger* pities their ignorance, that have spent their labour to so little purpose. Honest and painful men he confesseth that they were, who by their diligence might have won the good liking of their readers, had they not by mentioning *Annius*'s authors given such offence, that men refused thereupon to read their books and chronologies. A short answer.

For mine own part, howsoever I believe nothing that *Annius*'s *Berosus*, *Metaſthenes*, and others of that stamp affirm, in respect of their bare authority; yet am I not so squeamish, but that I can well enough digest a good book, tho' I find the names of one or two of these good fellows alledged in it: I have somewhat (peradventure too often) already spoken my mind of *Annius*'s authors; nevertheless, I may say here again, that where other histories are silent, or speak not enough, there may we without shame borrow of these, as much as agrees with that little which elsewhere we find, and serveth to explain or enlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeed are those honest and painful men (as *Scaliger* terms them, meaning, if I mistake him

not, good silly fellows) who set down the *Affyrian* kings from *Pul* forwards, as lords also of *Babylon*, taking *Pul* for *Belofus*, and *Salmanassar* for *Nabonassar*, such writers as a man should be ashamed or unwilling to read. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow *Annius*, tho' disliking him in general) *Gerard Mercator* is not so slight a chronologer, that he should be laughed out of doors, with the name of an honest-meaning fellow.

But I will not make comparisons between *Scaliger* and *Mercator*; they were both of them men notably learned: let us examine the arguments of *Scaliger*, and see whether they be of such force, as cannot either be resisted or avoided. It will easily be granted, that *Nabonassar* was king of *Babylon*; that he was not king of *Affyria*, some men doubt whether *Scaliger*'s reasons be enough to prove. For though *Nabonassar* be a *Chaldean* name, and *Salmanassar* an *Affyrian*; yet what hinders us from believing, that one man in two languages might be called by two several names? That astronomy flourished among the *Chaldees*, is not enough to prove *Nabonassar* either an astrologer, or a *Chaldean*. So it is, that *Scaliger* himself calls them, *Prophetas nescio quos, qui Nabonassarum astronomum fuisse in somnis viderunt; Prophets I know not who, that in their sleep have dreamt of Nabonassar, that he was an astrologer.*

Whether *Nabonassar* were an astrologer or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintain the negative. But as his being lord over the *Chaldeans*, doth not prove him to have been learned in their sciences; so doth it not prove him, not to have been also king of *Affyria*. The emperor *Charles* the fifth, who was born in *Gant*, and *Philip* his son, king of *Spain*, and lords of the *Netherlands*, had men far more learned in all sciences, and particularly in the mathematicks, among their subjects of the *Low Countries*, than were any that I read of then living in *Spain*, if *Spain* at that time had any; yet I think, posterity will not use this as an argument, to prove that *Spain* was none of theirs. It may well be, that *Salmanassar* or *Nabonassar* did use the *Affyrian* soldiers, and *Babylonian* scholars: but it seems, that he and his posterity, by giving themselves wholly to the more warlike nation, lost the richer, out of which they first issued; as likewise king *Philip* lost partly, and partly did put to a dangerous hazard, all the *Netherlands*, by such a course. As for the two unanswerable arguments (as *Scaliger* terms them, being methinks none other than answers to somewhat that is or might be alledged on the contrary side) one of them which is drawn from the unlike sound and writing of those names, *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* in the *Hebrew*, I hold a point about which no man will dispute; for it is not likeness of sound, but agreement of time, and many circumstances else, that must take away the distinction of persons: the other likewise may be granted; which is, that *Salmanassar* might be lord of some places in the province of *Babylon*, yet not king of *Babylon* itself: this indeed might be so, and it might be otherwise. Hitherto there is nothing save conjecture against conjecture. But in that which is alledged out of the prophet *Esay*, concerning *Merodach* the son of *Baladan*; and in that which is said of this *Merodach*, or *Mardokenpadus*, his being the successor of *Nabonassar*, and his beginning to reign in the sixth year of *Iezekia*, I find matter of more difficulty, than can be answered in haste. I will therefore de-

^a *Esay* 39 1.

^b *Scalig. Canon* 1 1.

fer the handling of these objections, until I meet with their subject in its proper place; which will be when we come to the time of *H Ezekiah*, wherein *Merodach* lived and was king. Yet that I may not leave too great a scruple in the mind of the reader, thus far will I here satisfy him; that how strong soever this argument may seem, *Scaliger* himself did live to retract it, ingenuously confessing, that in thinking *Merodach* to be the son of *Nabonassar*, he had been deceived.

Now therefore let us consider in what sort they have fashioned their story, who taking *Pul* to be a distinct person from *Belofus* or *Beleflis*, have in like sort, as was necessary, distinguished their offspring, making that of *Pul* to fail in *Asarbaddon*, which left all to *Merodach* the *Babylonian*. And here I must first confess my want of books, if perhaps there be many, that have gone about to reduce this narration into some such order, as might present unto us the body of this history in one view. Divers, indeed, there are, whom I have seen, that since *Joseph Scaliger* delivered his opinion have written in favour of some one or other point thereof: but *Sethus Calvisius* himself, who hath abridged *Scaliger's* learned work, *De emendatione temporum*, hath not been careful to give us notice, how long *Belofus*, *Baladan*, *Pul*, or *Tiglat Pulassar* did reign (perhaps because he found it not expressed in *Scaliger*) but is content to set down *Baladan*, for the same person with *Nabonassar*, which *Scaliger* himself revoked. In this case therefore I must lay down the plot of these divided kingdoms, in such sort as I find it contrived by *Augustinus Torniellus*; who only of all that I have seen, sets down the succession, continuance, and acts, of those that reigned in *Affyria* after *Sardanapalus*, distinguishing them from *Belofus* and his posterity, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This *Torniellus* is a regular clerk of the congregation of *St. Paul*, whose annals were printed the last year; he appears to me a man of curious industry, sound judgment, and free spirit; yet many times, and, I take it, wilfully, forgetful of thanking, or mentioning those protestant writers, by whose books he hath received good information, and enriched his works by inserting somewhat of theirs. But in this business he hath openly professed to follow *Scaliger*, whose help, without wrong or dishonour to himself, he hath both used and acknowledged. For mine own part, I will not spare to do right unto *Torniellus*; but confess my self to have received benefit by his writing; and wish that his annals had sooner come to light; for that as he hath much confirmed me in some things, so would he have instructed and embolden'd me to write more fully and less timorously in other things, which now I have not leisure to revise. Particularly in that conjecture (which I had faintly delivered, and yet feared lest it had over-hastily passed out of my hand, and been expos'd to other mens constructions) of the four kings that invaded the valley of *Siddim*, and were slain by *Abram*, I find him adventuring, as I have done, to say, that they may probably be thought to have been some petty lords; the contrary opinion of all writers notwithstanding. But now let us consider how he hath ordered these last *Affyrian* and *Babylonian* kings.

After the destruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Arbaces* being the most mighty, sought to get all to himself, but was oppos'd by *Belofus*; in which contention, one *Phul*, a powerful man in *Affyria*, sided with *Belofus*, and they two prevailed so far, that

finally *Arbaces* was content to share the empire with them, making such a division thereof, as was long after made of the *Roman* empire, between *Oelavian*, *Anthony* and *Lepidus*.

Another conjecture is (for *Torniellus* offers not this, or the rest, as matter of certainty) that *Arbaces* made himself sovereign lord of all, and placed the seat of his empire in *Media*, appointing *Belofus* his lieutenant in *Babylonia*, and *Phul* in *Affyria*. But in short space, that is, in four years, it came to pass, by the just judgment of God, that *Phul* and *Belofus* rebelled against *Arbaces*, like as *Arbaces* had done against *Sardanapalus*, and instead of being his viceroys, made themselves absolute kings. And to this latter opinion, *Torniellus* himself leans, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in profane histories. Why he did make and publish the former supposition, resolving to hold the latter, I shall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to guess. Having thus devised, how *Phul* and *Belofus* might, at the first, attain to be kings, he orders their time, and their successors in this manner.

Four years after *Arbaces*, *Phul* begins to reign, and continues eight and forty years. *Theglat-phalassar* (whose name, and the names of other princes, I write diversly, according as the authors whom I have in hand are pleased to diversify them) succeeding unto *Phul*, reigned three and twenty. *Salmanassar* followed him, and reigned ten. After him *Senacherib* reigned seven: and when he was slain, *Asarbaddon* his son ten years; in whom that line failed.

The same time that *Phul* took upon him as king of *Affyria*, or not long after (why not rather afore? for so it had been more likely) *Belofus* usurped the kingdom of *Babylon*, and held it threescore and eight years; at the least threescore and eight years did pass, before *Nabonassar* followed him in the possession.

To *Nabonassar*, whom, with *Scaliger*, he thinks to be *Baladan*, are assigned six and twenty years: then two and fifty to *Merodach*, or *Mardocempadus*; four and twenty to *Ben Merodach*: and lastly, one and twenty to *Nebelassar*, the father of *Nabuchodonosor*, who is like to offer matter of further disputation.

Concerning the original of these *Affyrian* and *Babylonian* kingdoms, I may truly say, that the conjectures of other men, who give all to *Belofus*, and confound him with *Phul*, appear to me more nearly resembling the truth. Neither do I think, that *Torniellus* would have conceived two different ways, by which *Phul* might have gotten *Affyria* (for how *Belofus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plain enough) if either of them alone could have contented him. He adheres to the latter of the two, as better agreeing with *Diodore*, and other historians. But he perceived, that to make *Phul* on the sudden king of *Affyria*; or to give him so noble a province, as would, of it self, invite him to accept the name and power of a king, was a thing most unlikely to have happened, unless his deserts (whereof we find no mention) had been proportionable to so high a reward. And for this cause (as I take it) hath he devised the means, whereby *Phul* might be made capable of so great a share in the empire. If this were a true or probable supposition, then would a new doubt arise, Why this *Phul*, being one of the three that divided all between them, was utterly forgotten by all historians? yea, why

this division itself, and the civil wars that caused it, were never heard of. Questionless the interverting of some treasures by *Belofus*, with his judgment, condemnation, and pardon following, were matters of far less note. Therefore I do not see, how one of the two inconveniencies can this way be avoided; but that either we must confess the dominion given to *Phul* to have been exceeding his merits, or else his merits, and name withal, to have been strangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make us think, that rather the conjecture inferring such a sequel, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of *Phul* and *Belofus* against *Arbaces*, it was almost impossible for the *Affyrians* to recover such strength in four years, as might serve to hold out in rebellion: for *Belofus* it was needless to rebel, considering, that *Arbaces* did not seek to molest him, but rather permitted (as being an over-great favourer of liberty) even the *Medes* that were under his own government, to do what they listed.

But it is now fit that we peruse the catalogue of these kings: not passing thro' them all (for some will require a large discourse in their own times) but speaking of their order and time in general. If it be so unlawful to think, that some of *Annius's* tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other authors as well as in his) may be true, especially such, as contradict no acknowledged truth, or apparent likelihood, why then is it said, that *Phul* did reign in *Affyria* eight and forty years? For this hath no other ground than *Annius*. It is true, that painful and judicious writers have found this number of years, to agree fitly with the course of things in history: yet all of them took it from *Annius*. Let it therefore be the punishment of *Annius's* forgery (as questionless he is often guilty of this crime) that when he tells truth or probability, he be not believed for his own sake; tho' for our own sakes we make use of his boldness, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing else being offered) we are unwilling ourselves to be authors of new, tho' not improbable conjectures. Herein we shall have this commodity, that we may without blushing alter a little, to help our own opinions, and lay the blame upon *Annius*, against whom we shall be sure to find friends that will take our part.

The reigns of *Tbegrathphalassar* and *Salmanassar* did reach, by *Annius's* measure, to the length of five and twenty years the one, and seventeen the other; *Torniellus* hath cut off two from the former, and seven from the latter of them, to fit (as I think) his own computation; using the liberty whereof I spake last: for that any author, save our good *Metasthenes*, or those that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of these did reign, it is more than I have yet found. To *Senacherib* and *Asarbaddon*, *Torniellus* gives the same length of reign, which is found in *Metasthenes*. I think there are not many, that will arrogate so much unto themselves, as may very well be allowed unto a man so judicious as is *Torniellus*: and yet could I wish, that he had forbore to condemn the followers of *Annius*, in this business, wherein he himself hath chosen, in part, rather to become one of them, than to say, as else he must have done, almost nothing.

The like liberty we find that he hath used in measuring the reigns of the *Chaldeans*; filling up all the space between the end of *Sardanapalus*, and the beginning of *Nabonassar*, with the three-score and eight years of *Belofus*. In this respect it was, perhaps, that he thought *Belofus* might have begun his reign somewhat later than *Phul*:

for 68 years would seem a long time for him to hold a kingdom, that was no young man when he took possession of it. But how is any whit of his age abated by shortening his reign, seeing his life reacheth to the end of such a time, as were alone, without adding the time wherein he was a private man, enough for a long liver. Indeed, 48 years had been somewhat of the most, considering that he seems by the story to have been little less, at such time as he join'd with *Arbaces*; and therefore the addition of 20 years did well deserve that note (which *Torniellus* advisedly gives) that if his reign extended not so far, then the reign of such as came after him, occupied the middle time unto *Nabonassar*.

I neither do reprehend the boldness of *Torniellus*, in conjecturing, nor the modesty of *Scaliger* and *Sethus Calvisius*, in forbearing to set down as warrantable, such things as depend only upon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from us by antiquity, must be described in history, as geographers in their maps describe those countries, whereof as yet there is made no true discovery, that is, either by leaving some part blank, or by inserting the land of pigmies, rocks of load-stone, with head-lands, bays, great rivers, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, tho' many times controlled by following experience, and found contrary to truth. Yet indeed the ignorance growing from distance of place, allows not such liberty to a describer, as that which ariseth from the remediless oblivion of consuming time. For it is true that the poet saith;

———*Neque fervidis
Pars inclusa caloribus
Mundi, nec boreæ finitimum latus,
Duratæque sole nives,
Mercatorem abigunt: horrida callidi
Vincunt æquora navitæ.*

Nor southern heat, nor northern snow
That freezing to the ground doth grow,
The subject regions can fence,
And keep the greedy merchant thence.
The subtil shipmen way will find,
Storm never so the seas with wind.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in maps, do serve only to mislead such discoverers as rashly believe them; drawing upon the publishers, either some angry curses, or well deserved scorn; but to keep their own credit, they cannot serve always. To which purpose I remember a pretty jest of *Don Pedro de Sarmiento*, a worthy *Spanish* gentleman, who had been employ'd by his king in planting a colony upon the streights of *Magellan*: for when I ask'd him, being then my prisoner, some question about an island in those streights, which methought might have done either benefit or displeasure to his enterprise, he told me merrily, that it was to be called the *Painters Wives Island*; saying, that whilst the fellow drew that map, his wife sitting by, desired him to put in one country for her; that she, in imagination, might have an island of her own. But in filling up the blanks of old histories, we need not be so scrupulous. For it is not to be fear'd, that time should run backward, and by restoring the things themselves to knowledge, make our conjectures appear ridiculous: what if some good copy of an ancient author could be found, shewing (if we have it not already) the perfect truth of these uncertainties? would it be more shame to have believed in the mean while,

Annius:

Annius or *Torniellus*, than to have believed nothing. Here I will not say, that the credit, which we give to *Annius*, may chance otherwhiles to be given to one of those authors whose names he pretendeth. Let it suffice, that in regard of authority, I had rather trust *Scaliger* or *Torniellus*, than *Annius*; yet him than them, if his assertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approv'd histories than their conjecture, as in this point it seems to me; it having moreover gotten some credit, by the approbation of many, and those not meanly learned.

To end this tedious disputation; I hold it a sure course in examination of such opinions, as have once gotten the credit of being general, so to deal as *Pacuvius* in *Capua* did with the multitude, finding them desirous to put all the senators of the city to death. He lock'd the senators up within the state-house, and offered their lives to the people's mercy; obtaining thus much, that none of them should perish, until the commonalty had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was hasty; for as fast as every name was read, all the town cried, Let him die: but the execution required more leisure; for in substituting another, some notorious vice of the person, or baseness of his condition, or insufficiency of his quality, made each new one that was offered to be rejected: so that finding the worse and less choice, the further and the more that they sought, it was finally agreed, that the old should be kept for lack of better.

S E C T. V.

Of the Olympiads, and the time when they began.

AFTER this division of the *Assyrian* empire, follows the instauration of the *Olympian* games, by *Iphitus*, in the reign of the same king *Uzzia*, and in his 51st year. It is, I know, the general opinion, that these games were established by *Iphitus*, in the first of *Jotham*: yet is not that opinion so general, but that authors, weighty enough, have given to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting those things unto the sacred history, which are found in prophane authors, we should not be too careful of drawing the *Hebrews* to those works of time, which had no reference to their affairs; it is enough, that setting in due order these beginnings of accounts, we join them to matters of *Israel* and *Juda*, where occasion requires.

These *Olympian* games and exercises of activity, were first instituted by *Hercules*, who measured the length of the race by his own foot; by which *Pythagoras* found out the stature and likely strength of *Hercules's* body. They took name, not from the mountain *Olympus*, but from the city *Olympia*, otherwise *Pisa*, near unto *Elis*; where also *Jupiter's* temple in *Elis*, famous among the *Grecians*, and reputed among the wonders of the world, was known by the name of the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*. These games were exercised from every fourth year compleat, in the plains of *Elis*, a city of *Peloponnesus*, near the river *Alpheus*.

After the death of *Hercules*, these meetings^a were discontinued for many years, till *Iphitus* by advice from the oracle of *Apollo*, re-established them, *Lycurgus* the law-giver then living: from which time they were continued by the *Grecians*, till the reign of *Theodosius* the emperor, according to *Cedrenus*: others think that they were dissolved under *Constantine* the Great.

From this institution, *Varro* accounted the *Grecian* times, and their stories, to be certain: but reckon'd all before either doubtful, or fabulous: and yet^b *Pliny* gives little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the reign of *Cyrus*, who began in the 55th *Olympiad*, as *Eusebius* out of *Diodore*, *Castor*, *Polybius*, and others have gathered, in whose time the seven wise *Grecians* flourished. For *Solon* had speech with *Cræsus*, and *Cræsus* was overthrown and taken by *Cyrus*.

Many patient and piercing brains have laboured to find out the certain beginning of these *Olympiads*, namely to set them in the true year of the world, and the reign of such and such kings: but seeing they all differ in the first account, that is, of the world's year, they can hardly jump in particulars thereon depending.

Cyriel against *Julian*, and *Didymus*, begin the *Olympiads* the 49th of *Ostias* or *Azariah*.

^c *Eusebius*, who is contrary to himself in this reckoning, accounts with those that find the first *Olympiad* in the beginning of the four hundred and sixth year after *Troy*, yet he telleth us that it was in the fiftieth year of *Uzzia*, which is (as I find it) two years later.

^d *Eratoſthenes* placeth the first *Olympiad* four hundred and seven years after *Troy*, reckoning the years that passed between; to whom *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Solinus*, and many others adhere.

The distance between the destruction of *Troy*, and the first *Olympiad*, is thus collected by *Eratoſthenes*. From the taking of *Troy* to the descent of *Hercules's* posterity into *Peloponnesus*, were fourscore years; thence to the *Ionian* expedition, threescore years; from that expedition to the time of *Lycurgus's* government in *Sparta*, one hundred fifty-nine; and thence to the first *Olympiad*, one hundred and eight years. In this account the first year of the first *Olympiad* is not included.

But vain labour it were, to seek the beginning of the *Olympiads*, by numbring the years from the taking of *Troy*, which is of a date far more uncertain. Let it suffice, that by knowing the instauration of these games, to have been in the four hundred and eighth year current after *Troy*, we may reckon back to the taking of that city, setting that, and other accidents, which have reference thereto, in their proper times. The certainty of things following the *Olympiads*, must needs teach us how to find when they began.

To this good use, we have the ensuing years, unto the death of *Alexander* the Great, thus divided, by the same *Eratoſthenes*. From the beginning of the *Olympiads*, to the passage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, two hundred fourscore and seventeen years; from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* war, eight and forty years; forwards to the victory of *Lyſander*, seven and twenty; to the battel of *Leuttra*, thirty-four; to the death of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, five and thirty; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelve. The whole sum ariseth to four hundred fifty-three years; which number he otherwise also collecteth, and it is allowed by the most.

Now for placing the institution of the *Olympiad* in the one and fiftieth year of *Uzziah*, we have arguments, grounded upon that which is certain, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus's* reign, and the death of *Alexander*; as also upon the astronomical calculation of sundry eclipses of the sun, as

^a Aul. Gell. l. 1. c. 1. ex Plut. Plut. out of Hermippus. ^b Plin. l. 36. c. 4. ^c Euseb. de Prep. Evang. l. 10. c. 3. ^d Eratoſth. apud Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. 1.

of that which happened when *Xerxes* set out of *Sardis* with his army to invade *Greece*; and of divers others.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his reign as king, before he was lord of the great monarchy, began the first year of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and that he reigned thirty years; they who give him but twenty-nine years of reign (following *Herodotus*, rather than ^a *Tully*, *Justin*, *Eusebius*, and others) begin a year later, which comes all to one reckoning. So is the death of *Alexander* set by all good writers, in the first year of the hundredth and fourteenth *Olympiad*. This later note of *Alexander's* death, serves well to lead us back to the beginning of *Cyrus*; as many the like observations do. For if we reckon upwards from the time of *Alexander*, we shall find all to agree with the years of the *Olympiads*, wherein *Cyrus* began his reign, either as king, or (taking the word monarch to signify a lord of many kingdoms) as a great monarch. From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the 1st year of the 55th *Olympiad*, unto the end of the *Persian* empire, which was in the 3d of the 112th *Olympiad*, we find 230 years compleat: from the beginning of *Cyrus's* monarchy, which lasted but 7 years, we find compleat 207 years, which was the continuance of the *Persian* empire.

Now therefore seeing that the first year of *Cyrus's* monarchy (which was the last of the 16th *Olympiad*, and the 240th year from the institution of those games by *Iphitus*) followed the last of the 70 years, of the captivity of *Juda*, and desolation of the land of *Israel*; manifest it is, that we must reckon back those 70 years, and 170 years more, the last which passed under the kings of *Juda*, to find the first of these *Olympiads*; which by this account is the 51st of *Uzzia*, as we have already noted.

The eclipses whereof we made mention, serve well to the same purpose. For example's sake, that which was seen when *Xerxes* mustered his army at *Sardis*, in the 267th year of *Nabonassar*, being the last of the 74th *Olympiad*, leads us back unto the beginning of *Xerxes*, and from him to *Cyrus*; whence we have a fair way thro' the 70 years, unto the destruction of *Jerusalem*; and so upwards thro' the reigns of the last kings of *Juda*, to the 51st year of *Uzzia*.

Thus much may suffice, concerning the time wherein these *Olympiads* began.

To tell the great solemnity of them, and with what exceeding great concourse of all *Greece* they were celebrated, I hold it a superfluous labour. It is enough to say, that all bodily exercises, or the most of them, were therein practised; as running, wrestling, fighting, and the like. Neither did they only contend for the mastery in those feats, whereof there was good use, but in running of chariots, fighting with whorl-bats, and other the like ancient kinds of exercises, that served only for ostentation. Thither also repaired orators, poets, musicians, and all that thought themselves excellent in any laudable quality, to make trial of their skill. Yea, the very cryers, which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them should get the honour, of having play'd the best part.

The *Eleans* were presidents of those games; whose justice, in pronouncing without partiality who did best, is highly commended. As for the rewards given to the victors, they were none other than garlands of palm, or olive, without any

other commodity following, than the reputation. Indeed there needed no more. For that was held so much, that when *Diagoras* had seen his three sons crowned for their several victories in those games, one came running to him with this gratulation: *Morere, Diagoras, non enim in cœlum ascensus es*; that is, *Die, Diagoras, for thou shalt not climb up to heaven: as if there could be no greater happiness on earth, than what already had befallen him.* In the like sense ^b *Horace* speaks of these victors, calling them,

*Quos Elea domum reducit
Palma cœlestes.*

Such as like heavenly wights do come
With an *Elean* garland home.

Neither was it only the voice of the people, or the songs of poets, that so highly extolled them, which had won these *Olympian* prizes; but even grave historians thought it a matter worthy of their noting. Such was (as ^c *Tully* counts it) the vanity of the *Greeks*, that they esteemed it almost as great an honour, to have won the victory at running or wrestling in those games, as to have triumphed in *Rome* for some famous victory, or conquest of a province.

That these *Olympian* games were celebrated at the full of the moon, and upon the fifteenth day of the month *Hecatombæon*, which doth answer to our *June*; and what means they used to make the month begin with the new moon, that the fifteenth day might be the full; I have shew'd in another place. Wherefore I may now return unto the kings of *Juda*, and leave the merry *Greeks* at their games, whom I shall meet in more serious employments, when the *Persian* quarrels draw the body of this history into the coasts of *Ionis* and *Hellepont*.

SECT. VI.

Of Jotham and his contemporaries.

Jotham the son of *Uzzia*, when he was twenty five years old, and in the second of *Pekah* king of *Israel*, was anointed king in *Jerusalem*, his father yet living. He built an exceeding high gate to the temple of threescore cubits upright, and therefore called *Ophel*: besides divers cities in the hills of *Juda*, and in the forests, towers, and palaces: he enforced the *Ammonites* to pay him tribute, to wit, of silver an hundred talents, and of wheat and barley two thousand measures: he reigned twenty-six years: of whom *Josephus* gives this testimony. *Ejusmodi vero princeps hic fuit, ut nullum in eo virtutis genus desideres: ut qui Deum adeo pie coluerit, hominibus suis adeo juste præserit, urbem ipsam tantæ sibi curæ esse passus sit, & tantopere auxerit, ut universum regnum hostibus quidem minime contemnendum, domesticis autem ejus incolis atque civibus felix, saustum & fortunatum sua virtute effecerit*; This was such a prince, as a man could find no kind of virtue wanting in him: he worshipped God so religiously, he governed his men so righteously, he was so provident for the city, and did so greatly amplify it, that by his virtue and prowess he made his whole kingdom not contemptible to his enemies, but to his servants, inhabitants and citizens, prosperous and happy.

^a Tull. de Div. l. 1. Just. l. 1. Euseb. de Prep. Evang. l. 10. c. 3 & de Dem. Evang. l. 8. c. 2. ^b Horat. Carm. l. 4. Ode 2.
^c Tull. in Orat. pro Placco. ^d 2 Kings 15. 33

This is all that I find of *Jotham*: his reign was not long, but as happy in all things, as he himself was devout and virtuous.

Auchomenes about this time succeeded *Phelesteus* in *Corinth*: after whom, the *Corinthians* erected magistrates, which governed from year to year. And yet *Pausanias* in his second book, with *Strabo* and *Plutarch*, in many places are of opinion, that *Corinth* was governed by kings of the race of the *Bacidae*, to the time of *Cypselus*, who drove them out.

^a *Tiglathphalassar*, or *Tiglathpeler*, the son of *Phul*, the second of the *Babylonians* and *Affyrians* that was of this new race, about this time invaded *Israel*, while *Pekah* (who murder'd his master *Pekaiab*) was king thereof. In which expedition he took most of the cities of *Nephthali* and *Galilee*, with those of *Gilead*, over *Jordan*, and carried the inhabitants captive. This *Tiglath* reigned five and twenty years, according to *Metaſthenes*. But *Krentzhemius* finds, that with his son *Salmanassar* he reigned yet two years longer: which years I would not ascribe to the son, because the *era* of *Nabonassar* begins with his single reign, but reckon them to *Tiglath Phulassar* himself, who therewith reigned seven and twenty years.

Æschylus, the son of *Agamnestor*, about the same time, the twelfth *Archon* in *Athens*, ruled five and twenty years. *Alcarnenes* governed *Sparta*: after whom the estate changed, according to *Eusebius*: but therein surely *Eusebius* is mistaken. For *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, and others, witness the contrary. ^b *Pausanias* affirmeth, that *Polydorus*, a prince of eminent virtues, succeeded his father, and reigned threescore years, and out-lived the *Messeniac* war: which was ended by *Theopompus*, the son of *Nicaner*, his royal companion.

At this time lived *Nabum* the prophet, who foretold the destruction of the *Affyrian* empire, and of the city of *Nineveh*; which succeeded (saith *Josephus*) an hundred and fifteen years after. The cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradus* were built at this time, while in *Media* *Sofarmus* and *Medidus* reigned, being the second and third kings of those parts.

SECT. VII.

Of Achaz and his contemporaries.

ACHAZ, or *Achaz*, succeeded unto *Jotham* in the seventeenth year of *Pekah*, the son of *Remalia*: the same being also the last year of his father's reign, who began in the second of the same *Pekah*, and reigned sixteen, but not compleat years. This *Achaz* was an idolater, exceeding all his predecessors. He made molten images for *Baalim*, and burnt his son for sacrifice before the idol *Moloch*, or *Saturn*, which was represented by a man-like brazen body, bearing the head of a calf, set up not far from *Jerusalem*, in a valley shadowed with woods, called *Gebinnon*, or *Tophet*, from whence the word *Gehenna* is used for hell. The children offer'd were inclosed within the carcass of this idol, and as the fire increased, so the sacrificers, with a noise of cymbals and other instruments, filled the air, to the end the pitiful cries of the children might not be heard: which unnatural, cruel, and devilish oblation ^d *Jeremy* the prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which *St. Jerome* upon the tenth of *Matthew* hath written at large. By the prohibition in *Leviticus* the eighteenth, it appeareth that this horrible sin was ancient: in the twelfth of *Deuteronomy*, it is called an abomination which God hateth.

That it was also practised elsewhere, and by many nations remote from *Judea*, divers authors witness: as *Virgil* in the second of his *Aeneids* — *Sanguine placâstis, &c.* and *Silius* — *Postere cæde deos.* *Saturn* is said to have brought this custom into *Italy*, besides the casting of many souls into the river of *Tiber*, instead of which *Hercules* commanded that the waxen images of men should be thrown in and drowned. The devil also taught the *Carthaginians* this kind of butchery, inſomuch that when their city was besieged and in distress, the priest made them believe, that because they had spared their own children, and had bought and brought up others to be offered, that therefore *Saturn* had stirred up and strengthened their enemies against them: whereupon they presently caused two hundred of the noblest youths of their city to be slain, and offered to *Saturn* or *Satan*, to appease him: who besides these fore-named nations had instructed the *Rhadians*, the people of *Crete*, and *Cbios*, of *Messena*, of *Galatia*, with the *Massagets*, and others, in these his services: further, as if he were not content to destroy the souls of many nations in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa* (as *Acoſta* writeth) the *Mexicans*, and other people of *America*, were brought by the devil under this fearful servitude, in which he also holderth the *Floridans* and *Virginians* at this day.

For the wickedness of this king *Achaz*, God stirred up *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and *Pekah* the son of *Remalia*, king of *Israel*, against him, who invaded *Judea*, and besieged *Jerusalem*, but enter'd it not.

The king of *Syria*, *Rezin*, possess'd himself of *Elab* by the *Red* sea, and cast the *Jews* out of it; and *Pekah* slaughter'd in one day ^e an hundred and twenty thousand *Judeans*, of the ablest of the kingdom; at which time *Maaseiah* the son of *Achaz* was also slain by *Ziabri*, with *Azricham* the governour of his house, and *Elcanah* the second person unto the king. Besides all this, two hundred thousand prisoners of women and children, the *Israelites* led away to *Samaria*: but by the counsel of the prophet *Oded* they were returned and delivered back again.

As *Israel* and *Aram* vexed *Juda* on the north, so the *Edomites* and the *Philistines*, who evermore attended the ruin of *Judea*, enter'd upon them from the south; and took *Bethſeme*, *Ajalon*, *Gaderoth*, *Socho*, *Timnah*, and *Gemo*, ^f slew many people, and carried away many prisoners. Whereupon, when *Achaz* saw himself environed on all sides, and that his idols and dead gods gave him no comfort, he sent to the *Affyrian* *Tiglathpileser*, to desire some aid from him against the *Israelites* and *Aramites*, presenting him with the silver and gold both of the temple and king's house.

Tiglathpileser wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the troubles that rose in *Palestina*. His father having lately made himself, from a provincial lieutenant, king of *Babylon* and *Affyria*, had a little before led him the way into *Judea*, invited by *Menahem* king of *Israel*. Wherefore now the son willingly hearkened to *Achaz*, and embraced the advantage. As for *Belochus* himself, he was content to assign some other time for going through with this enterprise: because (as I have said before) he was not firmly settled at home, and the *Syrian* kings lay directly in his way, who were yet strong both in men and fame. But *Tiglath*, having now, with the treasures of *Jerusalem*, prepared his army, first invaded the territory of *Damascus*, won the city, and killed *Rezin*, the last of the race of

^a 2 Kings 15. ^b Paul 1. 3. ^c 2 Kings 16. 1. ^d 2 Chron. 28. ^e 2 Chron. 28. 6. ^f Euseb. de Prep. Evang. 1. 6. Dion 1. 2. ^g Acoſt. de Hist. nat. & mor. Ind. ^h 2 Chron. 28. 6. ⁱ 2 Kings 16.

the *Adads*, who began with *David*, and ended with this *Achaz*. At *Damascus Achaz* met *Tiglath*, and taking thence a pattern of the altar, sent it to *Uriah* the priest, commanding the like to be made at *Jerusalem*, whereon at his return he burnt sacrifice to the gods of the *Syrians*. In the mean while *Tiglath* possess'd all *Basan*, and the rest beyond *Jordan*, which belonged to the tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manasseh*. And then passing the river, he master'd the cities of *Galilee*, invaded *Ephraim*, and the kingdom of *Israel*, and made them his vassals. And notwithstanding that he was invited and waged by *Achaz*, yet after the spoil of *Israel*, he possess'd himself of the greater part of *Juda*, and as it seemeth enforced *Achaz* to pay him tribute. For in the second of *Kings*, the eighteenth, it is written of *Ezechia*, that he revolted from *Assur*, or rebelled against him, and therefore was invaded by *Sennacherib*. After *Achaz* had beheld and borne these miseries, in the end of the sixteenth year of his reign he died; but was not buried in the sepulchres of the kings of *Juda*.

With *Achaz* lived *Medidus*, the third prince in *Media*, who governed forty years, saith ^a *Eusebius*: *Diodorus* and *Ctesias* find *Anticarmus* instead of this *Medidus*, to have been *Sofarmus*'s successor, to whom they give fifty years.

Tiglath Phileser held the kingdom of *Affyria*, all the reign of *Achaz*; yet so, that *Salmanassar* his son may seem to have reigned with him some part of the time. For we find that *Achaz* did ^b send unto the kings of *Assur* to help him. The *Geneva* note says, that these kings of *Assur* were *Tiglath Pileser*, and those kings that were under his dominion. But that he or his father had hitherto made such conquests, as might give him the lordship over other kings, I do neither find any history, nor circumstance that proveth. Wherefore I think that these kings of *Assur* were *Tiglath*, and *Salmanassar* his son, who reigned with his father, as hath been said before: tho' how long he reigned with his father, it be hard to define.

At this time began the *Ephori* in *Lacedæmon*, a hundred and thirty years after *Lycurgus*, according to ^c *Plutarch*. *Eusebius* makes their beginning far later, namely in the fifteenth *Olympiad*. Of these *Ephori*, *Elalus* was the first, *Theopompus* and *Polydorus* being then joint kings. These *Ephori*, chosen every year, were comptrollers as well of their senators as of their kings, nothing being done without their advice and consent. For (saith *Cicero*) they were opposed against their kings, as the *Roman* tribunes against the consuls. In the time of *Achaz* died *Aeschylus*, who had ruled in *Athens* ever since the fiftieth year of *Uzzia*. *Alcamenon*, the thirteenth of the *Medontida*, or governours of the *Athenians* (so called of *Medon*, who followed *Codrus*) succeeded his father *Aeschylus*, and was the last of their governours: he ruled only two years. For the *Athenians* changed first from kings (after *Codrus*) to governours for life; which ending in this *Alcamenon*, they erected a magistrate whom they termed an *Archon*, who was a kind of burgomaster, or governour of their city, for ten years.

This alteration *Pausanias* in his fourth book begins in the first year of the eighth *Olympiad*. *Eusebius* and *Halicarnassæus* in the first of the seventh *Olympiad*: at which time indeed, *Carops* the first of these began his ten years rule.

The kingdom of the *Latines*, governed about three hundred years by the *Sylvii*, of the race of *Aeneas*, took end in the same *Achaz*'s time: the foundati-

on of *Rome* being laid by *Romulus* and *Remus* in the eighth year of the same king. *Codoman* builds it the eleventh of *Achaz*, *Bucholzer* in the eighth (as I think he should) others somewhat later, and in the reign of *Ezechias*. *Cicero*, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and others, square the time of the foundation to the third year of the sixth *Olympiad*. But *Halicarnassæus*, *Solinus* *Antiochenus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Eusebius*, to the first year of the seventh: who seem not only to me, but to many very learned chronologers, to have kept herein the best account.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the antiquities of Italy, and foundation of Rome in the time of Ahaz.

SECT. I.

Of the old inhabitants, and of the name of Italy.

AND here to speak of the more ancient times of *Italy*, and what nations possessed it before the arrival of *Aeneas*, the place may seem to invite us: the rather because much fabulous matter hath been mixed with the truth of those elder plantations. *Italy*, before the fall of *Troy*, was known to the *Greeks* by divers names; as first *Hesperia*, then *Aufonia*, the one name arising of the seat, the other of the *Aufones*, a people inhabiting part of it: one ancient name of it was also *Oenotria*, which it had of the *Oenotri*: whom ^a *Halicarnassæus* thinks to have been the first that brought a colony of *Arcadians* into that land. Afterwards it was called *Italy*, of *Italus*: concerning which changes of names, *Virgil* speaks thus.

Est locus Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere glebæ:
Oenotrii coluere viri, nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.

There is a land which *Greeks* *Hesperia* name,
Ancient, and strong, of much fertility.
Oenotrians held it, but we hear by fame,
That by late ages of posterity,
'Tis from a captain's name call'd *Italy*.

Who this captain or king may have been, it is very uncertain. For *Virgil* speaks no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued so long upon the whole country, and worn out all other denominations, was not at the first accepted without good cause. Therefore to find out the original of this name, and the first planters of this noble country, *Reineccius* hath made a very painful search, and not improbable conjecture. And first of all he grounds upon that of ^a *Halicarnassæus*, who speaks of a colony which the *Eleans* did lead into *Italy*, before the name of *Italy* was given to it: Secondly, upon that of ^b *Justin*, who saith, that *Brundisium* was a colony of the *Etolians*: Thirdly, upon that of ^c *Strabo*, who affirms the same of *Tempe*, or *Tempa*, a city of the *Brutii* in *Italy*: Lastly, upon the authority of ^d *Pliny*, who shews that the *Italians* did inhabit only one region of the land, whence afterwards the name was derived over all. Concerning that which is said of the *Eleans* and *Etolians*, who (as he shews) had one original; from them he brings the name of *Italy*. For the word *Italia* differs in nothing from *Atolia*, save that

^a Euseb. in Chron.

^b 2 Kings 28. 16.

^c Plut. in vita Sol.

^d Halicar. l. 1.

^e Halicar. l. 1.

^f Justin. l. 12.

^g Strabo. l. 6.

^h Plin. l. 3. c. 5.

the first letter is cast away, which in the Greek words is common, and the letter [o] is changed into [a]: which change is found in the name of *E-thalia*, an island near *Italy*, peopled by the *Etholians*: and the like changes are very familiar in the *Eolic* dialect; of which dialect (being almost proper to the *Etolians*) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latins*, as *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priscian* the grammarian teach. Hereunto appertains that of *Julian* the apostate, who called the *Greeks* cousins of the *Latins*. Also the common original of the *Greeks* and *Latins* from *Javan*; and the fable of *Janus*, whose image had two faces, looking east and west, as *Greece* and *Italy* lay, and was stamped on coins, with a ship on the other side; all which is, by interpretation, referred to *Javan*, father of the *Greeks* and *Latins*: who sailing over the *Ionian* sea, that lies between *Ætolia* and the western parts of *Greece* and *Italy*, planted colonies in both. Now whereas *Reineccius* thinks, that the names of *Atlas* and *Italus* belong'd both to one man, and thereto applies that of *Berosus*, who called *Cethim Italus*; tho' it may seem strengthened by the marriage of *Dardanus*, whilst he abode in *Italy* with *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas*, yet is it by arguments, in my valuation greater and stronger, easily disproved. For they, who make mention of *Atlas*, place him before the time of *Moses*: and if *Atlas* were *Cethim*, or *Kittim*, then was he the son of *Javan*, and nephew of *Japheth*, the eldest son of *Noah*: which antiquity far exceeds the name of *Italy*, that began after the departure of *Hercules* out of the country, not long before the war of *Troy*.

Likewise *Virgil*, who speaks of *Atlas*, and of *Dardanus*'s marriage with *Electra*, hath nothing of his meeting with her in *Italy*; but calleth *Electra* and her sister *Maia* (poetically) daughters of the mountain *Atlas* in *Africa*, naming *Italus* among the kings of the *Aborigines*; which he would not have done, had *Atlas* and *Italus* been one person.

As for the authority of *Berosus* in this case, we need the less to regard it, for that *Reineccius* himself, whose conjectures are more to be valued than the dreams wherewith *Annius* hath filled *Berosus*, holds it but a figment.

That the name of *Italy* began long after *Atlas*, it appears by the verses of *Virgil* last rehearsed, wherein he would not have said, — *nunc fama minores Italiam dixisse, Ducis de nomine, gentem*, had that name been heard of ere *Dardanus* left the country. But seeing that, when *Hercules*, who died a few years before the war of *Troy*, had left in *Italy* a colony of the *Eleans* (who in a manner were one and the same with the *Etolians*, as *Strabo*, *Herodotus* and *Pausanias* teach) then the name of *Italy* began: and seeing *Virgil* makes mention of *Italus* among the *Italian* kings, it were no great boldness to say, that *Italus* was commander of these *Eleans*. For tho' I remember not, that I have read of any such Greek as was named *Italus*, yet the name of *Ætolus*, written in Greek *Ætolos*, was very famous both among the *Etolians*, and among the *Eleans*, he being son of a king of *Elis*, and founder of the *Etolian* kingdom. Neither is it more hard to derive the name *Italus* from *Ætolus* than *Italia* from *Ætolia*. So may *Virgil*'s authority stand well with the collections of *Reineccius*; the name of *Italy* being taken both from a captain, and from the nation of which he and his people were.

S E C T. II.

Of the *Aborigines*, and other inhabitants of *Latium*, and of the reason of the names of *Latini* and *Latium*.

IN *Italy* the *Latins* and *Ætrurians* were most famous; the *Ætrurians* having held the greatest part of it under their subjection; and the *Latins*, by the virtue and felicity of the *Romans*, who were a branch of them, subduing all *Italy*, and in few ages whatsoever nation was known in *Europe*: together with all the western parts of *Asia*, and north of *Africk*.

The region called *Latium*, was first inhabited by the *Aborigines*, whom *Halicarnassæus*, *Varro*, and *Reineccius*, following them, think to have been *Arcadians*: and this name of *Aborigines* (to omit other significations that are strained) imports as much as original, or native of the place, which they possessed: which title the *Arcadians* are known in vaunting manner to have always usurped, fetching their antiquity from beyond the moon, because indeed, neither were the inhabitants of *Peloponnesus* enforced to forsake their seats, so oft as other *Greeks* were, who dwelt without that half-island, neither had the *Arcadians* so unsure a dwelling as the rest of the *Peloponnesians*, because their country was less fruitful in land, mountainous and hard of access, and they themselves (as in such places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of these therefore having occupied a great part of *Latium*, and held it long, did according to the *Arcadian* manner, style themselves *Aborigines*, in that language, which either their new seat, or their neighbours thereby had taught them. How it might be that the *Arcadians* who dwelt somewhat far from sea, and are always noted as unapt men to prove good mariners, should have been authors of new discoveries, were a question not easy to be answered, were it not so, that both fruitfulness of children, in which those ages abounded, enforceth a superfluous company to seek another seat, and that some expeditions of the *Arcadians*, as especially that of *Evander*, into the same parts of *Italy*, are generally acknowledged.

After the *Aborigines*, were the *Pelasgi*, an ancient nation, who sometimes gave name to all *Greece*: but their antiquities are long since dead, for lack of good records. Neither was their glory such in *Italy*, as could long sustain the name of their own tribe; for they were in short space accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The *Sicani*, *Aufones*, *Aurunci*, *Rutili*, and other people, did in ages following disturb the peace of *Latium*, which by *Saturn* was brought to some civility, and he therefore canonized as a God.

This *Saturn* St. *Augustine* calleth *Sterces* or *Sterculius*, others term him *Stercutius*, and say, that he taught the people to dung their grounds. That *Latium* took his name of *Saturn*, because he did *latere*, that is, lie hidden there, when he fled from *Jupiter*, it is questionless a fable. For as in heathenish superstition, it was great vanity to think that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many Gods of whom one fled from another; so in the truth of history, it is well known, that no king reigning in those parts was so mighty, that it should be hard to find one country or another, wherein a man might be safe from his pursuit. And yet, as most fables and poetical fictions were occasioned by some ancient truth, which either by

^a See lib. 1. cap. 6. sect. 1. & seq

ambiguity of speech or some allusion, they did maimedly and darkly express (for so they feigned a passage over a river in hell, because death is a passage to another life, and because this passage is hateful, lamentable, and painful, therefore they named the river *Styx* of hate, *Cocytus* of lamentation, and *Acheron* of pain; so also because men are stony-hearted, and because the Greek λαοι people, and λίθες stones, are near in sound, therefore they feigned in the time of *Deucalion* stones converted into men, as at other times men into stones) in like manner it may be, that the original of *Saturn's* hiding himself, was some allusion to that old opinion of the wisest of the heathen, that the true God was *ignotus Deus*, as it is noted in *Aëtii* xvii. 23. whence also ^a *Isaiab* of the true God says, *Tu Deus abdens te*. For it cannot be in vain that the word *Saturnus* should also have this very signification, if it be derived (as some think) from the Hebrew *Satar*, which is to hide: howbeit I deny not, but that the original of this word *Latium*, ought rather to be sought elsewhere.

Reineccius doth conjecture that the *Ceteans*, who descended of *Cethim*, the son of *Javan*, were the men who gave the name to *Latium*. For these *Ceteans* are remembered by *Homer* as aiders of the *Trojans* in their war. *Strabo* interpreting the place of *Homer*, calls them subjects to the crown of *Troy*. Hereupon *Reineccius* gathers, that their abode was in *Asia*: viz. in agro *Elaitico*; in the *Elaitian* territory, which agreeth with *Strabo*. Of a city which the *Eolians* held in *Asia*, called *Elea*, or *Elaiia*, *Pausanias* makes mention: *Stephanus* calls it *Cidemis*, or (according to the Greek writing) *Cidamis*, which name last rehearsed hath a very near sound to *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Cithim*; the Greek letter [D] having (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to [TH] differing only in the strength or weakness of utterance, which is found between many *English* words written with the same letters. Wherefore that these *Ceteans* being descended of *Cethim*, *Cittim*, or *Kittim*, the son of *Javan*, who was progenitor of the *Greeks*, might very well take a denomination from the city and region which they inhabited, and from thence be called *Elaites*, or *Elaites*, it is very likely, considering that among the *Arcadians*, *Phocians*, *Etolians*, and *Eleans*, who all were of the *Eolic* tribe, are found the names of the mountain *Eleus*, the haven *Eleas*, the people *Elaitæ*, the cities *Eleus*, *Elaiia*, and *Elateia*, of which last it were somewhat harsh in the *Latin* tongue to call the inhabitants by any other name than *Elatini*, from whence *Latini* may come. Now whereas both the *Cetæi* and *Arcadians* had their original from *Cethim*, it is nothing unlikely, that agreeing in language and similitude of names, they might nevertheless differ in sound and pronunciation of one and the same word. So that as he is by many called *Sabinus*, to whom some (deriving the *Sabines* from him) give the name of *Sabus*: in the like manner might he whom the *Arcadians* would call *Elatus* (of which name they had a prince that founded the city *Elateia*) be named of the *Ceteans*, *Latinus*. *Reineccius* pursuing this likelihood, thinks, that when *Euripylus*, lord of the *Ceteans*, being the son of *Telephus*, whom *Hercules* begat upon *Auge*, the daughter of *Aleus* king of *Arcadia*, was slain by *Achilles* in the *Trojan* war: then did *Telephus*, brother to *Euripylus*, conduct the *Ceteans*; who (fearing what evil might

befal themselves by the *Greeks*, if the affairs of *Troy* should go ill) passed into that part of *Italy*, where the *Arcadians* were planted by *Ocnotrus*. And *Reineccius* farther thinks, that *Telephus* being the more gracious among the *Oenotrian Arcadians*, by the memory of his grand-mother *Auge*, an *Arcadian* lady, was well contented to take an *Arcadian* name, and to be called *Elatus*, which in the dialect and pronunciation either of the *Ceteans*, or of the *Oenotrians*, was first *Elatinus*, and then *Latinus*: that this name of *Elatus* may have been taken or imposed by the *Arcadians*, it is the more easy to be thought, for that there were then two families, the one of *Aphidus*, the other of *Elatus*, who were sons of *Arcas* king of *Arcadia*, which gave name to the country: and between these two families the succession in that kingdom did pass, almost interchangeably for many ages, till at the end of the *Trojan* war it fell into the hand of *Hippothous* of the race of *Elatus*, in whose posterity it continued until the last. Again, the name *Latinus* having a derivative sound, agrees the better with the supposition of such an accident. This is the conjecture of *Reineccius*, which if he made over-boldly, yet others may follow it with the less reproof, considering that it is not easy to find either an apparent truth, or fair probability among these disagreeing authors, which have written the originals of *Latium*.

SECT. III.

Of the ancient kings of the Latins until Æneas's coming.

THE kings which reigned in *Latium* before the arrival of *Æneas*, were *Saturnus*, *Picus*, *Faunus* and *Latinus*. Of *Saturn* there is nothing remembered, save what is mentioned already, and many fables of the *Greeks*, which whether they be applicable to this man, it is for him to judge who shall be able to determine, whether this were the *Saturn* of the *Greeks*, called by them κρόνος, or some other, styled *Saturn* by the *Aborigines*. For the age wherein he lived, may very well admit him to have been the same: but the names ^b *Sterces* and *Stercutius* (for it may be this name was not borrowed from the skill which he taught the people, but rather the soil which they laid on their grounds, had that appellation from him) do rather make him seem some other man.

Of *Picus* it is said that he was a good horseman. The fable of his being changed into a bird, which we call a *Pye*, may well seem (as it is interpreted) to have grown from the skill he had in soothsaying, or divination, by the flight and chattering of fowls. *Faunus* the son of *Picus* reigned after his father. He gave to *Evander* the *Arcadian* (who having by mischance slain his father *Echemus* king of *Arcadia*, fled into *Italy*) the waste grounds on which *Rome* was afterwards built.

Fauna, called *Fatua*, the sister of *Faunus*, was also his wife, as all historians agree; she was held a prophetess, and highly commended for her chastity; which praise in her must needs have been much blemished by her marriage, itself being merely incestuous.

It is not mentioned that *Faunus* had by his sister any child, neither do we read of any other wife which he had, save only that *Virgil*, *Æneid.* 7. gives unto him *Latinus* as his son, by a nymph called *Marica*.

^a *Isaiab* 45. 15. ^b *Ezekiel* often calls the idols of the heathen *Deos Stercoreos*: and hence it may be, that in the evangelist we read of *Belzebub*, *Belzebub*, which is interpreted *Dominus Stercoreus*: and it may be that after that *Saturn* became the name of an idol, it pleased God that on a like sense this name *Stercutius* should stick unto him

But who this *Marica* was it is not found, save only that her abode was about the river *Liris* near *Minturnæ*.

Of the name *Latinus*, there are by *Pomponius Sabinus* recounted four: one, the son of *Faunus*, another of *Hercules*, a third of *Ulysses* by *Circe*, the fourth of *Telemachus*.^a *Suidas* takes notice only of the second, of whom he saith, that his name was *Telephus*, and the people, anciently named the *Cetii*, were from his surname called *Latini*. This agrees in effect with the opinion of *Reineccius*, the difference consisting almost in this only, that *Suidas* calls *Telephus*, the son of *Hercules*, whereas *Reineccius* makes him his nephew, by a son of the same name. This *Latinus* having obtained the succession in that kingdom after *Faunus*, did promise his only daughter and heir *Lavinia*, to *Turnus* the son of *Venilia*, who was sister to *Amata*, *Latinus*'s wife.

But when *Aeneas* arrived in those parts with fifteen ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might be embarked, according to the rate which *Thucydides* allows to the vessels then used, about one thousand and two hundred men: then *Latinus* finding that it would stand best with his assurance, to make alliance with the *Trojan*, and moved with the great reputation of *Aeneas*, which himself had heard of in the war of *Troy*, gave his daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with *Turnus*; who incensed herewith, sought to avenge himself by war, which was soon ended with his own death.

Of *Amata* the wife of *Latinus*, it is very certain, that were she an *Italian*, she could not have born a daughter marriageable at the arrival of *Aeneas*; unless we should wholly follow *Suidas*, and rather give the conduct of the *Cetei* into *Italy*, to *Telephus* the father, than to his son, who served in the last year of the *Trojan* war. But *Reineccius* holds her an *Asiatick*, and thinks withal that *Lavinia* was born before *Telephus* came into *Italy*. That this name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Halicarnassicus* call her, was not proper, but rather a surname, it may seem by *Varro*, who calleth her *Palatia*: which name very well might be derived from the Greek name *Pallas*. *Amata*, which signifieth beloved, or dear, was the name by which the high priest called every virgin, whom he took to serve as a nun of *Vesta*; wherefore it is the more easily to be thought a surname, howsoever *Virgil* discourse of her and *Venilia* her sister.

Lavinia, the daughter of *Latinus*, being given in marriage to *Aeneas*, the kingdom of *Latium*, or the greatest part of that country, was established in that race: wherein it continued until it was over-grown by the might and greatness of the *Romans*.

SECT. IV.

Of *Aeneas*, and of the kings and governors of *Alba*.

AENEAS himself being of the royal blood of *Troy*, had the command of the *Dardanians*: he was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the *Trojans*. By his wife *Crousa*, the daughter of *Priamus*, he had a son called *Ascanius*; whose surname was *Julus*, having before the ruin of *Troy* (as *Virgil* notes) been surnamed *Iulus*. But when *Aeneas* was dead, his wife *Lavinia*, the daughter of *Latinus*, being great with child by him, and, fearing the power of this *Ascanius*, fled into the woods, where she was delivered of

a son, called thereupon *Sylvius*, and surnamed *Posthumus*, because he was born after his father's funeral. This flight of *Lavinia* was so evil taken by the people, that *Ascanius* procured her return, entreated her honourably, and using her as a queen, did foster her young son, his half-brother *Sylvius*. Yet afterwards, whether to avoid all occasions of disagreement, or delighted with the situation of the place; *Ascanius* leaving to his mother-in-law the city of *Lavinium*, which *Aeneas* had built, and called after his new wife's name, founded the city *Alba Longa*, and therein reigned. The time of his reign was, according to some, eight and twenty years: *Virgil* gives him thirty; others five and thirty, and eight and thirty. After his decease, there arose contention between *Sylvius* the son of *Aeneas*, and *Julus* the son of *Ascanius*, about the kingdom: but the people inclining to the son of *Lavinia*, *Julus* was contented to hold the priesthood, which he and his race enjoyed, leaving the kingdom to *Sylvius Posthumus*, whose posterity were afterwards called *Sylvii*.

The reign of the *Alban* kings, with the continuance of each man's reign, I find thus set down.

1. <i>Sylvius Posthumus</i>	29	} years.
2. <i>Sylvius Aeneas</i>	31	
3. <i>Sylvius Latinus</i>	50	
4. <i>Sylvius Alba</i>	39	
5. <i>Sylvius Atis</i>	26	
6. <i>Sylvius Capys</i>	28	
7. <i>Sylvius Capetus</i>	13	
8. <i>Sylvius Tiberinus</i>	8	
9. <i>Sylvius Agrippa</i>	41	
10. <i>Sylvius Alladius</i>	19	
11. <i>Sylvius Aventinus</i>	37	
12. <i>Sylvius Procas</i>	23	
13. <i>Sylvius Amulius</i>	44	
<i>Sylvius Numitor</i> .		
<i>Ilia</i> , also called <i>Rhea</i> and <i>Sylvia</i> .		
<i>Romulus</i> , <i>Remus</i> .		

The most of these kings lived in peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remembrance.

Latinus founded many towns in the borders of *Latium*: who standing much upon the honour of their original, grew thereby to be called *Prisci Latini*. Of *Tiberinus* some think that the river *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Albula*: but *Virgil* gives it that denomination of another called *Tibris*, before the coming of *Aeneas* into *Italy*. The mountain *Aventinus* had name, as many write, from *Aventinus* king of the *Albanes*, who was buried therein: but *Virgil* hath it otherwise. *Julius*, the brother of *Aventinus*, is named by *Eusebius* as father of another *Julius*, and grandfather of *Julius Proculus*; who leaving *Alba*, dwelt with *Romulus* in *Rome*. *Numitor*, the elder son of *Procas*, was deprived of his kingdom by his brother *Amulius*; by whom also his son *Aegesthus* was slain, and *Ilia* his daughter made a nun of *Vesta*, that thereby the issue of *Numitor* might be cut off. But she conceived two sons, either by her uncle *Amulius*, as some think; or by *Mars*, as the poets feign; or perhaps by some man of war. Both the children their uncle commanded to be drown'd, and the mother buried quick, according to the law; which so ordained, when the vestal virgins broke their chastity. Whether it was so, that the mother was pardon'd at the entreaty of *Antio*, the daughter of *Amulius*, or punished as the law required (for authors herein

^a *Suidas* in the word *Latini*.

do vary) it is agreed by all, that the two children were preserved, who afterwards revenged the cruelty of their uncle, with the slaughter of him and all his, and restored *Numitor* their grand-father to the kingdom: wherein how long he reigned I find not, neither is it greatly material to know; forasmuch as the estates of *Alba* and of *Latium* were presently eclipsed by the swift increase of *Rome*; upon which the computation of time following (as far as concerns the things of *Italy*) is dependant. After the death of *Numitor*, the kingdom of *Alba* ceased; for *Numitor* left no male issue. *Romulus* chose rather to live in *Rome*; and of the line of *Sylvius* none else remained. So the *Albanes* were governed by magistrates; of whom only two dictators are mentioned, namely *Caius Cluilius*, who in the days of *Tullus Hostilius*, king of the *Romans*, making war upon *Rome*, died in the camp; and *Metius Suffetius*, the successor of *Cluilius*, who surrender'd the estate of *Alba* unto the *Romans*, having committed the hazard of both dignities to the success of three men on each side, who decided the quarrel by combat: in which the three brethren *Horatii*, the champions of the *Romans*, prevailed against the *Curatii*, champions of the *Albanes*. After this combat, when *Metius* (following *Tullus Hostilius* with the *Albane* forces against the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*) withdrew his companies out of the battle, hoping thereby to leave the *Romans* to such an overthrow, as might make them weak enough for the *Albanes* to deal with; *Tullus*, who notwithstanding this falshood obtained the victory, did reward *Metius* with a cruel death, causing him to be tied to two chariots, and so torn in pieces. Then was *Alba* destroyed, and the citizens carried to *Rome*, where they were made free denizens, the noble families being made *Patricians*; among which were the *Julii*: of whom *C. Julius Cæsar* being descended, not only gloried in his ancient, royal, and forgotten pedigree, in full assembly of the *Romans*, then governed by a free estate of the people; but by his rare industry, valour, and judgment, obtained the sovereignty of the *Roman* empire (much by him enlarged) to himself and his posterity; whereby the name of *Æneas*, and honour of the *Trojan* and *Alban* race, was so revived, that seldom, if ever, any one family hath attained to a proportionable height of glory.

SECT. V.

Of the beginning of Rome, and of Romulus's birth and death.

OF *Rome*, which devoured the *Alban* kingdom, I may here best shew the beginnings, which (though somewhat uncertain) depend much upon the birth and education of *Romulus*, the grand-child of *Numitor*, the last that reigned in *Alba*. For how not only the bordering people, but all nations between *Euphrates* and the ocean, were broken in pieces by the iron teeth of this fourth beast, it is not to be described in one place, having been the work of many ages; whereof I now do handle only the first, as incident unto the discourse preceding. *Q. Fabius Pictor*, *Portius Cato*, *Calpurnius Piso*, *Sempronius*, and others, seek to derive the *Romans* from *Janus*: but *Herodotus*, *Marfyllus*, and many others of equal credit, give the *Grecians* for their ancestors: and as *Strabo* reporteth in his fifth book; *Cæcilius rerum Romanarum scriptor eo argumento colligit, Romam a Græcis esse conditam, quod Romani, Græco ritu, antiquo instituto Herculi rem sacram*

faciunt; matrem quoque Evandri venerantur Romani; Cæcilius (saith he) a Roman historiographer, doth by this argument gather, that Rome was built by the Greeks; because the Romans, after Greekish fashion, by ancient ordinance do sacrifice to Hercules: the Romans also worship the mother of Evander.

Plutarch in the life of *Romulus* remembers many founders of that city: as *Romanus* the son of *Ulysses* and *Circe*; *Romus* the son of *Emathion*, whom *Dionemedes* sent thither from *Troy*, or that one *Romus*, a tyrant of the *Latines*, who drove the *Tuscans* out of that country, built it. *Solinus* bestows the honour of building *Rome* upon *Evander*, saying, That it was before-times called *Valentia*. *Heraclides* gives the denomination to a captive lady, brought thither by the *Grecians*: others say, that it was anciently called *Febris*, after the name of *Februa*, the mother of *Mars*: witness *St. Augustine* in his third book *de Civitate Dei*. But *Livy* will have it to be the work of *Romulus*, even from the foundation: of whom and his consorts, *Juvenal* to a *Roman* citizen vaunting of their original, answered in these verses:

*Attamen ut longe repetas, longeque revolvās,
Majorum quisquis primus fuit ille tuorum;
Aut pastor fuit, aut * illud quod dicere nolo.*

Yet tho' thou fetch thy pedigree so far;
Thy first progenitor, whoe'er he were,
Some shepherd was, or else, that I'll forbear.

* Meaning either a shepherd or a thief.

Now of *Romulus's* begetting, of his education and preservation, it is said, that he had *Rhea* for his mother, and *Mars* was supposed to be his father; that he was nurs'd by a wolf, found and taken away by *Fausula*, a shepherd's wife. The same unnatural nursing had *Cyrus*; the same incredible fostering had *Semiramis*; the one by a bitch, the other by birds. But, as *Plutarch* saith, it is like enough that *Amulius* came covered with armour to *Rhea*, the mother of *Romulus*, when he begat her with child: and therein it seemeth to me, that he might have two purposes; the one, to destroy her, because she was the daughter and heir of his elder brother, from whom he injuriously held the kingdom; the other to satisfy his appetite, because she was fair and goodly. For she being made a nun of the goddess *Vesta*, it was death in her by the law to break her chastity. I also find in *Fauchet's Antiquitez de Gaule*, that *Merovée*, king of the *Franks*, was begotten by a monster of the sea: but *Fauchet* says, *Let them believe it that list: Il le croira qui voudra*: also of *Alexander*, and of *Scipio African*, there are poetical inventions: but to answer these imaginations in general, it is true, that in those times, when the world was full of this barbarous idolatry, and when there were as many gods as there were kings, or passions of the mind, or as there were of vices and virtues; then did many women, greatly born, cover such slips as they made, by protesting to be forced by more than human power: so did *Oenone* confess to *Paris*, that she had been ravished by *Apollo*. And *Antibises* boasted that he had known *Venus*. But *Rhea* was made with child by some man of war or other, and therefore called *Mars*, the god of battle, according to the sense of the time. *Oenone* was overcome by a strong wit, and by such a one as had those properties ascribed to *Apollo*. The mother of *Merovée* might fancy a sea captain, to be gotten with young

^a Strabo l. 5. fol. 159.

^b Fauchet, fol. 114

by such an one: as the daughter of *Inachus* fancied, according to *Herodotus*. *Aeneas* was a bastard, and begotten upon some fair harlot, called for her beauty *Venus*, and was therefore the child of lust, which is *Venus*. *Romulus* was nurs'd by a wolf, which was *Lupa*, or *Lupina*, for the curtesans in those days were called wolfs, *Quæ nunc* (saith *Halicarnassæus*) *honestiori vocabulo amicæ appellantur; which are now by an honest name called friends*. It is also written, that *Romulus* was in the end of his life taken up into heaven, or rather out of the world by his father *Mars*, in a great storm of thunder and lightning: so was it said that *Aeneas* vanished away by the river *Numicus*; but thereof *Livy* also speaketh modestly; for he rehearseth the other opinion, that the storm was the fury of the senators, but seemeth to adhere partially to this taking up; and many authors agree that there was an unnatural darkness, both at his birth and at his death, and that he might be slain by thunder and lightning, it is not unlikely. For the emperor *Anastasi*us was slain with lightning; so was *Strabo*, the father of *Pompey*, slain with a thunderbolt: so *Carus* the emperor (who succeeded *Probus*) whilst he lodged with his army upon the river *Tigris*, was there slain with lightning. But a *Mars* of the same kind might end him that begat him; for he was begotten by a man of war, and by violence destroyed. And that he died by violence (which destiny followed most of the *Roman* emperors) it appeareth by *Tarquinius Superbus*, who was the seventh king after him: who when he had murder'd his father-in-law, commanded that he should not be buried, for (saith he) *Romulus* himself died, and was not buried. But let *Halicarnassæus* end this dispute: whose words are these. *They* (saith he) *who draw nearest to the truth, say that he was slain by his own citizens; and that his cruelty in punishments of offenders, together with his arrogance, were the cause of his slaughter. For it is reported that both when his mother was vanished, whether by some man, or by a God, the whole body of the sun was eclipsed, and all the earth covered with darkness like unto night, and that the same did happen at his death.*

Such were the birth and death of *Romulus*; whose life, historified by *Plutarch*, doth contain (besides what is here already spoken of him) the conquest of a few miles, which had soon been forgotten, if the *Roman* greatness built upon that foundation, had not given it memory in all ages following, even unto this day. A valiant man he was, very strong of body, patient of travel, and temperate in diet, as forbearing the use of wine and delicacies: but his raging ambition he knew not how to temper, which caused him to slay his brother, and neglect to revenge the death of *Tatius* his companion in the kingdom, that he himself might be lord alone in those narrow territories. He reigned seven and thirty years, first alone, then with *Tatius*, and after his death single, till he was slain, as is already shewed: after which time the sovereignty fell into the hands of *Numa*, a man to him unknown, and more priest-like than king-like: wherein *Rome* itself in her latter times hath somewhat resembled this king. For having long been sole governess, till *Constantinople* shared with her: afterwards, when as the *Greek* emperor was crushed by foreign enemies, and the *Latines* despoiled of imperial power, she fell into the subjection of a prelate, swelling by degrees from the sheep-hook to the sword, and therewith victorious to excessive magnificence, from whence by the

same degrees it fell, being driven from luxury to defensive arms; and therein having been unfortunate, at length betakes herself again to the crozier's staff.

And thus much of *Rome* in this place, by occasion of the story of the times of king *Abaz*, during whose reign in *Jewry*, the foundations of this famous city were laid.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Ezekia, and his contemporaries.

SECT. I.

Of the beginning of Ezechias, and of the agreeing of Ptolemies, Nabonassar, Nabopolassar, and Mardocempadus, with the history of the bible.

AS the first year of *Abaz*'s reign was confounded with the last of his father *Jotham*, so was the latter end of his sixteen years taken up in the three first of *Ezekias* his son. This appears by the reign of *Hosea* over *Israel*, which began in the twelfth of *Abaz*, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with *Abaz*'s fourteenth. But the third of *Hosea* was the first of *Ezekia*; so it follows, that *Ezekia* began to reign in his father's fourteenth year. Like enough it is, that the third year of *Hosea*, the same being the fourteenth of *Abaz*, was almost spent when *Ezekia* began, and so the fifteenth year of *Abaz* may have been concurrent, for the most part, with the first of *Ezekia*.

By supposing that *Hosea* began his kingdom, when the twelfth year of *Abaz* was almost compleat, some would find the means how to disjoin the first of *Hezekia* from the fifteenth of *Abaz*, placing him yet one year later, of which year *Abaz* may perhaps have lived not many days. But seeing that the fourteenth and fifteenth years of *Ezekia* may not be removed out of their places, it is vain labour to alter the first year.

^a In the fourteenth of *Ezekia*, *Sennacherib* invading *Juda*, and the countries adjoining, lost his army by a miraculous stroke from heaven, fled home, and was slain. The year following it was that God added fifteen years to the life of *Ezekia*, when he had already reigned fourteen of his nine and twenty: and the same year was that miracle seen of the sun's going back; of which wonder (as I hear) one *Bartholomew Scultet*, who is much commended for his skill in astronomy, hath by calculation found the very day, which answered unto the twenty-fifth of *April*, in the *Julian* year, being then *Thursday*. I have not seen any works of *Scultet*, but surely to find a motion so irregular and miraculous, it is necessary that he produce some record of observation made at such a time. Howsoever it be, the fifteenth year of *Ezekia* is agreed upon; and therefore we may not alter the first. As for that saying, which is usual in the like cases, that ^b *Abaz* slept with his fathers, and *Ezekia* his son reigned in his stead, it doth no more prove that *Ezekia* reigned not with his father, than the like saying doth infer the like at the death of *Jehoshaphat*, and succession of *Jehoram*; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the son to reign whilst his father liv'd, we have already said enough.

Of this godly king *Ezekias*, we find, that his very beginning testified his devotion and zeal.

^a 2 Kings 19. 35

^b 2 Chron. 23. 27

For whether it were so that his unfortunate and ungracious father (who had out-worn his reputation) gave way to his son's proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather think) the first year and first month of his reign, wherein ^a *Ezekias* opened the doors of the temple, were to be understood as the beginning of his sole government; we plainly find it to have been his first work, that he open'd the doors of the house of the Lord, which *Abaz* had shut up, cleansed the city and kingdom of the idols, restored the ^b priests to their offices and estates, commanded the sacrifices to be offered which had been for many years neglected, and broke down the brazen serpent of *Moses*, because the people burnt incense before it, and he called it *Nebushtan*, which signifieth a lump of brass. He did also celebrate the passover with great magnificence, inviting thereunto the *Israelites* of the ten tribes: many there were even out of those tribes, that came up to *Jerusalem*, to this feast. But the general multitude of *Israel* did laugh the messengers of *Ezekiab* to scorn.

It was not long ere they that scorned to solemnize the memorial of their deliverance out of the *Egyptian* servitude, fell into a new servitude, out of which they never were delivered. For in the fourth of *Ezekiab's* reign, *Salmanassar* the son of *Tiglath*, the son of *Belochus*, hearing that *Hosea* king of *Israel* had practised with *Soe* king of *Egypt*, against him: invaded *Israel*, besieged *Samaria*, and in the 3d year (after the inhabitants had endured all sorts of miseries) forced it and carried thence the ten idolatrous tribes into *Assyria* and *Media*: among whom *Tobias* and his son of the same name, and *Anna* his wife, were sent to *Nineveh*, in whose seats and places the *Assyrians* sent strangers of other nations, and among them many of the ancient enemies of the *Israelites*, as those of *Cutha*, *Ana*, *Hamah*, and *Sphernaim*, besides *Babylonians*: whose places and nations I have formerly described in the treatise of the *Holy Land*.

These latter *Assyrian* kings, and the *Persians*, which follow'd them, are the first, of whom we find mention made both in prophane and sacred books. These therefore serve most aptly to join the times of the old world (whereof none but the prophets have written otherwise than fabulously) with the ages following that were better known, and described in course of history. True it is, that of *Cyrus* and some other *Persians*, we find in the Bible the same names by which other authors have recorded them: but of *Phul* and *Salmanassar*, with other *Assyrian*, *Chaldean* kings, diversity of name hath bred question of the persons. Therefore, whereas the scriptures do speak of *Salmanassar*, king of *Assur*, who reigned in the time of *Abaz*, and *Ezekiab*, king of *Judah*, and *Hosea* king of *Israel*, whom he carried into captivity: and whereas *Ptolemy* makes mention of *Nabonassar*, speaking precisely of the time wherein he lived; it is very pertinent to shew, that *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* were one and the same man. The like reason also requireth, that it be shewed of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that he was the same, whom *Ptolemy* calleth *Nabopolassar*.

Of both these points *Bucholerus* hath well collected sufficient proof from the exact calculations of sundry good mathematicians. For by them it appears that between *Nabonassar* and the birth of Christ, there passed 746 years: at which distance of time the reign of *Salmanassar* was. One great

proof hereof is this, which the same *Bucholerus* alledgeth out of *Erasmus Reinholdus*, in the *Pru-tenick* tables. *Mardocempadus* king of *Babylon* (whom *Ptolemy*, speaking of three eclipses of the moon, which were in his time, doth mention) was the same whom the scriptures call *Merodach*, who sent ambassadors to *Hezekiab* king of *Juda*. So that if we reckon backwards to the difference of time, between *Merodach* and *Salmanassar*, we shall find it the same which is between *Mardocempadus* and *Nabonassar*. Likewise *Functius* doth shew, that whereas from the destruction of *Samaria*, to the destruction of *Jerusalem*, in the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, we collect out of the scriptures, the distance of 133 years: the self-same distance of time is found in *Ptolemy*, between *Nabonassar* and *Nabopolassar*. For, whereas *Ptolemy* seems to differ from this account, making *Nabonassar* more ancient by an hundred and forty years, than the destruction of *Jerusalem*, we are to understand that he took *Samaria* in the eighth year of his reign; so that the seven foregoing years added to these one hundred thirty-three, make the accounts of the scripture fall even with that of *Ptolemy*. *Ptolemy's* computation is, that from the first of *Nabonassar* to the fifth of *Nabopolassar*, there passed one hundred twenty-seven years. Now if we add to these one hundred twenty-seven, the thirteen ensuing of *Nebuchadnezzar's* years, before the city and temple were destroy'd, we have the sum of one hundred and forty years. In so plain a case more proofs are needless, tho' many are brought, of which this may serve for all, that *Ptolemy* placeth the first of *Nabopolassar* one hundred twenty-two years after the the first of *Nabonassar*, which agreeth exactly with the scriptures. To these notes are added the consent of all mathematicians: which in account of times I hold more sure than the authority of any history; and therefore I think it folly to make doubt, whereas historians and mathematical observations do so thoroughly concur.

Yet forasmuch as that argument of the learned *Scaliger* doth rest unanswered, whereby he proved *Baladan* the father of *Merodach*, to have been this *Nabonassar*, I will not spare to lose a word or two in giving the reader satisfaction herein. It is true, that the next observations of the heavenly bodies, which *Ptolemy* recorded, after the time of *Nabonassar*, were in the reign of *Mardocempadus*; the second year of whose reign, is, according to ^d *Ptolemy* concurrent in part with the twenty-seventh of *Nabonassar*. For the second of three ancient eclipses which he calculates, being in the second year of *Mardocempadus*, was from the beginning of *Nabonassar* twenty-seven years, seventeen days, and eleven hours: the account from *Nabonassar*, beginning at high noon the first day of the *Egyptian* month *Thot*, then answering to the twenty-sixth of *February*; and this eclipse being fifty minutes before midnight, on the eighteenth day of that month, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of *February*; so that the difference of time between the two kings *Nabonassar* and *Mardocempadus*, is noted by *Ptolemy*, according to the *Egyptian* years. But how does this prove, that *Mardocempadus* or *Merodach*, was the son of *Nabonassar*? yea, how doth it prove, that he was his next successor, or any way of his lineage? It was enough to satisfy me, in this argument, that *Scaliger* himself did afterwards believe *Mardocempadus* to have been rather the ne-

^a 2 Chron. 29. 3. ^b 2 Chron. 30. ^c 2 Kings 18. ^d Ptol. Almag. l. 4 c. 8.

phew, than the son of *Baladan*, or *Nabonassar*. For if he might be either the nephew, or the son, he might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But because our countryman *Lidgate* hath reprehended *Scaliger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Torniellus*, who follows *Scaliger* herein, and *Sethus Calvisius*, who hath drawn into form of chronology, that learned work, *De Emendatione Temporum*, do hold up the same assertion, confounding *Baladan* with *Nabonassar*: I have taken the pains to search, as far as my leisure and diligence could reach, after any sentence that might prove the kindred or succession of these two. Yet I cannot find in the *Almagest* (for the scriptures are either silent in this point, or adverse to *Scaliger*; and other good authority, I know none, in this business) any sentence more nearly proving the succession of *Merodach* to *Nabonassar*, than the place now last rehearsed: which makes no more, to shew that the one of these was father to the other, than (that I may use a like example) the as near succession of *William the Conqueror* declares him to have been son or grand-child to *Edward the Confessor*. This consider'd, we may safely go on with our account from *Nabonassar*, taking him for *Salmanassar*; and not fearing, that the readers will be driven from our book, when they find something in it, agreeing with *Annius*, forasmuch as these kings mention'd in scripture, reign'd in *Babylon*, and *Affyria*, in those very times which by *Diodorus* and *Ptolemy* are assigned to *Belosus*, *Nabonassar*, and *Mardacepadus*, and the rest: no good history naming any others, that reign'd there in those ages, and all astronomical observations, fitly concurring with the years that are attributed to these, or numbred from them.

SECT. II.

Of the danger and deliverance of Judea from Sennacherib.

WHEN *Salmanassar* was dead, and his son *Sennacherib* in possession of the empire, in the fourteenth year of *Ezechias*, he demanded of him such tribute as was agreed on at such time as *Tiglath*, the grand-father of *Sennacherib*, and father of *Salmanassar*, invited by *Abaz*, invaded *Rezen* king of *Damascus*, and delivered him from the dangerous war which *Israel* had undertaken against him. This tribute and acknowledgment when *Ezechias* denied, *Sennacherib*, having (as it seems) a purpose to invade *Egypt*, sent one part of his army to lie before *Jerusalem*. Now tho' *Ezechias* (fearing this powerful prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchased his peace, as he hoped, with thirty hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold, wherewith he presented *Sennacherib*, now set down before *Lachis* in *Judea*; yet under the colour of better assurance, and to force the king of *Judea* to deliver hostages, the *Affyrian* environed *Jerusalem* with a gross army, and having his sword in his hand, thought it the fittest time to write his own conditions.

Ezechias directed his three greatest counsellors, to parly with *Rabfages*, over the wall, and to receive his demands: who used three principal arguments to persuade the people to yield themselves to his master *Sennacherib*. For though the chancellor, steward, and secretary, sent by *Ezechias*, desired *Rabfages* to speak unto them in the *Syrian* tongue, and not in the *Jewish*, yet he with a more loud voice directed his speech to the mul-

titude in their own language. And for the first, he made them know, That if they continued obstinate, and adhered to their king, that they would, in a short time, be enforce'd to eat their own dung, and drink their own urine: Secondly, He altogether disabled the king of *Egypt*, from whom the *Judeans* hoped for succour, and compared him to a broken staff, on which whosoever leaneth pierceth his own hand: Thirdly, That the Gods who should help them, *Ilezekiab* had formerly broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is thought by some) the brazen serpent, which had been preserved ever since *Moses's* time: and withal he bade them remember the Gods of other nations: whom, notwithstanding any power of theirs, his master had conquered and thrown down; and for God himself, in whom they trusted, he persuaded them by no means to rely on him, for he would deceive them. But finding the people silent (for so the king had commanded them) after a while, when he had understood that the king of *Arabia* was marching on with a powerful army, he himself left the *Affyrian* forces in charge to others, and fought *Sennacherib* at *Lebnah* in *Judea*, either to inform him of their resolution in *Jerusalem*, or to confer with him concerning the army of *Terbaca* the *Arabian*. Soon upon this, there came letters from *Sennacherib* to *Ezechias*, whom he partly advis'd, and partly threatned to submit himself: using the same blasphemous outrage against the all-powerful God, as before. But *Ezechias*, sending those counsellors to the prophet *Isaiah*, which had lately been sent to *Rabfages*, received from him comfort, and assurance, that this heathen idolater should not prevail; against whom the king also besought aid from almighty God, repeating the most insolent and blasphemous parts of *Sennacherib's* letter, before the altar of God in the temple, confessing this part thereof to be true, 'That the king of *Asshur* had destroyed the nations and their lands, and had set fire on their gods, for they were no gods, but the work of mens hands, even wood and stone, &c.

The reason that moved *Sennacherib* to desire to possess himself in haste of *Jerusalem*, was that he might thereinto have retreated his army, which was departed, as it seemeth, from the siege of *Pelusium* in *Egypt*, for fear of *Terbaca*: and tho' the scriptures are silent of that enterprize (which in these books of the *Kings*, and of the *Chronicles*, speak but of the affairs of *Jews* in effect) yet the ancient *Berosus*, and out of him *Josephus* and *St. Jerome*, together with *Herodotus* remember it as followeth. 'Herodotus calleth *Sennacherib* king of *Arabia* and *Affyria*: which he might justly do, because *Tiglath* his grandfather held a great part thereof, which he wrested from *Pekah* king of *Israel*: as *Gilead* over *Jordan*, and the rest of *Arabia Petraea* adjoining: the same *Herodotus* also maketh *Sethon* king of *Egypt*, to be *Vulcan's* priest, and reporteth that the reason of *Sennacherib's* return from *Pelusium* in *Egypt*, which he also besieged, was, that an innumerable multitude of rats had in one night eaten in sunder the bow-strings of his archers, and spoiled the rest of their weapons in that kind, which no doubt might greatly amaze him: but the approach of *Terbaca*, remembered by *Josephus* and *Berosus*, was the more urgent. *St. Jerome* upon *Isaiah* xxxvii. out of the same *Berosus*, as also in part out of *Herodotus*, whom *Josephus* citeth somewhat otherwise than his words lie, reports *Sennacherib's* retreat in these words. *Pugnasse autem Sennacherib regem Affyriorum contra Aegyptos, &*

^a 2 Kings 18. 21. ^b 2 Kings 18. 21. ^c 2 Kings 19. ^d Herod. l. 2. p. 69. ^e Joseph. Ant. l. 10. c. 1. ^f Herod. *obsedisse*

*obsedisse Pelusium, jamque extructis aggeribus, urbi capiendæ, venisse Taracham regem Æthiopum in auxilium, & una nocte juxta Jerusalem centum octoginta quinque millia exercitus Assyrii pestilentia corruisse narrat Herodotus: & plenissime Berosus Chaldaica scriptor historiæ, quorum fides de propriis libris petenda est; That Sennacherib king of the Assyrians fought against the Egyptians, and besieged Pelusium, and that when his mounts were built for taking of the city, Tarbacas king of the Ethiopians came to help them, and that in one night near Jerusalem one hundred and eighty-five thousand of the Assyrian army perished by pestilence. Of these things (saith Jerome) ^a Herodotus reports: and more at large Berosus a writer of Chaldean story, whose credit is to be taken from their own books. Out of *Isaiab* it is gathered, that this destruction of the Assyrian army was in this manner. ^b *Thou shalt be visited of the Lord of hosts with thunder and shaking, and a great noise, a whirlwind and a tempest, and a flame of devouring fire.* But ^c *Josephus* hath it more largely out of the same Berosus, an authority (because so well agreeing with the scriptures) not to be omitted, *Sennacheribus autem ab Ægyptiaco bello revertens, ostendit ibi exercitum, quem sub Rabfacis Imperio reliquerat, peste divinitus immissa deletum, prima nocte posteaquam urbem oppugnare cœperat, absumptis cum ducibus & tribunis, centum octoginta quinque millibus militum, qua clade territus, & de reliquis copiis sollicitus, maximis itineribus in regnum suum contendit, ad regiam quæ Ninus dicitur. Ubi paulo post per insidias seniorum, e filiis suis, Adramelech, & ^d Sennari, vitam amisit: occisus in ipso templo quod dicitur Arasce; quem præcipuo cultu dignabatur: quibus ob patricidium à popularibus pulsus & in Armeniam fugientibus, Asaracoldas minor filius in regnum successit; Sennacherib (saith Josephus) returning from the Egyptian war, found there his army, which he had left under the command of Rabfages, destroyed by a pestilence sent from God, the first night that he had begun to assault the town: one hundred fourscore and five thousand of the soldiers being consumed with their captains and colonels. With which destruction being terrified, and withal afraid what might become of the rest of his army, he made great marches into his kingdom, to his royal city, which is called Ninus, where shortly after by the treason of two of the eldest of his sons, Adramelech, and Sennar or Sharezer, he lost his life in the temple dedicated to Arasces, or Nesroch: whom he especially worshipped. These his sons being for their parricide chased away by the people: and flying into ^e Armenia, Asaracoldas his younger son succeeded in the kingdom. Who in the beginning of his reign sent new troops out of Assyria and Samaria, to fortify the colony therein planted by his grandfather Salmanassar. What this Nesroch was, it is uncertain: Jerome in his Hebrew traditions hath somewhat of him, but nothing positively. It is certain, that Venus Urania was worshipped by the Assyrians; and so was Jupiter Belus, as Dion, Eusebius, and Cyrillus witness. Many fancies there are, what cause his sons had to murder him; but the most likely is, that he had formerly disinherited those two, and conferred the empire on Assaraddon. Tobit tells us, That it was fifty-five days after Sennacherib's return, ere he was murdered by his sons; during which time he slew great numbers of the Israelites in Nineveh, till the**

most just God turned the sword against his own breast.

SECT. III.

Of Ezechias's sickness and recovery; and of the Babylonian king that congratulated him.

AFTER this marvellous delivery, Ezechias sickned, and was told by *Isaiab*, that he must die: but after that he had besought God with tears for his delivery, *Isaiab*, as he was going from him, returned again, and had warrant from the spirit of God to promise him recovery after three days, and a prolongation of his life for fifteen years. But Ezechias, somewhat doubtful of this exceeding grace, prayeth a sign to confirm him: whereupon, at the prayer of *Isaiab*, the shadow of the sun cast itself the contrary way, and went back ten degrees upon the dial of Achaz. The cause that moved Ezechias to lament (saith St. Jerome) was, because he had as yet no son, and then in despair that the Messiah should come out of the house of David, or at least of his seed. His disease seemeth to be the pestilence, by the medicine given him by the prophet, to wit, a mass of figs, laid to the borch or sore.

This wonder when the wise men of Chaldaea had told to Merodach, king of Babylon, the first of that house, he sent to Ezechias, to be informed of the cause: at which time Ezechias shewed him all the treasure he had, both in the court and in the kingdom: for which he was reprehended by the prophet *Isaiab*, who told him; ^f *The days are at hand, that all that is in thine house, and whatsoever thy fathers have laid up in store to this day, shall be carried into Babel; nothing shall be left, saith the Lord.* It may seem strange, how Ezekia should have got any treasure worth the shewing: for Sennacherib had robbed him of all the year before. But the spoil of the same Sennacherib's camp repaid all with advantage, and made Ezekia richer upon the sudden than ever he had been: which unexpected wealth was a strong temptation to boasting. After this time Ezekia had rest, and spending without noise that addition which God had made unto his life, he died, having reigned nine and twenty years. One only offensive war he made, which was against the Philistines with good success. Among his other acts (shortly remembred in *Ecclesiasticus* xlviii.) he devised to bring water to Jerusalem.

In two respects they say that he offended God: the one, that he rejoiced too much at the destruction and lamentable end of his enemy; the other, that he so much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbear to shew them to strangers. But the reason which moved Ezechias (speaking humanly) to entertain the ambassadors of Merodach in this friendly and familiar manner, was because he came to visit him, and brought him a present, congratulating the recovery of his health; as also in that Merodach had weakened the house of Sennacherib his fearful enemy. For Merodach, who was commander and lieutenant under Sennacherib in Babylon, usurp'd that state himself, in the last year of that king, and held it by strong hand against his son Assaraddon; who was not only simple, but impaired in strength, by the molestation of his brothers. This advantage Merodach espied, and remembring, that their ancestor Phul Belochus had set his own master Sardanapalus beside the cushion, thought it as lawful for himself to take the opportunity which this king's weak-

^a To wit in part; for Herodotus mentioneth nothing, neither of Tarhaca nor of Jerusalem, nor of the army there. ^b Isa. 29. 6. ^c Joseph. Ant. 1. 10. c. 1. ^d Sennar otherwise Sharezer, who slew him as he was praying to Nisroc his god, 2 Kings 19. ^e 2 Kings 19. 37. ^f Efd. 1. c. 4. 2. ^g 2 Kings 20. ^h Isa. 39.

ness did offer, as it had been for *Belochus* to make use of the other's wickedness : and so, finding himself beloved of the *Babylonians*, and sufficiently powerful, he did put the matter to hazard, and prevailed. The assertion of this history is made by the same arguments that were used in maintaining the common opinion of writers, touching *Phul Belochus* ; which I will not here again rehearse. So of this new race, which cut afunder the line of *Ninus*, there were only five kings.

<i>Phul Belochus</i> ,	who reigned	48	years.
<i>Tiglath Philassar</i> ,		27	
<i>Salmanassar</i> ,		10	
<i>Sennacherib</i> ,		7	
<i>Affarbaddon</i> ,		10	

But forasmuch as the last year of *Salmanassar* was also the first of *Sennacherib* his son, we reckon the time, wherein the house of *Phul* held the *Assyrian* kingdom, to have been an hundred and one years ; of which, the last five and twenty were spent with *Ezekia*, under *Salmanassar*, *Sennacherib*, and *Affarbaddon*.

S E C T. IV.

The kings that were in *Media* during the reign of *Ezekia* : Of the difference found between sundry authors, in rehearsing the Median kings. Other contemporaries of *Ezekia* : Of *Candaules*, *Gyges*, and the kings descended from *Hercules*.

I N the time of *Ezekia*, *Medidus*, and after him *Cardiceas*, reigned in *Media*. Whether it were so, that variety of names, by which these kings were called in several histories, hath caused them to seem more than indeed they were ; or whether the sons reigning with the fathers, have caused not only the names of kings, but the length of time, wherein they governed *Media*, to exceed the due proportion ; or whether the copies themselves, of *Ctesias* and *Annius's Metasthenes*, have been faulty, as neither of these two authors is over-highly commended of trustiness ; so it is, that the names, number, and length of reign, are all very diversely reported of these Median kings, that follow *Arbaces* : Therefore it need not seem strange, that I reckon *Medidus* and *Cardiceas* as contemporaries with *Ezekia*. For to reconcile so great a difference, as is found in those writers that vary from *Eusebius*, is more than I dare undertake. I will only here set down the roll of kings that reigned in *Media*, accordingly as sundry authors have delivered it.

Annius's Metasthenes orders them and their reigns thus.

<i>Arbaces</i> ,	who reigned	28	years.
<i>Mandanes</i> ,		50	
<i>Sofarmon</i> ,		30	
<i>Articarmin</i> ,		50	
<i>Arbianes</i> ,		22	
<i>Artæus</i> ,		40	
<i>Artines</i> ,		22	
<i>Astybarus</i> , with his	} son <i>Apanda</i> ,	20	
<i>Apanda</i> alone,			
<i>Darius</i> , with <i>Cyrus</i> ,		36	

Diodorus Siculus following *Ctesias* (as perhaps *Annius* made his *Metasthenes* follow *Diodore*, with some little variation, that he might not seem a borrower) placeth them thus.

<i>Arbaces</i> ,	who reigned	28	years.
<i>Mandanes</i> ,		50	
<i>Sofarmus</i> ,		30	
<i>Artycas</i> ,		50	
<i>Arbianes</i> ,		22	
<i>Arfæus</i> ,		40	
<i>Artynes</i> ,		22	
<i>Artabanus</i> ,		40	
<i>Astyabara</i> ,	} The continuance of these two he doth not mention.		
<i>Astyages</i> .			

Mercator hath laboured with much diligence to reconcile these catalogues, and to make them also agree with *Eusebius*. But forasmuch as it seems to me an impossible matter, to attain unto the truth of these forgotten times, by conjectures founded upon *Ctesias* and *Metasthenes*, I will lay the burden upon *Eusebius*, who lived in an age better furnished than ours, with books of this argument. Let it therefore suffice, that these two kings (whom I have reckoned as contemporaries with *Ezekia*) *Medidus* and *Cardiceas*, are found in *Eusebius* : for whether *Cardiceas* were *Diodorus's Arbianes*, I will not stay to search. The kings of *Media*, according to *Eusebius*, reigned in this order.

<i>Arbaces</i> ,	who reigned	28	years.
<i>Sofarmus</i> ,		30	
<i>Medidus</i> ,		40	
<i>Cardiceas</i> ,		15	
<i>Dejoces</i> ,		54	
<i>Phraortes</i> ,		24	
<i>Cyaxares</i> ,		32	
<i>Astyages</i> ,		38	

These names, and this course of succession I retain ; but add unto these *Cyaxares*, the son of *Astyages*, according to *Xenophon* ; and sometimes follow *Herodotus*, in setting down the length of a king's reign, otherwise than *Eusebius* hath it : of which variations I will render my reasons in due place.

The twenty-nine years of *Ezekia* were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the four first that were chosen governours of *Athens* for ten years ; that is, of *Charops*, *Æsmedes*, *Elidicus*, and *Hippones*. Touching the first of these I hear nothing, save that *Rome* was built in his first year ; of which perhaps himself did not hear. Of the second and third I find only the names. The fourth made himself known by a strange example of justice, or rather of cruelty, that he shewed upon his own daughter. For he finding that she had offended in unchastity, caused her to be lock'd up with an horse, giving to neither of them any food ; so that the horse constrained by hunger, devoured the unhappy woman.

In *Rome*, the first king, and founder of that city, *Romulus*, did reign both before and somewhat after *Ezekia*.

In *Lydia*, *Candaules*, the last king, ruled in the same age.

This region was first called *Mæonia*. *Lydus* the son of *Atys* reigning in it, gave the name of *Lydia*, if we believe such authority as we find. This kingdom was afterwards, by the appointment of an oracle, conferred upon *Argon*, who came of *Alcaus*, the son of *Hercules*, by *Jardana*, a bond-woman. The race of these *Heraclidæ* continued reigning fifty-five years (in which two and twenty generations passed) the son continually succeeding the father. *Candaules*, the son of *Myrsus*, was the last of his race, who doated so much upon the beauty of his own wife, that he could not be content to enjoy

enjoy her, but would needs enforce one *Gyges*, the son of *Dascylus*, to behold her naked body; and placed the unwilling man secretly in her chamber, where he might see her preparing to bedward. This was not so closely carried, but that the queen perceived *Gyges* at his going forth, and understanding the matter, took it in such high disdain, that she forced him the next day to requite the king's folly with treason. So *Gyges*, being brought again into the same chamber by the queen, slew *Candaules*, and was rewarded not only with his wife, but with the kingdom of *Lydia*. He reigned thirty-eight years, beginning in the last of *Ezekia*, one year before the death of *Romulus*.

After *Gyges*, his son *Ardys* reigned nine and forty years; then *Sadyattes*, twelve; *Halyattes*, fifty-seven; and finally *Cræsus*, the son of *Halyattes*, fourteen years; who lost the kingdom, and was taken by *Cyrus* of *Persia*.

And here by the way we may note, that as the *Lydian* kings, whom *Cræsus*, his progenitor, dispossess'd, are deduced from *Hercules*, so of the same *Hercules* there sprang many other kings, which governed several countries very long; as in *Asia*, the *Mysians*; in *Greece*, the *Lacedemonians*, *Messenians*, *Rhodians*, *Corinthians*, and *Argives*; and from the *Argives*, the *Macedonians*; as likewise from the *Corinthians*, the *Syracusans*: besides many great and famous, tho' private families.

But of the *Heraclide*, that reigned in *Lydia*, I have not troubled myself to take notice in the time of their several reigns; for little is found of them besides the bare names, and the folly of this last king *Candaules*.

C H A P. XXVI.

Of the kings that reigned in Egypt, between the deliverance of Israel from thence, and the reign of Ezekia in Juda, when Egypt and Juda made a league against the Assyrians.

S E C T. I.

That many names of Egyptian kings, found in history, are like to have belonged only to viceroys. An example proving this out of William of Tyre's History of the Holy War.

THE emulation and quarrels arising in these times, between the mighty kingdoms of *Egypt* and *Affyria*, do require our pains, in collecting the most memorable things in *Egypt*, and setting down briefly the state of that country, which had continued long a flourishing region, and was of great power, when it contended with *Affyria* for the mastery. Of *Cham*, the son of *Noah*, who first planted that country, and of *Osiris*, *Orus*, and other ancient kings that reigned there until the *Israelites* were thence delivered, more hath been said already than I can stand to; though I hold it no shame to fail in such conjectures. That which I have delivered, in speaking mine opinion of the *Egyptian Dynasties*, must here again help me. For it may truly be affirmed, that the great number of kings, which are said to have reigned in *Egypt*, were none other than viceroys or stewards, such as *Joseph* was, and such as were the foldans in latter ages. Therefore, I will not only forbear to seek after those, whom *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have reckoned up, from the mouths of *Egyptian*

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priests, delivering them by number, without rehearsing their names; but will save the labour of marshalling them in order, whose names only are found; the years of their reigns, and other circumstances, proving them to have been kings indeed, being not recorded.

But that I may not seem before-hand to lay an imaginary ground, whereupon after I may build what I list; it were not amiss, to give unto the reader such satisfaction in this point, as apparent reason and truth of history doth afford. First therefore, we ought not to believe those numbers of generations, which the lying priests have reckoned up, to magnify their antiquities. For we know, that from *Abraham*, our Saviour Christ was removed only forty-two descents, which makes it evident, that in far shorter time, namely before the *Persian* empire, there could not have passed away twice as many successions in *Egypt*; especially considering, that many of these, whose continuance is expressed, have reigned longer than forty years. It follows that we should square the number of the *Egyptian* kings, in some even proportion, to those which did bear rule in other countries. As for the rest, whose names we find scattered here and there, any man that will take the pains to read the nineteenth book of the holy war, written by *William* archbishop of *Tyre*, may easily persuade himself, that it is not hard to find names enough of such as might be thought to have reigned in *Egypt*, being none other than regents or viceroys. Yet will I here insert, as briefly as I can, some things making to that purpose, for the pleasure and information of such as will not trouble themselves with turning over many authors.

When *Elbadech* the caliph ruled in *Egypt*, one *Dargan*, a powerful and a subtil man, made himself foldan, by force and cunning chasing away *Sanar*, an *Arabian*, who was foldan before and after him. This *Dargan* minister'd matter of quarrel to *Almaricke* king of *Jerusalem*; and sustained, with little loss, an invasion which *Almaricke* made upon *Egypt*. Hereupon he grew so insolent and proud, that *Sanar* the former foldan hoped to make his party good against him, if he could get any forces wherewith to enter *Egypt*. Briefly, *Sanar* sueth to *Noradine*, king of *Damasco*, for aid, who sends an army of his *Turks*, under the command of *Syracon*, against the foldan *Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Sanar* met, and fought: The victory was *Dargan's*, but he enjoyed it not: for in few days after he was slain by treason, whereby *Sanar* did recover his dignity: which to establish, he slew all the kindred and friends of *Dargan*, that he could find in the great city of *Cairo*.

To all these doings, the caliph *Elbadech* gave little regard; for he thought it little concerned him, which of them lived, and had the administration of the kingdom, whilst he might have the profit of it, and enjoy his pleasure. But new troubles presently arise, which (one would think) do nearly touch the caliph himself. *Syracon* with his *Turks*, whom *Sanar* hath gotten to come into *Egypt*, will not now be intreated there to leave him, and quietly go their way home. They seize upon the town of *Belbeis*, which they fortify, and there attend the arrival of more company from *Damasco*, for the conquest of all *Egypt*. The foldan perceives their intent, and finds himself not strong enough to expell them, much less to repell the *Turkish* army, that was likely to second them. He therefore sends messengers to king *Almaricke*, of *Jerusalem*, whom with large promises he gets to bring him aid, and so drives out the *Turks*. Of all this trouble the great caliph hears nothing, or not so much as

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should

should make him look to the playing of his own game.

A greater mischief ariseth, concerning the caliph *Elbadech* particularly, in his own title. *Syracon*, captain of the *Turks*, that had been in *Egypt*, goes to the caliph of *Baldach* (who was opposite to him of *Egypt*, each of them claiming as heir to *Mahomet*, that false prophet, the sovereignty over all that were of the *Saracen* law) and tells him the weakness of the *Egyptian*, with his own ability of doing service in those parts, offering his best means for the extirpation of the schismatical caliph, and the reduction of all *Egypt*, with the western parts under the subjection of the *Babylonian*. This motion is readily and joyfully entertained; all the eastern provinces are up in arms; and *Syracon*, with a mighty power, descendeth into *Egypt*. The noise of this great expedition so affrighteth king *Almaricke*, that with all his forces he hasteth into *Egypt*; well knowing how nearly it concerned him and his kingdom of *Jerusalem*, to keep the *Saracens* from joining all under one head. *Sanar* the foldan, perceiving the faithful care of the Christians his friends, welcomes them, and bestirs himself in giving them all manner of content, as it behoved him: for by their admirable valour, he finally drove the enemies out of the country. But this victory was not so soon gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which most concerns our present purpose) that of so desperate a danger, the caliph as yet seems to know nothing. May we not think him to have been king in title only, who meddled so little in the government? The foldan, finding that the Christians (without whose help all was lost) could not well stay, so long as his necessities required, makes large offers to king *Almaricke*, upon condition that he should abide by it. He promiseth a great tribute (*William* of *Tyre* calls it a tribute; the *Saracens*, perhaps, called it a pension) which the kings of *Jerusalem* should receive out of *Egypt*, for this behoveful assistance. But the Christians understanding that the foldan (how much soever he took upon him) was subject to an higher lord, would make no bargain of such importance with any other than the caliph himself. Hereupon *Hugh*, earl of *Cæsarea*, and a knight of the *Templars*, are sent unto *Elbadech*, to ratify the Covenants. Now shall we see the greatness of the caliph and his estate.

These ambassadors were conveyed by the foldan to *Cairo*; where arriving at the palace, they found it guarded by great troops of soldiers. The first entrance was through dark porches, that were kept by many armed bands of *Ethiopians*, which, with all diligence, did reverence unto the foldan, as he passed along. Through these streights the warders led them, into goodly open courts, of such beauty and riches, that they could not retain the gravity of ambassadors, but were enforced to admire the things which detained their eyes. For there they saw goodly marble pillars, gilded beams, all wrought over with embossed works, curious pavements, fish-ponds of marble with clear waters, and many sorts of strange birds, unknown in those parts of the world, as coming perhaps from the *East-Indies*, which then were undiscovered. The further they went, the greater was the magnificence; for the caliph's eunuchs conveyed them into other courts within these, as far excelling the former, as the former did surpass ordinary houses. It were tedious perhaps to rehearse how, the further they enter'd, the more high state they found, and cause of marvel; suffice it, that the good archbishop, who wrote these things, was never held

a vain author. Finally, they were brought into the caliph's own lodgings, which were yet more stately, and better guarded, where entering the presence, the foldan, having twice prostrated himself, did the third time cast off his sword that he wore about his neck, and throw himself on the ground, before the curtain, behind which the caliph sat. Presently the traverse, wrought with gold and pearls, was open'd, and the caliph himself discover'd sitting with great majesty on a throne of gold, having few of his most inward servants and eunuchs about him. When the foldan had humbly kiss'd his master's feet, he briefly told the cause of his coming, the danger wherein the land stood, and the offers that he had made unto king *Almaricke*, desiring the caliph himself to ratify them, in presence of the ambassadors. The caliph answered, that he would thoroughly perform all which was promised. But this contented not the ambassadors: they would have him to give his hand upon the bargain; which the *Egyptians*, that stood by, thought an impudent request. Yet his greatness condescended at length, after much deliberation, at the earnest request of the foldan, to reach out his hand. When the earl of *Cæsarea* saw that the caliph gave his hand, neither willingly nor bare, he told him roundly thus much in effect: Sir, truth seeks no holes to hide itself; princes, that will hold covenant, must deal openly, nakedly, and sincerely; give us therefore your bare hand, if you mean that we shall trust you, for we will make no bargain with your glove. Much ado there was about this: for it seem'd against the majesty of such a prince to yield so far. But, when it would none otherwise be, with a smiling cheer (tho' to the great grief of his servants) he vouchsafed to let the earl take him by the bare hand; and so rehearsing the covenants, word by word, as the earl spoke them, he ratified all; dismissing finally the ambassadors, with such rewards as testify'd his greatness.

In this caliph and his foldan, we may discern the image of the ancient *Pharaoh* and his viceroy: we see a prince of great estate, sitting in his palace, and not vexing himself with the great preparations made against him, which terrify his neighbour countries: we see his viceroy, in the mean season, using all royal power; making war and peace, entertaining and repelling armies of strangers; yea, making the land of *Egypt* tributary to a foreign prince. What greater authority was given to *Joseph*, when *Pharaoh* said unto him, *Thou shalt be over mine house, and at thy word shall all my people be armed, only in the king's throne will I be above thee; behold, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt?*

I do not commend this form of government; neither can I approve the conjecture of mine author, where he thinks, that the *Egyptians*, ever since *Joseph's* time, have felt the burthen of that servitude, which he brought upon them, when he bought them, and their lands, for *Pharaoh*. Herein I find his judgment good; that he affirms this manner of the *Egyptian* kings, in taking their ease, and ruling by a viceroy, to be part of the ancient customs, practised by the *Pharaohs*. For we find, that even the *Ptolemies* (excepting *Ptolemæus Lagi*, and his son *Philadelphus*, founder and establisher of that race) were given, all of them, wholly to please their own appetites, leaving the charge of the kingdom to women, eunuchs, and other ministers of their desires. The pleasures, which that country afforded, were indeed sufficient to invite the kings thereof unto a voluptuous life; and the awful regard wherein the *Egyptians* held their princes, gave them security, whereby they might the better trust
them

their officers with so ample commission. But of this matter I will not stand longer to dispute. It is enough to have shew'd, that the great and almost absolute power of the viceroy's governing *Egypt*, is set down by *Moses*, and that a lively example of the same is found in *William of Tyre*; who liv'd in the same age; was, in few years after, chancellor of the kingdom of *Jerusalem*; and had full discourse with *Hugh* earl of *Cæsarea*, touching all these matters. Wherefore it remains, that we be not carried away with a vain opinion, to believe that all they were kings, whom reports of the fabulous *Egyptians* have honour'd with that style; but rest contented with a catalogue of such, as we find by circumstance likely to have reigned in that country; after whom it follows that we should make enquiry.

S E C T. II.

Of Acherres; whether he were Uchoreus that was the eighth from Osymandyas. Of Osymandyas and his tomb.

IN this business I hold it vain to be too curious. For who can hope to attain to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as *Diodorus* varies from *Herodotus*, *Eusebius* from both of them; and late writers, that have sought to gather the truth out of these and others, find no one with whom they can agree. In this case *Annius* would do good service, if a man could trust him. But it is enough to be beholden to him, when others do either say nothing, or that which may justly be suspected. I will therefore hold myself contented, with the pleasure that he hath done me, in saying somewhat of *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Orus*, and those antiquaries remov'd so far out of sight: as for the kings following the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, it shall suffice, that *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Eusebius*, have not been silent, and that *Reineccius* hath taken pains to range into some good order the names that are extant in these, or else found scattering in others.

From the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, unto the reign of *Thoris* (who is generally taken to be the same that the *Greeks* call *Proteus*) there is little or no disagreement about the *Egyptian* kings. Wherefore I set down the same which are found in *Eusebius*, and give to every one the same length of reign.

Acherres was the first of these, who succeeded unto *Chenches*, that perished in the *Red sea*. This king seems to *Reineccius* to be the same whom *Diodorus* calls *Uchoreus*, the founder of *Memphis*. But whereas mention is found in *Diodorus* of a great king, named *Osymandyas*, from whom *Uchoreus* is said to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that *Timaus* (as *Reineccius* conjectures) was the great *Osymandyas*; or else that this *Acherres* was *Uchoreus*: for the distance between them was more than eight generations. *Mercator* judgeth *Osymandyas* to have been the husband of *Ancheres*, *Orus* the second his daughter; thinking that *Manethon* (cited by *Josephus*) doth omit his name, and insert his wife's, into the catalogue of kings, because he was king in his wife's right. As for *Uchoreus*, it troubles not *Mercator* to find him the eighth from this man: for he takes *Ogdous*, not to signify in this place of *Diodore* (as that *Greek* word else doth) the eighth, but to be an *Egyptian* name, belonging also to *Uchoreus*, who might have had two names, as many of the rest had. I will not vex my brains in the unprofitable search of this and the like in-

extricable doubts. All that *Diodore* hath found of this *Osymandyas*, was wrought upon his monument, the most thereof in figures, which I think the *Egyptians* did fabulously expound. For whereas there was pourtray'd a great army, with the siege of a town, the captivity of the people, and the triumph of the conqueror; all this, the *Egyptians* said to denote the conquest of *Bactria* made by that king: which how likely it was, let others judge. I hold this goodly piece of work, which *Diodore* so particularly describes, to have been erected for a common place of burial, to the ancient kings and queens of *Egypt*, and to their vice-roys; whilst yet they were not so ambitious, as every one to have his own particular monument, striving therein to exceed all others. This appears by the many statues therein placed, by the wars, the judgment-seat, the receiving of tribute, the offering sacrifice to God, the account of revenues, and plenty of all cattel and food; all which were there curiously wrought, shewing the several offices of a governour. On the tomb of *Osymandyas* was this inscription: *I am Osymandyas king of kings; if any desire to know what I am, or where I lie, let him exceed some of my works.* Let them, that hope to exceed his works, labour to know what he was. But since by those words, *Or where I lie*, it should seem that he lay not there interred; we may lawfully suspect that it was *Joseph* whose body was preserved among the *Hebrews*, to be buried in the land of *Canaan*, and this empty monument might king *Orus*, who out-liv'd him, erect in honour of his high deserts, among the royal sepulchres. To which purpose, the plenty of cattel, and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name *Osymandyas* doth not hinder this conjecture; seeing *Joseph* had one new name given to him by *Pharaoh*, for expounding the dream, and might, upon further occasions, have another, to his increase of honour. As for that style, *King of kings*, it was perhaps no more than *Beglerbeg*, as the *Turkish Bassaes* are called, that is, Great above the great.

Now altho' it be so, that the reckoning falls out right, between the times of *Joseph* and *Acherres* (for *Acherres* was the eighth in order, that reigned after the great *Orus*, whose viceroy *Joseph* was) yet will I hereby seek, neither to fortify mine own conjecture, as touching *Joseph*, nor to infer any likelihood of *Acherres's* being *Uchoreus*. For it might well be, that *Memphis* was built by some such king, as was *Gebor*, lieutenant unto the caliph *Elcain*, who having to his master's use conquer'd *Egypt*, and many other countries, did build, not far from old *Memphis*, the great city of *Cairo* (corruptly so pronounced) naming it *El Cabira*, that is, an entorcing, or an imperious mistress, tho' he himself were a *Dalmatian* slave.

S E C T. III.

Of Cherres, Armeus, Rameffes, and Amenophis. Of Myris, and the lake that bears his name.

WHEN *Acherres* had reign'd 8 years, *Cherres* succeeded, and held the kingdom 15 years: then reigned *Armeus* 5 years, and after him *Rameffes* 68. Of *Armeus* and *Rameffes* is that history understood by *Eusebius*, which is common among the *Greeks*, under the names of *Danaus* and *Aegyptus*. For it is said that *Danaus*, being expelled out of *Egypt* by his brother, fled into *Greece*, where he obtain'd the kingdom of *Argos*: that he

had 50 daughters, whom, upon seeming reconciliation, he gave in marriage to his brother's 50 sons, but commanded every one of them to kill her husband the first night; that only *Hypermnestra*, one of his daughters, did save her husband *Lynceus*, and suffer'd him to escape; finally, that for this fact, all the bloody sisters, when they died, were enjoin'd this foolish punishment in hell, to fill a leaking vessel with water.

The reign of *Danaus* in *Argos* was indeed in this age; but that *Armeus* was *Danaus*, and *Ramesses Egyptus*, is more than *Reineccius* believes: he rather takes *Armeus* to have been *Myris*, or *Meris*, who caused the great lake to be made which bears his name. For my own part, as I can easily believe, that he, which fled out of *Egypt* into *Greece*, was a man of such quality as the soldan *Sanar*, of whom we spoke before; so do I not find how in so short a reign, as 5 years, a work of that labour could be finish'd, which was required unto the lake of *Myris*, and the monuments therein; whereof his own sepulchre and his wife's being some part, it is manifest that he was not buried in *Argos*. Wherefore of *Myris*, and of all other kings, whose age is uncertain, and of whose reigns we have no assurance, I may truly say, that their great works are not enough to prove them of the house of *Pharaoh*, seeing that greater deeds, or more absolute, than were those of *Joseph*, who bought all the people of *Egypt* as bondmen, and all their land for bread; of *Geboar*, who founded *Cairo*; and of *Sanar*, who made the country tributary; were performed by none of them.

It shall therefore be enough to set down the length of their reigns, whom we find to have followed one another in order of succession: but in rehearsing the great acts which were perform'd, I will not stand to examine, whether they that did them were kings or no.

The lake of *Myris* is, by the report of *Diodore* and *Herodotus*, three thousand six hundred furlongs in compass, and fifty fathoms deep. It served to receive the waters of *Nilus*, when the overflow being too great, was harmful to the country; and to supply the defect, by letting out the waters of the lake, when the river did not rise high enough. In opening the sluices of this lake, for the letting in or out of waters; were spent fifty talents; but the lake it self defray'd that cost; seeing the tribute imposed upon fish taken therein, was every day one talent, which *Myris* gave to his wife to buy sweet ointments, and other ornaments for herbody. In the midst of it was left an island, wherein were the sepulchres of *Myris* and his wife, and over each of them a pyramid, that was a furlong, or (according to *Herodotus*) fifty paces high; having on the tops their statues, sitting in thrones. I find not the description of this lake in maps, answerable to the report of historians: yet it is very great. The years of *Armeus* are by *Manethon* divided, by inserting one *Armesis* (whom *Eusebius* omits) that should have reign'd one year and odd months of the time; but I hold not this difference worthy of examination.

After *Ramesses*, his son *Amenophis* held the kingdom 40 years. Some give him only 19 years; and *Mercator* thinks him to have been the king that was drowned in the *Red sea*: whereof I have already spoken in the first book.

S E C T. IV.

Of the kings that reigned in the Dynastly of the Lartbes.

Sethosis, or *Zethus*, reigned after his father *Amenophis*, fifty-five years. To him are ascribed the famous acts of that ancient *Sesostris*. But the state of the world was not such in these times, that so great an expedition, as the old *Sesostris* made, could have been either easily performed, or forgotten in the countries through which he passed, had it now been performed, as any man will perceive if he look upon my chronological table, and consider who liv'd with this *Zethus*. With this king began the *Dynastly* of the *Lartbes*; which *Reineccius* conjectures to have had the same signification, wherein the old kings of *Hebruria*, were called *Lartes* (the *Hebrurians* being issued out of *Lydia*, the *Lydians* out of *Egypt*) and to have signified as much as *Imperator* or *General*. The wars in which these kings were generals, I take to have been against the *Ethiopians*: for sure I am, that they troubled not the country of *Palestina*, that lay next unto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they travelled over the desert sands, on the other hand, to seek matter of conquest, in the poor countries of *Africa*. But these generals (if the *Lartbes* were such) were not many. Five only had that title; and the last of these took it, perhaps, as hereditary from the first; in such sort as the *Roman* emperors were proud for a while, to be called *Antonini*, till the most unsuitable conditions of *Heliogabalus* made his successors forbear the name.

Here it may be objected, that the *Dynastlies* (as appears by this particular) took name from the kings; that the kings also did administer the government themselves; and that therefore I am deceived in ascribing so much unto the viceroys. But it is to be considered, that what is said of these *Lartbes*, depends only upon conjecture, and that the authority of the regents, or viceroys, might be great enough, though some few kings took the conduct of armies into their own hands. For so we find in *John Leo*, l. 8. that the soldan of *Egypt* (after such time as the soldan *Saladine*, murdering the caliph, got the sovereignty to himself) had under him a viceroy, styled *Eddaguarda*, who had authority to place, or displace any magistrates, or officers; and that this man's family was almost as great as the soldan's own. Yet was there also the *Amir Cabir*, or lord-general of the soldan's forces, who had the charge of defending the land, and might, as he thought good, spend of the soldan's treasure. So might the office of the viceroys continue, tho' the kings themselves, taking the charge, or title of generals, upon them, did somewhat abridge the greatness of that second place. As for the names of the *Dynastlies*, it skills not whence they were drawn; whether from their country, as those of the *Thebans* and *Diapolitans*, or from some eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time, as many think, that the seventeenth *Dynastly* was called of the shepherds, because *Joseph* governed in part thereof; or from the kings themselves that reigned; as this was said to be of the *Lartbes* or *Generals*. The next, as *Manetho* (but *Annius's Manetho*) hath it, was without any *Lartbes* or *Generals*, yet was it not without kings, forasmuch as *Naphres* and *Sesac* reign'd therein, it many others did not. But let us now return to the business we left.

Ramfes was king after *Zethus*; or *Sethosis*, three-score and six years. He is mistaken for that second *Sesostris*, of whom I have spoken in the first books. I find nothing worth rehearsal of this *Ramfes*, or *Amenophis*, and *Annemenes*, that followed him in order, the former of which reigned forty, the latter six and twenty years. Wherefore it may very well be, that the name which *Zethus* had from valour, was taken by these as hereditary.

Thuoris, the last of the *Lartbes*, reigned only seven years; yet is he thought to have been that *Proteus* of whom *Herodotus* hath mention, saying, that he took *Helena* from *Paris*, and after the sack of *Troy*, restored her to *Menelaus*. I need say no more in refutation of this, than that the time of *Thuoris*'s reign, lasted not so long as from the rape of *Helen* to her restitution.

This *Proteus* or *Cetes* (as he is named by some) together with *Thon*, and others, mentioned by *Greek* writers in this business, or in other such matters, may seem to be under-officers: for such only are like to have had their residency about *Pharos*, and the sea-coast, where *Menelaus* arrived.

Of *Proteus*, who detained *Helen*, it is said, that he could foretell things to come, and that he could change himself into all shapes: whereby is signified his crafty head, for which he is grown into a proverb. The poets feigned him a sea-god, and keeper of *Neptune*'s seal-fishes, for belike he was some under-officer to the admiral, having charge of the fishing about the isle of *Pharos*, as was said before.

Remphes, the son of *Proteus*, is reckoned the next king by *Diodore*, as also by *Herodotus*, who calls him *Ramsinitus*, and tells a long tale, fit to please children, of his covetousness, and how his treasure-house was robb'd by a cunning thief, that at last married his daughter. But of this a man may believe what he list. How long this king reigned I know not, nor think that either he or his father did reign at all.

SECT. V.

Of Egyptian kings whose names are found scattering in sundry authors, their times being not recorded. The kings of Egypt, according to *Cedrenus*. Of *Vaphres* and *Sesac*.

MANY other names of *Egyptian* kings are found scattered here and there; as *Tonepher-fobis*, of whom *Suidas* delivers only the bare name and title; *Senemures*, or *Senepos*, mentioned in *Macrobius*, who perhaps was the same that by *Suidas* is called *Senyes*, or *Evenes*, noted by occasion of a great physician that lived under him; *Banchyris*, recorded by the same *Suidas*, for his great justice; and *Thulis*, of whom *Suidas* tells great matters; as that his empire extended to the ocean sea; that he gave name to the isle of *Thule*, which some take to be *Iseland*; and that he consulted with the devil, or (which is all one) with *Seraphis*, desiring to know, who before him had been, or after him should be so mighty as himself. The answer or confession of the devil was remarkable; which I find englished in the translation of *Plessis*'s work, *Of the trueneſs of Chriſtian religion*. The *Greek* verses are somewhat otherwise, and much more imperfect in those copies that I have of *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, but the sense is all one; which is this:

First *God*, and next *The Word*, and then *The Spirit*,
Which three be *One*, and join in *One* all three:

Whose force is endless. Get thee hence frail wight,
The man of life unknown excelleth thee.

I should have thought that *Suidas* had borrowed all this of *Cedrenus*, had I not found somewhat more in *Suidas*, than *Cedrenus* hath hereof; as the form of invocation which *Thulis* used, and that clause, of his giving name to the island: tho' in this last point I hold *Suidas* to be deceived; as also *Cedrenus* is, or, at least, seems to me, in giving to this king such profound antiquity of reign. Indeed the very name of that book, cited often by *Cedrenus*, which he calls *Little Genesis*, is alone enough to breed suspicion of some imposture: but the friendly stuff that he alledgeth out of it, is such as would serve to discredit himself, were it not otherwise apparent, that he was a man both devout, and of good judgment, in matters that fell within his compass. I will here set down the list of old *Egyptian* kings delivered by him, and leave the censure to others.

The first king of *Egypt* that he sets down is *Mizraim*, the son of *Cham*. After him he finds many of a new race, deriving their pedigree thus: *Nimrod*, the son of *Chus*, was also called *Orion*; and further, took upon him the name of the planet *Saturn*, had to wife *Semiramis*, who was of his own lineage, and by her three sons; *Picus*, surnamed *Jupiter*, *Belus* and *Ninus*. *Picus* chasing his father out of *Affyria* into *Italy*, reigned in his stead thirty years, and then gave up that kingdom to *Juno*, his sister and wife, and to *Belus* his son: after which *Belus*, who reigned only two years, *Ninus* had the kingdom, and married his own mother *Semiramis*. But *Picus* went into *Italy*, to visit his old father *Saturn*; *Saturn* forthwith resigned the kingdom to him. *Picus Jupiter* reigned in *Italy* three-score and two years, had three-score and ten wives or concubines, and about as many children: finally died, and lies buried in the isle of *Crete*. The principal of *Jupiter*'s sons were *Faunus*, *Perseus*, and *Apollo*. *Faunus* was called by the name of the planet *Mercury*: he reigned in *Italy* after his father five and thirty years: and then (finding that all his brethren conspired against him) he went into *Egypt* with abundance of treasure; where, after the death of *Mizraim*, he got the kingdom, and held it nine and thirty years. After *Mercury*, *Vulcan* reigned in *Egypt* four years and a half. Then *Sol* the son of *Vulcan*, reigned twenty years and a half. There followed in order *Sosis*, *Osiris*, *Orus* and *Thules* of whom we spake before: the length of their several reigns is not set down. After *Thules* was the great *Sesostris* king twenty years. His successor was *Pharaoh*, called *Narecho*, that held the crown fifty years, with which there passed from him the surname of *Pharaoh*, to a very long posterity.

These reports of *Cedrenus* I hold it enough to set down as I find them: let their credit rest upon the author.

Others yet we find, that are said to have reigned in *Egypt*, without any certain note, when, or how long: about whom I will not labour, as learning more to be reprehended of vain curiosity, in the search made after these already rehearsed, than of negligence, in omitting such as might have been added.

Vaphres, the father-in-law to *Solomon*; and *Sesac*, the afflicter of *Rehoboam*, lead us again into fair way, but not far. The name of *Vaphres* is not found in the scriptures; but we are beholden to * *Clemens*

* Clem. Strom. l. 1. Euseb. de prep. evang. l. 9. c. 4

Alexandrinus and *Eusebius* for it. These give us not the length of his reign, but we know that he lived in the times of *David* and of *Solomon*. He came into *Palestina* with an army, took *Gezar* from the *Canaanites*, and gave it to his daughter, ^a *Solomon's* wife: tho' for her sake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) *Sesac* his son did favour the enemies of *Solomon*, who kept so many wives and concubines, besides this *Egyptian* princess. In the life of *Rehoboam* all hath been written that I find of *Sesac*, excepting the length of his reign, which must have been six and twenty years, if he were that *Smendis* with whom *Eusebius* begins the one and twentieth *Dynasty*.

Now so far as it would serve to no great purpose, that we knew the length of *Sesac's* reign, and of theirs that followed him, unless therewithal we knew the beginning of *Sesac*, upon which the rest have dependance, this course I take. From the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, king of *Juda*, in which *Pharaoh Neco* was slain, I reckon upwards the years of the same *Neco*, and of his predecessors, unto the beginning of *Sesac*: by which account the first year of *Sesac* is found concurrent with the twentieth of *Solomon's* reign, and the twenty-sixth of *Sesac* with the fifth of *Rehoboam*: wherein *Sesac* spoiled the temple, and died, enjoying the fruits of his sacrilege no longer, than *Joas* the *Israelite* and *Crassus* the *Roman* did; who, after him, spoiled the temple of *Jerusalem*.

To fill up the time between *Sesac* and *Neco*, I have rather taken those kings that I find in the *Greek* historians, than them which are in *Eusebius's* catalogue. For of these that are delivered by *Eusebius*, we find no name nor act recorded elsewhere, save only of *Bocchoris*, who is remember'd by *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, and others; much being spoken of him, that makes him appear to have been a king. Hereunto I may add, that the succession is often interrupted, in *Eusebius*, by *Ethiopians*, which got the kingdom often, and held it long: whereas contrariwise it appears by the prophet *Ezay*, that the counsellors of *Pharaoh* did vaunt of the long and flourishing continuance of that house, insomuch that they said of *Pharaoh*, ^b *I am the son of the wise, I am the son of the ancient king*. But that, which overthrowes the reckoning of *Eusebius*, is the good agreement of it with his mistaken times of the kings of *Juda*. For tho' it please him well to see how the reigns of *Josias* and *Neco* meet by his computation, yet this indeed mars all; the reign of *Josias* being misplaced. This error grows from his omitting to compare the reigns of the kings of *Juda* with theirs of *Israel*: by which occasion *Foram*, king of *Israel*, is made to reign three years after *Abazta* of *Juda*; *Samaria* is taken by *Salmanassar*, before *H Ezekia* was king: and in a word, all, or most of the kings have their beginnings placed in some other year of their collaterals, than the scriptures have determined.

S E C T. VI.

Of Chemmis, Cheops, Cephrenes, and other kings recited by Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus, which reigned between the times of Rehoboam and Ezekia.

FOLLOWING therefore the *Greek* historians, I place *Chemmis*, or (according to *Diodore*) *Chombis*, first in the rank of those that were kings after *Sesac*. He reigned fifty years, and built the greatest of the

three pyramids, which was accounted one of this world's wonders. The *Pyramis* hath his name from the shape, in that it resembleth a flame of fire, growing from the bottom upwards, narrower and narrower, to the top. This of *Chemmis*, being four-square, had a base of seven acres every way, and was above six acres high. It was of a very hard and durable stone, which had lasted, when *Diodore* saw it, about a thousand years, without complaining of any injury that it had suffered by weather in so long a space. From the reign of *Chemmis*, unto the age of *Augustus Caesar*, wherein *Diodore* lived are, are indeed a thousand years; which gives the better likelihood unto this time wherein *Chemmis* is placed. As for this and other pyramids, late writers testify, that they have seen them yet standing.

After *Chemmis*, ^c *Diodore* placeth *Cephrenes* his brother; but doubtfully, and enclining rather to the opinion, that his son *Chabreus* succeeded. *Herodotus* hath *Cheops* (who might be *Chabreus*) and *Cephrenes* after him. These are said to have been brethren; but the length of their reigns may argue the latter to have been son to the former: for *Cheops* reigned fifty years, *Cephrenes* fifty-six. These were, as *Chemmis* had been, builders of pyramids, whereby they purchased great hatred of their people, who already had over-laboured themselves in erecting the first. These pyramids were ordained to be tombs for those that had raised them; but the malice of the *Egyptians* is said to have cast out their bodies, and to have called their monuments by the name of an herdsman, that kept his beasts thereabouts. It may be, ^d that the robbing them of their honour, and entitling a poor fellow to their works, was held to be the casting out of their bodies: otherwise it is hard to conceive, how it might be, that they, who had not power to avoid the like slavery laid upon them by the younger brother, or son, should have power or leisure to take such revenge upon his predecessor. To the like malice may be ascribed the tale devised against *Cheops's* daughter; that her father, wanting money, did prostitute her, and that she, getting of every man that accompanied her one stone, did build with them a fourth pyramid, that stood in the midst of the other three. Belike she was an insolent lady, and made them follow their drudgery, for her sake, longer a while than they thought to have done, in raising a monument, with the superfluity of her father's provisions.

Mycerinus, the son of *Cephrenes*, reigned after his father six years. He would have built as his foregoers did, but, prevented by death, finished not what he had begun. The people thought him a good king, for that he did set open the temples, which *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* had kept shut. But an oracle threaten'd him with a short life of six years only, because of this his devotion; For (said the oracle) *Egypt should have been afflicted an hundred and fifty years, which thy predecessors knew, and performed for their parts, but thou hast released it, therefore shalt thou live but six years*. It is very strange, that the gods should be offended with a king for his piety; or that they should decree to make a country impious, when the people were desirous to serve them; or, that they having so decreed, it should lie in the power of a king to alter destiny, and make the ordinance of the gods to fail in taking full effect. But these were *Egyptian* gods. The true God was doubtless more offended with the restitution of such idolatry, than with the in-

^a 1 Kings 9. 16. & 11. c. 9. 18, 19, &c

^b Isa. 19. 11

^c Diodor. l. 1. Herod. l. 2.

^d Diod. Herod.

interruption.

interruption. And who knows, whether *Chemmis* did not learn somewhat at *Jerusalem*, in the last year of his father *Sesac*, that made him perceive, and deliver to those that followed him, the vanity of his *Egyptian* superstition? Most sure it is, that his reign, and the reigns of *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* were more long and more happy, than that of *Mycerinus*, who, to delude the oracle, revelled away both days and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, he had changed his nights into days, and so doubled the time appointed: a service more pleasing to the devil, than the restitution of idolatry durst then seem, when it could speed no better. I find in *Reineccius* fifty years assigned to this king; which I verily believe to have been some error of the print, tho' I find it not corrected among other such oversights: for I know no author that gives him so many years, and *Reineccius* himself takes notice of the oracle, that threaten'd *Mycerinus* with a short life, as is before shewed.

Bocchorus is placed next unto *Mycerinus*, by *Diodore*, who speaks no more of him than this, that he was a strong man of body, and excelling his predecessors in wit. He is spoken of by divers authors, as one that loved justice; and may be taken for that *Banchyris*, whom *Suidas* commends in that kind: *Eusebius* reckons four and forty years of his reign.

After *Bocchorus*, one *Sabacus* an *Ethiopian* follows, in the catalogue of *Diodore*; but certain ages after him. *Herodotus*, quite omitting *Bocchorus*, hath *Afybis*; who made a sharp law (as it was then held) against bad debtors, that their dead bodies should be in the creditors disposition till the debt was paid. This *Afybis* made a pyramid of bricks, more costly and fair, in his own judgment, than any of those that the former kings had raised. Besides this *Afybis*, *Herodotus* placeth one *Anycis*, a blind man, before the *Ethiopian*. The reigns of these two are perhaps those many ages, which the *Egyptians*, to magnify their antiquities, accounted between *Bocchorus* and him that followed them. But all this could make but six years; and so long doth *Funetius*, so long doth *Reineccius* hold, that these two kings, between them both, did govern. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it improbable, that the reigns of two kings should have been so soon spent, he may do it by taking some years from *Sethon* or *Psammeticus*, and adding them to either of these: To add unto these, without subtracting from some other, would breed a manifest inconvenience; forasmuch as part of *Sesac*'s reign must have been in *the fifth of Rehoboam*; as also the last of *Pharaoh Neco* was the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, and the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*. For mine own part, I like it better to allow six years only to these two kings, than to lose the witness of *Herodotus*, who, concurring herein with the scriptures, doth speak of *Sennacherib*'s war; at which time *Sethon* was king of *Egypt*. I will not therefore add years unto these obscure names; for by adding unto these men three years, we shall thrust the beginning of *Sethon* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Sennacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Herodotus* with the scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him, in his *Egyptian* kings. Otherwise it were a matter of no great envy, to leave both *Afybis* and *Anycis* out of the roll; which were easily done, by placing *Sesac* lower, and extending his life yet six years further, or more (if the like abridgment shall be required of *Psammeticus*'s reign) into the years of *Rehoboam*.

Of *Sabacus* the *Ethiopian*, who took the kingdom from *Anycis*, it is agreed by the most, that he reign'd 50 years. He was a merciful prince, not punishing all capital offences with death, but imposing bondage and bodily labour upon malefactors; by whose toil he both got much wealth into his own hands, letting out their service to hire, and perform'd many works, of more use than pomp, to the singular benefit of the country. *Zonaras* calls this king *Sua*, the scriptures call him *So*. *Hosea*, the last king of *Israel*, made a league with him against *Salmanassar*, little to his good: for the *Egyptian* was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendship could not preserve the *Israelite* from destruction.

It seems, that the encroaching power of the *Assyrian*, grew terrible to *Egypt* about these times; the victories of *Tiglath Pileassar*, and *Salmanassar*, having eaten so far into *Syria*, in the reign of this one king *So* or *Sabacus*. Yea, perhaps it was in his days (for his reign began in the fourth of *Menaem*) that *Pbul* himself did make the first entrance into *Palestina*. This caused *So* to animate the half subdued people, against their conquerors; but the help which he and his successor gave them was so faint, that *Sennacherib*'s ambassador compar'd the *Egyptian* succour to a broken staff of reed. Such indeed had *Hosea* found it, and such *Ezekia* might have found it, had he not been supported by the strong staff of him, that rules all nations with a rod of iron. It appears by the words of *Rabshake*, that the opinion was great in *Juda*, of the *Egyptian* forces, *for chariots and horsemen*; but this power, whatsoever it was, grew needful within a little while, for the defence of *Egypt* it self, which *So* left unto *Sethon* his successor, having now fulfilled the 50 years of his reign. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have both one tale, from the relation of *Egyptian* priests, concerning the departure of this king; saying, that he left the country, and willingly retired into *Ethiopia*, because it was often signified unto him in his dreams, by the god which was worshipped at *Thebes*, that his reign should be neither long nor prosperous, unless he slew all the priests in *Egypt*; which rather than to do, he resign'd his kingdom. Surely these *Egyptian* gods were of a strange quality, that so ill rewarded their servants, and invited kings to do them wrong. Well might the *Egyptians* (as they likewise did) worship dogs as gods, when their chief gods had the property of dogs, which love their masters the better for beating them. Yet to what end the priests should have feign'd this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I think that it might be some device of the fearful old man, who seeing his realm in danger of an invasion, sought an honest excuse for his departure out of it, and withdrawing himself into *Ethiopia*, where he had been bred in his youth. What if one should say, that the *Ethiopia* into which he went, was none other than *Arabia*, whereof *Tirbaca* the king (perhaps at the instigation of this man) raised an army against *Sennacherib*, when he meant to invade *Egypt*, within two or three years after? But I will not trouble myself with such enquiry. This I hold, that *So* or *Sabacus*, was not indeed an *Ethiopian* (for in his time lived the prophet *Isaiab*, who mentioneth the antiquity of *Pharaoh*'s house) but only so surnam'd for his education, and because issuing from thence, he got the kingdom from *Anycis*, who was his opposite. The quiet and mild form of his government; his holding the kingdom so long without an army; and

many other circumstances argue no less. But whether finally he betook a private life, or whether he forewent his life and kingdom at once, being now very old, it is time that we leave him, and speak of *Sethon* his next successor, who is omitted by *Diodore*, but remembered by *Herodotus*, by a sure token of his having been king.

S E C T. VII.

Of Sethon who reigned with Ezekia, and sided with him against Sennacherib.

THE first year of *Sethon's* reign falls into the twelfth of *Ezekia*, which was the fifth of *Sennacherib*. It was a troublesome age, and full of danger; the two great kingdoms of *Assyria* and *Egypt*, being then engaged in a war, the issue whereof was to determine, whether of them should rule or serve. The *Assyrian* had the better men of war; the *Egyptian*, better provision of necessaries: the *Assyrian*, more subjects; the *Egyptian*, more friends; and among the new conquered half subjects of *Assur*, many that were *Egyptian* in heart, tho' *Assyrian* in outward shew.

Of this last sort were *Ezekia*, and his people; who, knowing how much it concern'd *Pharaoh*, to protect them against his own great enemy, preferred the friendship of so near and mighty a neighbour, before the service of a terrible, yet far remov'd king. But herein was great difference, between *Ezekia* and his subjects: for the good king, fixing his especial confidence in God, held that course of policy, which he thought most likely to turn to the benefit of his country: the multitude of *Judea*, looking into the fair hopes which this *Egyptian* league promised, were puffed up with vain conceits, thinking that all was safe, and that now they should not need to fear any more of those injuries, which they had suffer'd by the *Assyrians*, and so became forgetful of God, ^a*taking counsel but not of him*. The prophet *Isaiab* complain'd much of this presumption; giving the people of *Juda* to understand, that ^b*the Egyptians were men, and not God, and their horses flesh, and not spirit*; that God himself should defend *Israel* upon repentance, and that *Assur* should fall by the sword, but not of man. As for the *Egyptians* (said the prophet) *they are vanity, and they shall help in vain, their strength is to sit still*.

According to the prophets words it came to pass. For in the treaty of confederacy that was held at *Zoan*, all manner of contentment and assurance was given to the *Jews*, by *Sethon*, or his agents, who fill'd them with such reports of horses and chariots, that they did not look (as saith *Isaiab xxxi. 1, 2.*) *unto the holy one of Israel, nor seek unto the Lord. But he yet is wisest*.

After a while came *Sennacherib* with his army, and waken'd them out of these dreams; for *Sethon* their good neighbour, as near as he was, did seem far off, being unready, when his help was most needful. It may seem that he purposed, rather to make *Palestina* than *Egypt* the stage, whereon this great war should be acted, and was not without hope, that the *Assyrians* and *Jews*, weakening one another, should yield unto him a fair advantage over both. Yet he fought with money; for he sent horses and camels laden with treasure, to hire the *Arabians*, whom ^c*Isaiab* calleth a people that cannot profit. These *Arabians* did not profit indeed; for (besides that it seems by the same place of *Isaiab*, that the rich treasures miscarried, and fell into the

enemies hands before any help appear'd from *Tir-haca*) all the strong cities of *Juda* were taken by *Sennacherib*, except *Libna*, *Lachis*, and *Jerusalem* it self, which were in sore distress, till the sword of God, and not of man, defeated the *Assyrian*, who did go, ^d*for fear, to his tower*, that is, he fled to *Nineveh*, where he was slain.

Concerning this expedition of *Sennacherib*, *Herodotus* takes this notice of it; that it was purposed against *Egypt*, where the men of war, being offended with *Sethon* their king, who had taken away their allowance, refused to bear arms in defence of him and their country: that *Sethon* being *Vulcan's* priest, bemoan'd himself to his god, who by dream promis'd to send him helpers: that hereupon *Sethon*, with such as would follow him (which were craftsmen, shop-keepers, and the like) march'd towards *Pelusium*; and that a great multitude of field-mice entring the camp of *Sennacherib* by night, did so gnaw the bows, quivers, and straps of his mens armour, that they were fain the next day to fly away in all haste, finding themselves disarm'd. In memory hereof (saith *Herodotus*) the statue of this king is set up in the temple of *Vulcan*, holding a mouse in his hand, with this inscription: *Let him that beholds me, serve God*. Such was the relation of the *Egyptian* priests, wherein how far they swerved from the truth, being desirous to magnify their own king, it may easily be perceiv'd. It seems that this image of *Sethon* was fallen down, and the tale forgotten in *Diodorus's* time, or else perhaps, the priests did forbear to tell it him (which caus'd him to omit it) for that the nation of the *Jews* was then well known to the world, whereof every child could have told, how much falsehood had been mingled with the truth.

We find this history ageable to the scriptures, thus far forth: that *Sennacherib* king of the *Assyrians* and *Arabians* (so *Herodotus* calleth him: the *Syrians*, or peradventure some borderers upon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians*) lived in this age, made war upon *Egypt*, and was miraculously driven home. As for that exploit of the mice, and the great pleasure that *Vulcan* did unto his priest; happy it was (if *Sethon* were a priest) that he took his god now in so good a mood. For within three or four years before this, all the priests in *Egypt* should have been slain, if a merciful king had not spar'd their lives, as it were half against the god's will. Therefore this last good turn was not enough to serve as an example, that might stir up the *Egyptians* to piety, seeing that their devotion, which had lasted so long before, did bring all the priests into danger of such a bad reward. Rather I think, that this image did represent *Sennacherib* himself, and that the mouse in his hand, signified hieroglyphically (as was the *Egyptian* manner of expressing things) the shameful issue of his terrible expedition, or the destruction of his army, by means which came, no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, shewed upon this ungodly king, was indeed a very good motive to piety. But the emblem, together with the temple of *Vulcan* (being perhaps the chief temple in that town where this image was erected) might give occasion to such a fable; the devil helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be robb'd of his honour. Yet that we may not belie the devil, I hold it very likely, that *Sethon*, finding himself in danger, did call upon his gods, that is, upon *Vulcan*, *Serapis*, or any to whom he had most devo-

^a *Isaiab 30. 1* ^b *Isaiab 31. 3, 8.* *Isaiab 30. 7.* *Isaiab 3. 4* ^c *Isaiab 30. 6* ^d *Isaiab 31. 9*

tion. But so had other of his predecessors done in the like need : yet which of them had obtained succour by the like miracle? Surely the *Jews* (even such of them as most were given to idolatry) would have been ashamed of the confidence which they reposed, *in the chariots of Egypt, because they were many, and in the horsemen, because they were very strong* ; had it been told them, that *Sethon*, instead of sending those horsemen and chariots, was beseeching *Vulcan*, to send him and them good luck, or else (for these also were *Egyptian* gods) addressing his prayers to some onyon or cat. Howsoever it was, doubtless the prophecy of *Isaiah* took effect, which said, *They shall be all ashamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor help, nor do them good ; but shall be a shame, and also a reproach*. Such is commonly the issue of human wisdom, when resting secure upon provision that it self hath made, it will no longer seem to stand in need of God.

Some there are who take *Sethon* to have been set down by *Eusebius*, under the name of *Tarachus* the *Ethiopian* ; and therefore the twenty years which are given to *Tarachus*, they allow to the reign of *Sethon*. These have well observ'd, that *Tarachus* the *Ethiopian* is mention'd in the scriptures, not as a king of *Egypt*, but as a friend to that country, or at least an enemy to *Sennacherib*, in the war last spoken of: the *Ethiopians* (as they are *Englished*) over which he reigned, being indeed *Chusites* or *Arabians*. Hereupon they suppose aright, that *Eusebius* hath mistaken one king for another. But whereas they think, that this *Tarachus* or *Tubaka*, is placed in the room of *Sethon*, and therefore give to *Sethon* the twenty years of *Tarachus*, I hold them to have erred on the other hand. For this *Ethiopian* (as he is called) began his reign over *Egypt*, by *Eusebius's* account, after the death of *Sennacherib* and of *Ezekia*, in the first year of *Manasses* king of *Juda*. Therefore he, or his years, have no reference to *Sethon*.

Herodotus forgets to tell how long *Sethon* reigned ; *Functius* peremptorily, citing no author, nor alledging reason for it, sets him down 33 years ; many omit him quite ; and they that name him, are not careful to examine his continuance. In this case, I follow that rule which I propounded unto my self at the first, for measuring the reigns of these *Egyptian* kings. The years which pass'd from the fifth of *Rehoboam*, unto the fourth of *Jeboiakim*, I so divide among the *Egyptians*, that giving to every one the proportion allowed unto him by the author in whom he is found, the rest is to be conferred upon him whose length of reign is uncertain ; that is, upon this *Sethon*. By this account I find the 33 years that are set down by *Functius*, to agree very nearly, if not precisely, with the time of *Sethon's* reign ; therefore I conform my own reckoning to his, tho' I could be content to have it one year less. The reason of this computation I shall render more at large, when I arrive at the time of *Psammiticus*, whereupon it hath much dependance, and whereinto the course of this history will shortly bring me ; the *Egyptian* affairs growing now to be interlaced with the matters of *Juda*, to which it is meet that I return.

C H A P. XXVII.

Of Manasses, and his contemporaries.

S E C T. I.

The wickedness of Manasses. His imprisonment, repentance, and death.

MANASSES, the son of *Ezekias*, forgetting the piety of his father, and the prosperity which followed him, set up, repaired, adorned, and furnished all the altars, temples, and high places, in which the devil was by the heathen worshipped. Besides, he himself esteemed the sun, the moon, and the stars, with all the host of heaven, as gods, and worshipped them : and of all his acts the most abominable was, that he burnt his sons for a sacrifice to the devil *Moloch*, or *Melchor*, in the valley of *Hinnon*, or *Benbennon* : wherein was kindled the fire of sacrifice to the devils.

He also gave himself to all kind of witchcraft and sorcery, accompanied and maintained those that had familiar spirits, and all sorts of enchanters : besides, he shed so much innocent blood, as *Jerusalem* was replenish'd therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reverend prophet *Isaiah* (who was also of the king's race, and, as the *Jews* affirm, the father-in-law of the king) he caused the prophet near unto the fountain of *Siloe*, to be sawn in sunder, with a wooden saw, in the 80th year of his life : a cruelty more barbarous and monstrous than hath been heard of. The scriptures indeed are silent hereof, yet the same is confirm'd by *Epiphanius*, *Isidore*, *Eusebius*, and others, too many to rehearse, and too good to be suspected. *Therefore the Lord brought upon them the captains of the host of the kings of Assyria, which took Manasses, and put him in fetters, and bound him in chains, and carried him to Babel* : when after he had laid 20 years as a captive, and despoil'd of all honour and hope ; yet to his hearty repentance and continual prayer, the God of infinite mercy had respect, and mov'd the *Assyrians* heart to deliver him.

It is also likely that *Merodach*, because he loved his father *Ezekias*, was the easilier persuaded to restore *Manasses* to his liberty and estate. After which, and when he was again establish'd, remembering the miseries which follow'd his wickedness, and God's great mercies towards him, he chang'd form, detested his former foolish and devilish idolatry, and cast down the idols of his own erecting, prepar'd the altar of God, and sacrific'd thereon. He repair'd a great part of *Jerusalem* : and died after the long reign of 55 years. *Glycas* and *Suidas* report, that *Manasses* was held in a cage of iron by the *Assyrians* : and therein fed with bread of bran and water, which men may believe as it shall please their fancies.

S E C T. II.

Of troubles in Egypt following the death of Sethon. The reign of Psammiticus.

THAT the wickedness of king *Manasses* was the cause of the evil, which fell upon his kingdom and person, any Christian must needs believe : for it is affirmed in the scriptures. Yet was the state of things in those parts of the world such, at

^a Isa. 31. 1.

^b Just. Mart. Cedrenus, c. 19. Glycas p. 274. Tertull. de Pat.

^c 2 Chron. 33. 11.

that time, as would have invited any prince (and did perhaps invite *Mérodach*, who fulfilled God's pleasure, upon respect born to his own ends) desirous of enlarging his empire, to make attempt upon *Judah*. For the kingdom of *Egypt*, which was become the pillar whereon the state of *Judah* leaned, about these times was miserably distracted with civil dissension, and, after two years, ill amended by a division of the government between twelve princes. After some good agreement between these, eleven of them fell out with the twelfth of their colleagues, and were all finally subdued by him, who made himself absolute king of all. This *interregnum*, or mere anarchy, that was in *Egypt*, with the division of the kingdom following it, is placed by *Diodore*, who omitteth *Sethon*, between the reigns of *Sabacus*, and *Psammiticus*: but *Herodotus* doth set the aristocracy, or twelve governours immediately before *Psammiticus*, who was one of them, and after *Sethon*.

The occasion of this dissension seems to have been the uncertainty of title to that kingdom (for that the crown of *Egypt* passed by succession of blood, I have often shewed) which ended for a while, by the partition of all among twelve, tho' things were not settled, until one had obtained the sovereignty.

These twelve rulers governed fifteen years, in good seeming agreement, which to preserve, they made strait covenants and alliances one with another, being jealous of their estate, because an oracle had foretold, that one of them should depose all the rest, noting him by this token, that he should make a drink-offering, in *Vulcan's* temple, out of a copper goblet. Whilst this unity lasted, they joined together in raising a monument of their dominion, which was a labyrinth, built near unto the lake of *Meris*; a work so admirable, that (as *Herodotus*, who beholding it, affirms) no words could give it commendation answerable to the stateliness of the work it self. I will not here set down that imperfect description, which *Herodotus* makes of it, but think enough to say, that he prefers it far before the pyramids, one of which (as he saith) excelled the temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, or any of the fairest works in *Greece*. *Diodorus* reports this labyrinth to have been the work of *Marus*, or *Menides*, a king which lived five generations before *Proteus*, that is, before the war of *Troy*, and from this labyrinth, saith he, *Dædalus* took the pattern of that which he made for *Minos* in *Crete*. Who this *Marus* or *Menides* was, I cannot tell. *Reineccius* takes him to have been *Annemenes*, who reigned immediately before *Thucoris*. But this agrees not with *Diodore*: for *Dædalus* and *Minos* were both dead long before *Annemenes* was king. Belike *Reineccius*, desiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of *Manethon*, *Chæremón*, and others, that are found in *Josephus* touching *Amenophis* and his children, to the story of *Amasis*, and *Ætisanes* the *Ethiopian*, mentioned by *Diodore*; held it consequent, after he had conjectured *Manethon's* *Amenophis* to be *Diodorus's* *Amasis*, that *Sethon* should be *Ætisanes*, and that *Annemenes* should be *Marus*. If in this case I might intrude a conjecture; the times which we now handle, are those, about which *Reineccius* hath erred in making search; *Amasis* was *Anysis*; *Ætisanes* was *Sabacus*; and *Marus* was one of those twelve princes, to whom *Herodotus* gives the honour of building this famous labyrinth. For *Ætisanes* the *Ethiopian* deposed *Amasis*, *Sabacus* the *Ethiopian* deposed *Anysis*; *Ætisanes* governed well,

and was mild in punishing offenders; so likewise was *Sabacus*; *Marus*, the next king after *Ætisanes*, built this labyrinth; and the next (saving *Sethon*, whom *Diodore* omits, as having not heard of him) that ruled after *Sabacus*, performed the same work, according to *Herodotus*, who was more likely to hear the truth, as living near to the age wherein it was performed. The variety of names, and difference of times wherein *Diodore* believed the priest might be a part of the *Egyptian* vanity, which was familiar with them, in multiplying their kings, and boasting of their antiquities. Here I might add, that the twelve great halls, parlours, and other circumstances remembered by *Herodotus*, in speaking of this building, do help to prove, that it was the work of these twelve princes. But I hasten to their end.

At a solemn feast in *Vulcan's* temple, when they were to make their drink-offerings, the priest forgetting himself, brought forth no more than eleven cups. Hereupon *Psammiticus*, who standing last had not a cup, took off his brazen helmet, and therewith supplied the want. This caused all the rest to remember the oracle, and to suspect him as a traitor; yet, when they found that it was not done by him upon set purpose, or ill intent, they forbore to kill him; but, being jealous of their estate, they banished him into the marsh countries by the sea-side. This oracle, and the event, is held by *Diodore* as a fable, which I believe to have been no other: in the rest *Herodotus* and *Diodore* agree, saying, that *Psammiticus* hired soldiers out of *Caria* and *Ionia*, by whose aid he vanquished his companions, and made himself sole king.

The years of his reign, according to *Herodotus*, were fifty-four; according to *Eusebius* forty-four; *Mercator*, to reconcile these two, gives forty-four years to his single reign, and ten to his ruling jointly with the princes before spoken of. Indeed, he that was admitted, being a man grown (for he cannot in reason be supposed to have been then a young fellow) into the number of the twelve governours, must be thought to have lived unto extreme old age, if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, threescore and nine years. I therefore yield rather to *Eusebius*, but will not adventure to cut five years from the aristocracy: tho' peradventure *Psammiticus* was not at first one of the twelve, but succeeded (either by election, or as next of blood) into the place of some prince that died, and was ten years companion in that government.

Another scruple there is, tho' not great, which troubles this reckoning. The years of these *Egyptians*, as we find them set down, are more by one than serve to fill up the time between the fifth of *Rehoboam*, and the fourth of *Jehoiakim*. This may not be. Wherefore either we must abate one year from *Sethon's* reign, that was of uncertain length; or else (which I had rather do; because *Funelius* may have followed better authority than I know, or than himself alledgeth, in giving to *Sethon* a time so nearly agreeing with the truth) we must confound the last year of one reign, with the first of another. Such a supposition were not insolent. For no man can suppose, that all the kings, or any great part of them, which are set down in chronological tables, reigned precisely so many years, as are ascribed unto them, without any fractions: it is enough to think, that the surplusage of one man's time, supplied the defect of another's. Wherefore I confound the last year of those fifteen, wherein

the twelve princes ruled, with the first of *Psammiticus*; who surely did not fall out with his companions, fight with them, and make himself lord alone, all in one day.

Concerning this king, it is recorded, that he was the first in *Egypt*, who entertained any strait amity with the *Greeks*; that he retained in pay his mercenaries of *Caria*, *Ionia*, and *Arabia*, to whom he gave large rewards and possessions; and that he greatly offended his *Egyptian* soldiers, by bestowing them in the left wing of his army, whilst his mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honourable place) in an expedition that he made into *Syria*. Upon this disgrace, it is said, that his soldiers, to the number of two hundred thousand, forsook their natural country of *Egypt*, and went into *Ethiopia*, to dwell there: neither could they be revoked by kind messages, nor by the king himself, who over-took them on the way; but when he told them of their country, their wives and children, they answered, that their weapons should get them a country, and that nature had enabled them to get other wives and children.

It is also reported of him, that he caused two infants to be brought up in such sort as they might not hear any word spoken; by which means he hoped to find out, what nation or language was most ancient; forasmuch as it seemed likely, that nature would teach the children to speak that language, which men spoke at the first. The issue hereof was, that the children cried *Beccus*, *Beccus*, which word being found to signify bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, served greatly to magnify the *Phrygian* antiquity. *Goropius Becanus* makes no small matter of this, for the honour of his *Low Dutch*; in which the word *Becker* signifies (as baker in *English*) a maker of bread. He that will turn over any part of *Goropius's* works, may find enough of this kind, to persuade a willing man, that *Adam* and all the patriarchs used none other tongue than the *Low Dutch*, before the confusion of languages at *Babel*; the name itself of *Babel* being also *Dutch*, and given by occasion of this confusion; for that there they began to babble and talk one knew not what.

But I will not insist upon all that is written of *Psammiticus*. The most regardable of his acts was the siege of *Azotus* in *Palestina*, about which he spent nine and twenty years. Never have we heard (saith *Herodotus*) that any city endured so long a siege as this; yet *Psammiticus* carried it at the last. This town of *Azotus* had been won by *Tartan*, a captain of *Sennacherib*, and was now, as it seemeth, relieved, but in vain, by the *Babylonian*, which made it hold out so well.

SECT. III.

What reference these Egyptian matters might have to the imprisonment and enlargement of Manasses. In what part of his reign Manasses was taken prisoner.

WERE it certainly known, in what year of his reign *Manasses* was taken prisoner, and how long it was before he obtained liberty; I think we should find these *Egyptian* troubles to have been no small occasion both of his captivity and enlargement: God so disposing of human actions, that even they, who intended only their own business, fulfilled only his high pleasure. For either the civil wars in *Egypt* that followed upon the death of *Sennacherib*; or the renting of the kingdom as it were into

twelve pieces, or the war between *Psammiticus* and his colleagues; or the expedition of *Psammiticus* unto *Syria*, and the siege of *Azotus* might minister into the *Babylonian*, either such cause of hope; to enlarge his dominion in the south parts; or such necessity of sending an army into those parts; to defend his own, as would greatly tempt him to make sure work with the king of *Judah*. The same occasions sufficed also to procure the delivery of *Manasses*, after he was taken. For he was taken (as *Josephus* hath it) by subtilty, not by open force, neither did they, that apprehended him, win his country, but only waste it. So that the *Jews* having learned wit, by the ill success of their folly, in redeeming *Amazia*, were like to be more circumspect in making their bargain upon such another accident: and the *Babylonian* (to whom the *Egyptian* matters presented more weighty arguments of hope and fear, than the little kingdom of *Juda* could afford) had no reason, to spend his forces in pursuing a small conquest, but as full of difficulty as a greater, whereby he should compel his mightiest enemies to come to some good agreement; when by quitting his present advantage over the *Jews*, he might make his way the fairer into *Egypt*.

Now concerning the year of *Manasses's* reign, wherein he was taken prisoner; or concerning his captivity it self, how long it lasted; the scriptures are silent, and *Josephus* gives no information. Yet I find cited by *Torniellus's* three opinions, the one of *Bellarmino*, who thinks that *Manasses* was taken in the fifteenth year of his reign; the other of the author of the greater *Hebrew* chronology, who affirms, that it was in his twenty-seventh year; the third, of *Rabbi Kimbi* upon *Ezekiel*, who saith, that he was forty years an idolater, and lived fifteen years after his repentance. The first of these conjectures is upheld by *Torniellus*, who rejects the second, as more improbable, and condemns the third as most false. Yet the reasons alledged by *Torniellus* in defence of the first, and refutation of the last opinion, are such as may rather prove him to favour the cardinal, as far as he may (for where need requires, he doth freely dissent from him) than to have used his accustomed diligence in examining the matter, before he gave his judgment. Two arguments he brings to maintain the opinion of *Bellarmino*: the one, that *Ammon*, the son of *Manasses*, is said by *Josephus* to have followed the works of his father's youth; the other, that, had *Manasses* grown old in his sins, it is not like that he should have continued as he did, in his amendment unto the end of his life. Touching the former of these arguments, I see no reason why the sins of *Manasses* might not be distinguished from his repentance in his old age, by calling them *works of his youth*, which appeared when he was twelve years old; tho' it were granted that he continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimbi*) until he was but fifteen years from death. Touching the second; howsoever it be a fearful thing to cast off unto the last those good motions unto repentance, which we know not whether ever God will offer unto us again; yet were it a terrible hearing, that the sins which are not forsaken before the age of two and fifty years, shall be punished with final impenitency. But against these two collections of *Torniellus*, I will lay two places of scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not unlikely, that *Manasses* continued longer in his wickedness, than *Bellarmino* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimbi*

^a Isa. 70. 1. ^b Joseph. Ant. l. 10. c. 1.

hath affirmed. In the second book of *Kings*, the evil which *Manasses* did is remember'd at large, and his repentance utterly omitted; so that his amendment may seem to have taken up no great part of his life, the story of him being thus concluded in the one and twentieth chapter. ^a *Concerning the rest of the Acts of Manasses, and all that he did, and his sin that he sinned, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the kings of Juda.* The other place is in the four and twentieth chapter of the same book, where, in rehearsing the calamities, with which that nation was punished in the time of *Jeboiakim*, the great grand-child of this *Manasses*, it is said; ^b *Surely by the commandment of the Lord came this upon Juda, that he might put them out of his sight, for the sins of Manasses, according to all that he did, and for the innocent blood that he shed (for he filled Jerusalem with innocent blood) therefore the Lord would not pardon it.* Whoso considers well these places, may find small cause to pronounce it most false, that the repentance and amendment of *Manasses* was no earlier than fifteen years before his death; or most probable, that when he was twenty-seven years old, he repented, and becoming a new man, lived in the fear of God forty years after. I will no longer dispute about this matter, seeing that the truth cannot be discovered. It sufficeth to say, that two years of civil dissension in *Egypt*, fourteen or fifteen years following, wherein that kingdom was weaken'd, by partition of the sovereignty; the war of *Psammiticus* against his associates; and four and twenty years, of the nine and twenty, wherein the siege of *Azotus* continued, being all within the time of *Manasses*, did leave no one part of his reign (after the first fifteen years) free from the danger of being oppressed by the *Babylonian*, whose men of war had continual occasions of visiting his country. All which I will add hereto is this, that the fifteenth of *Manasses* was the last year of *Sethon* in *Egypt*, and the one and thirtieth of *Merodach's* reign, or (accounting from the death of *Afarbaddon*) the twentieth: The seven and twentieth of *Manasses* was the tenth of the twelve princes, and the three and fortieth of *Merodach*: his fortieth was the twenty-third of *Psammiticus*, and the fifth of *Nabulassar*, the son of *Merodach* in *Babylon*: but which of these was the year of his imprisonment, or whether any other, I forbear to shew mine opinion, lest I should thereby seem to draw all matters over-violently to mine own computation.

This was the first great mastery that the *Babylonians* had of the kingdom of *Juda*. For though *Achaz* promised tribute to *Salmanassar*, yet *Ezekias* never paid it. True it is, that he hoped to stay *Sennacherib's* enterprize against him, by presenting him with three hundred talents of silver, and thirty of gold, besides the plate which covered the doors and pillars of the temple.

But *Manasses* being pressed with greater necessity, could refuse no tolerable conditions, that the *Babylonian* would impose upon him; among which it seems, that this was one (which was indeed a point of servitude) that he might not hold peace with the *Egyptians*, whilst they were enemies to *Babylon*. This appears not only by his fortifying with men of war all the strong cities of *Juda* after his return (which was rather against *Psammiticus*, whose party he had forsaken, than against the *Babylonian*, with whom he had thenceforth no more controversy) but likewise by that opposition, which *Josias* made afterwards to *Pharaoh Neco*,

in favour of *Nabulassar*, which had been against all reason and policy, if it had not been his duty by covenant. Of this I will speak more in convenient place.

SECT. IV.

Of the first and second Messenian wars, which were in the reigns of Ezekia and Manasses, kings of Juda.

NOW concerning such actions as were performed abroad in the world, about these times of *Manasses*, the most remarkable were the *Messenian* wars; which happened in this age, and being the greatest action performed in *Greece*, between the *Trojan* and *Persian* wars, deserve not to be passed over with silence.

The first *Messenian* war began and ended in the days of *Ezekia*; the second in the reign of *Manasses*: but to avoid the trouble of interrupting our history, I have thought it best to rehearse them both in this place. Other introduction is needless, than to say, that the posterity of *Hercules*, driving the issue of *Pelops*, and the *Acheans*, out of their seats, divided their lands between themselves, and erected the kingdoms of *Lacedemon*, *Argos*, *Messene*, and *Corinth*; all which agreeing well together a while, did afterwards forget the bond of kindred, and sought one another's ruin with bloody wars, whereof these *Messenian* were the greatest.

The pretended grounds of the *Messenian* war are scarce worth remembrance; they were so slight. Ambition was the true cause of it; wherewith the *Lacedemonians* were so transported, that any thing served them as a colour, to accomplish their greedy desires. Yet other matter was alledged; namely, that one *Polychares*, a *Messenian*, had slain many *Lacedemonians*, for which the magistrates of *Sparta*, desiring to have him yielded into their hands, could not obtain it. The *Messenians* on the other side, excused *Polychares*, for that he was grown frantick, thro' injuries received from *Euaphnes* a *Lacedemonian*. This *Euaphnes* had bargained to give pasture to the cattle of *Polychares*, and was therefore to receive part of the increase: but not contented with the gain appointed, he sold the cattle, and slaves that kept them, to merchants; which done, he came with a fair tale to his friend, saying, that they were stolen. Whilst the lie was yet scarce out of his mouth, one of the slaves that had escaped from the merchants, came in with a true report of all. The *Lacedemonian* being thus apprehended, confessed all, and promis'd large amends; which to receive, he carried the son of *Polychares* home with him, but having him at home, he villainously slew him. Wherefore the *Lacedemonians* having refused, after long suit made by the wretched father to do him right against this thief and murderer, ought not to pick matter of quarrel out of those things, which he did in that madness, whereinto they themselves had cast him. So said the *Messenians*, and further offered to put the matter to compromise, or to stand unto the judgment of the *Amphictyones*, who were as the general council of *Greece*, or to any other fair course. But the *Lacedemonians*, who had a great desire to occupy the fair country of *Messene*, that lay close by them, were not content with such allegations. They thought it enough to have some shew for their doings, which the better to colour, they reckoned up many old injuries, and so, without sending any defiance, secretly took an oath, to hold war with *Messene*, till

^a 2 Kings 21. 17.

^b 2 Kings 24. 3, 4.

^c 2 Kings 13.

they had master'd it: which done, they seized upon *Amphibia*, a frontier town of that province, wherein they put all to the sword without mercy, very few escaping.

Hereupon the *Messenians* took arms, and were met by the enemy. A furious battle was fought between them, which ended not until dark night, with uncertain victory. The *Messenians* did strongly encamp themselves; the *Lacedemonians*, unable to force their camp, returned home. This war began in the second year of the ninth *Olympiad*, and ended in the first of the fourteenth *Olympiad*, having lasted twenty years. The two enemy nations tried the matter for a while with their proper forces, the *Lacedemonians* wasting the inland parts of *Messene*, and the *Messenians* the sea-coast of *Laconia*. But it was not long ere friends on both sides were called in to help. The *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians*, took part with *Messene*; the *Spartans* had, besides many subjects of their own, aid from *Corinth*, and hired soldiers out of *Crete*. So a second, third, and fourth battel were fought with as great obstinacy as the first; saving that, in the fourth battle, the *Lacedemonians* were enforced to turn their backs; in the other fights, the victory was still uncertain, tho' in one of them the *Messenians* lost *Euphaes*, their king, in whose stead they chose *Aristodemus*.

Many years were spent, ere all this blood was shed; for pestilent diseases, and want of money to entertain soldiers, caused the war to linger. And for the same reasons did the *Messenians* forsake all their inland towns, excepting *Ithome*, which was a mountain with a town upon it, able to endure more than the enemies were likely to do. But, as some authors tell us, the *Lacedemonians* were so obstinate in this war, because of their vow, that having absented themselves ten years from *Sparta*, their wives sent them word, that their city would grow unpeopled, by reason that no children had been born them in all that time: Whereupon they sent back all their ablest young men, promiscuously to accompany the young women, who got so many of them with child, as they became a great part of their nation, and were called *Parthenians*.^b *Diodorus* refers the begetting of these *Parthenians* to a former time. But in process of this *Messenian* war, when the devil in an oracle had advised the *Messenians* to sacrifice a virgin of the stock of *Egyptus*, that so they might be victorious against the *Lacedemonians*; the lot falling upon the daughter of one *Lyciscus*, *Ephibolus* the priest, willing to save her, said she was only a foster'd child, and not born of the wife of *Lyciscus*: which answer giving delay to the execution of the maid, *Lyciscus* secretly fled away with her into *Sparta*. Then *Aristodemus*, which afterwards was king, voluntarily offered his own daughter: but a young nobleman, being in love with the maid, when otherwise he could not prevail, said openly that she was no virgin, but that he had deflowered her, and got her with child: whereupon the father in a rage ripped up his innocent daughter's belly, to disprove the lover's slander: at the grave of which daughter of his, afterwards falling by other superstitions into despair of prevailing against the *Lacedemonians*, he slew himself, to the great hurt of his country, which he loved most dearly. For after his death the *Messenians* lost their courage, and finding themselves distressed by many wants, especially of victuals, they craved peace; which they obtained under most rigorous conditions. Half the yearly fruits

of their land they were bound to send unto *Sparta*; and they, with their wives, to make solemn lamentations, at the death of every *Spartan* king; they were also sworn to live in true subjection to the *Lacedemonians*; and part of their territory was taken from them, which was given to the *Asmei*, and such as had followed the *Spartans* in this war.

This peace being made upon so uneven terms, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirty years it continued (the *Messenians* not finding how to help themselves) and then broke out into a new and more furious war than the former. The able young men, that were grown up in the room of those *Messenians*, whom the former war had consumed, began to consider their own strength and multitude, thinking themselves equal to the *Lacedemonians*, and therefore scorning to serve such masters, as had against all right oppressed their fathers. The chief of these was *Aristomenes*, a noble gentleman, of the house of *Egyptus*, who perceiving the uniform desires of his countrymen, adventured to become their leader. He therefore founding the affections of the *Argives*, and *Arcadians*, which he found thoroughly answerable to his purpose, began open war upon the state of *Lacedemon*. This was in the fourth year of the three and twentieth *Olympiad*; when the *Lacedemonians* halted to quench the fire before it should grow too hot, with such forces as they could raise of their own, without troubling their friends, meaning to deal with their enemies ere any succour were lent them. So a strong battle was fought between them, and a doubtful one; save that the *Messenians* were pleased with the issue, forasmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud lords to think them their equals. Particularly, the valour of *Aristomenes* appeared such in this fight, that his people would have made him their king: but he, refusing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their general. Within one year another battle was fought, whereunto each party came better provided. The *Lacedemonians* brought with them the *Corinthians*, and some other friends to help: the *Messenians* had the *Argives*, *Arcadians*, and *Sicyonians*. This also was a long and bloody fight; but *Aristomenes* did so behave himself, that finally he made the enemies run for their lives. Of such importance was this victory, that the *Lacedemonians* began to bethink themselves of making some good agreement. But one *Tyrteus*, an *Athenian* poet, whom by appointment of an oracle they had gotten to direct them, re-inforced their spirits with his verses. After this, *Aristomenes* took by surprise a town in *Laconia*, and vanquished in fight *Anaxander* king of *Sparta*, who did set upon him, in hopes to have recovered the booty.

But all these victories of *Aristomenes* perished in the loss of one battle, whereof the honour (if it were honour) or surely the profit, fell unto the *Lacedemonians*, through the treason of *Aristocrates*, king of *Arcadia*, who being corrupted by the enemies with money, fled away, and left the *Messenians* exposed to a cruel butchery. The loss was so great, that all *Andania*, their principal city, and the towns in *Messene*, standing too far from the sea, were abandoned for lack of men to defend them, and the mount *Era* fortified, whither the multitude, that could not be safe abroad, was conveyed, as into a place of safety. Here the *Lacedemonians* found a tedious work, that held them eleven years. For besides that *Era* it self

^a Strabo, l. 9. Oros. l. 1. cap. 21. ^b Diod. l. 15. ^c This *Egyptus* was the youngest son of *Cresphion* by *Metope*, the daughter of *Cypellus*, king of *Arcadia*: of which *Cresphion* the chief nobility of the *Messenians* was propagated.

was a strong piece, *Aristomenes* with three hundred stout foldiers did many incredible exploits that wearied them, and hindred their attendance on the siege. He wasted all the fields of *Messene*, that were in the enemies power, and brake into *Laconia*, taking away corn, wine, cattel, and all provisions, necessary for his own people; the slaves and household-stuff he changed into money, suffering the owners to redeem them. To remedy this mischief, the *Lacedemonians* made an edict, that neither *Messene*, nor the adjoining parts of their own country, should be tilled or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among private men, that were almost undone by it. Yet the poet *Tyrtæus* appeas'd this uproar with pleasing songs. But *Aristomenes* grew so bold, that he not only ranged over all the fields, but adventured upon the town, surpris'd and sack'd *Amyclæ*, and finally caus'd the enemies to encrease and strengthen their companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking *Era*.

In performing these and other services, thrice *Aristomenes* was taken prisoner; yet still he escap'd. One escape of his deserves to be remembred, as a thing very strange and marvellous. He had with too much courage adventured to set upon both the kings of *Sparta*; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken up senseless, and carried away prisoner, with 50 of his companions. There was a deep natural cave into which the *Spartans* used to cast headlong such as were condemn'd to die for the greatest offences. To this punishment were *Aristomenes* and his companions adjudg'd. All the rest of these poor men died with their falls; *Aristomenes* (howsoever it came to pass) took no harm. Yet was it harm enough to be imprison'd in a deep dungeon, among dead carcasses, where he was like to perish through hunger and stench. But after a while he perceived by some small glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the top) a fox that was gnawing upon a dead body. Hereupon he bethought himself, that this beast must needs know some way, to enter the place and get out. For which cause he made shift to lay hold upon it, and catching it by the tail with one hand, saved himself from biting with the other hand, by thrusting his coat into the mouth of it. So letting it creep whither it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, until the way was too strait for him, and then dismiss'd it. The fox being loose, ran thro' a hole, at which came in a little light; and there did *Aristomenes* delve so long with his nails, that at last he claw'd out his passage. When some fugitives of *Messene* brought word to *Sparta*, that *Aristomenes* was return'd home, their tale sounded alike, as if they had said, that a dead man was reviv'd. But when the *Corinthian* forces, that came to help the *Lacedemonians* in the siege of *Era*, were cut in pieces, their captains slain, and their camp taken; then was it easily believed that *Aristomenes* was alive indeed.

Thus 11 years pass'd whilst the enemies hovering about *Era*, saw no likelihood of getting it; and *Aristomenes* with small forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the last, a slave, that had fled from *Sparta*, betray'd the place. This fellow had entic'd to lewdness the wife of a *Messenian*, and was entertain'd by her, when her husband went forth to watch. It happen'd in a rainy winter night, that the husband came home unlook'd for, whilst the adulterer was within. The woman hid her paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asking him, by what good fortune

he was return'd so soon. He told her, that the storm of foul weather was such, as had made all his fellows leave their stations, and that himself had done as the rest did; as for *Aristomenes*, he was wounded of late in fight, and could not look abroad; neither was it to be fear'd, that the enemies would stir, in such a dark rainy night as this was. The slave that heard these tidings, rose up secretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the *Lacedemonian* camp with the news. There he found *Emperamus* his master, commanding in the king's absence. To him he utter'd all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the army into the town. Little or nothing was done that night. For the alarm was presently taken; and the extreme darkness, together with the noise of wind and rain, hindred all directions. All the next day was spent in most cruel fight; one part being incited, by mere hope of ending a long work; the other inrag'd by mere desperation. The great advantage that the *Spartans* had in numbers, was recompens'd partly by the assistance, which women and children (to whom the hatred of servitude had taught contempt of death) gave to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrowness of the streets and other passages, which admitted not many hands to fight at once. But the *Messenians* were in continual toil; their enemies fought in course, refreshing themselves with meat and sleep, and then returning, supplied the place of their weary fellows, with fresh companions. *Aristomenes* therefore, perceiving that his men, for want of relief, were no longer able to hold out (as having been three days, and three nights, vexed with all miseries, of labour, watching, fighting, hunger and thirst, besides continual rain and cold) gather'd together all the weaker sort, whom he compass'd round with armed men, and so attempted to break out thro' the midst of the enemies. *Emperamus*, general of the *Lacedemonians*, was glad of this: and to further their departure, caus'd his soldiers to give an open way, leaving a fair passage to these desperate madmen. So they issued forth, and arriv'd safe in *Arcadia*, where they were most lovingly entertained.

Upon the first bruit of the taking of *Era*, the *Arcadians* had prepared themselves to the rescue: but *Aristocrates* their false-hearted king, said it was too late, for that all was already lost. When *Aristomenes* had plac'd his followers in safety, he chose out 500 the lustiest of his men, with whom he resolv'd to march in all secret haste to *Sparta*, hoping to find the town secure, and ill manned, the people being run forth to the spoil of *Messene*. In this enterprize, if he sped well, it was not doubted, that the *Lacedemonians* would be glad to recover their own, by restitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worst that could happen. There were 300 *Arcadians* that offer'd to join with him; but *Aristocrates* mar'd all, by sending speedy advertisement thereof, to *Anaxander* king of *Sparta*. The epistle which *Anaxander* sent back to *Aristocrates*, was intercepted, by some that mistrusted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falsehood, which being publish'd in open assembly, the *Arcadians* stoned him to death, and casting forth his body unburied, erected a monument of his treachery, with a note, that the perjurer cannot deceive God.

Of *Aristomenes* no more is remaining to be said, than that committing his people to the charge of his son *Gorgus* and other sufficient governors, who should plant them in some new seat abroad, he resolv'd

sober'd himself to make abode in those parts; hoping to find the *Lacedemonians* work at home. His daughters he bestow'd honourably in marriage. One of them *Demagetus* who reign'd in the isle of *Rhodes* took to wife, being willed by an oracle to marry the daughter of the best man in *Greece*. Finally, *Aristomenes* went with his daughters to *Rhodes*, whence he purposed to have travelled unto *Ardys* the son of *Gyges* king of *Lydia*, and to *Phraortes* king of *Media*: but death prevented him at *Rhodes*, where he was honourably buried.

The *Messenians* were invited by *Anaxilas* (whose great grandfather was a *Messenian* and went into *Italy* after the former war) being lord of the *Rhegi-ans* in *Italy*, to take his part against the *Zancleans* in *Sicily*, on the other side of the straits. They did so; and winning the town of *Zancle*, called it *Messene*, which name it keeps to this day.

This second *Messenian* war ended in the first year of the 28th *Olympiad*. Long after which time, the rest of that nation, who staying at home serv'd the *Lacedemonians*, found means to rebel; but were soon vanquish'd, and being driven to forsake *Peloponnesus*, they went into *Acarmania*; whence likewise, after few ages, they were expelled by the *Lacedemonians*, and then followed their ancient countrymen into *Italy* and *Sicily*; some of them went into *Africa*, where they chose unto themselves a seat.

It is very strange, that during 280 years, this banish'd nation retain'd their name, their ancient customs, language, hatred of *Sparta*, and love of their forsaken country, with a desire to return to it. In the third year of the 102d *Olympiad*, that great *Epaminondas*, having tam'd the pride of the *Lacedemonians*, revok'd the *Messenians* home, who came flocking out of all quarters, where they dwelt abroad, into *Peloponnesus*. There did *Epaminondas* restore unto them their old possession, and help them in building a fair city; which, by the name of the province, was called *Messena*, and was held by them ever after, in despite of the *Lacedemonians*, of whom they never from thenceforth stood in fear.

S E C T. V.

Of the kings that were in Lydia and Media, while Manasses reigned. Whether Deioces the Mede were that Arphaxad which is mentioned in the book of Judith. Of the history of Judith.

ARDYS king of *Lydia*, and *Phraortes* of the *Medes*, are spoken of by *Pausanias*, as reigning shortly after the *Messenian* war. *Ardys* succeeding unto his father *Gyges*, began his reign of 49 years, in the 2d of the 25th *Olympiad*. He follow'd the steps of his father, who encroaching upon the *Ionians* in *Asia*, had taken *Colophon* by force, and attempted *Miletus* and *Smyrna*. In like manner *Ardys* won *Priene*, and assailed *Miletus*; but went away without it. In his reign, the *Cimmerians*, being expell'd out of their own country by the *Scythians*, over-ran a great part of *Asia*, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alyattes* this man's grand-child, by whom they were driven out. They had not only broken into *Lydia*, but won the city of *Sardes*; tho' the castle or citadel thereof was defended against them, and held still for king *Ardys*; whose long reign was unable, by reason of this great storm, to effect much.

Phraortes was not king until the third year of the 29th *Olympiad*, which was 6 years after the *Messe-*

nian war ended; the same being the last year of *Manasses's* reign over *Juda*.

Deioces, the father of this *Phraortes*, was king of *Media*, three and fifty of these five and fifty years in which *Manasses* reign'd. This *Deioces* was the first that ruled the *Medes* in a strict form; commanding more absolutely than his predecessors had done. For they following the example of *Arbaces*, had given to the people so much licence, as caused every one to desire the wholesome severity of a more lordly king. Herein *Deioces* answered their desires to the full. For he caused them to build for him a stately palace; he took unto him a guard for defence of his person; he seldom gave presence, which also when he did, it was with such austerity, that no man durst presume to spit or cough in his sight. By these and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an awful regard, and highly upheld the majesty, which his predecessors had almost letten fall, through neglect of due comportments. In execution of his royal office, he did uprightly and severely administer justice, keeping secret spies to inform him of all that was done in the kingdom. He car'd not to enlarge the bounds of his dominion, by encroaching upon others; but studied how to govern well his own. The difference found between this king, and such as were before him, seems to have bred that opinion which *Herodotus*, l. 1. delivers, that *Deioces* was the first who reign'd in *Media*.

This was he that built the great city of *Ecbatane*, which now is called *Tauris*; and therefore he should be that king *Arphaxad*, mention'd in the story of *Judith*, as also *Ben Merodach*, by the same account, should be *Nabuchodonosor* the *Assyrian*, by whom *Arphaxad* was slain, and *Holophernes* sent to work wonders, upon *Phud* and *Lud*, and I know not what other countries. For I reckon the last year of *Deioces* to have been the 19th of *Ben Merodach*; though others place it otherwise, some earlier, in the time of *Merodach Baladan*, some later, in the reign of *Nabulassar*, who is also called *Nabuchodonosor*.

In fitting this book of *Judith* to a certain time, there hath much labour been spent, with ill success. The reigns of *Cambyfes*, *Darius*, *Hystaspis*, *Xerxes*, and *Ochus*, have been sought into; but afford no great matter of likelihood: and now of late, the times foregoing the destruction of *Jerusalem*, have been thought upon, and this age that we have now in hand, chosen by *Bellarmino*, as agreeing best with the story; tho' others herein cannot (I speak of such as fain would) agree with him. Whilst *Cambyfes* reign'd, the temple was not rebuilt, which in the story of *Judith*, is found standing and dedicated. The other *Persian* kings, *Darius* and *Xerxes*, are acknowledged to have been very favourable to the *Jews*; therefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonosor*, whose part they refused to take, and who sent to destroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes* hath some conveniences, aptly fitting this history; and above all the opinion of a few ancient writers (without whose judgment the authority of this book were of no value) having placed this argument in the *Persian* monarchy, inclines the matter to the reign of this vain-glorious king. As for *Ochus*, very few, and they faintly, entitle him to the business. Manifest it is, and granted, that in the time of this history, there must be a return from captivity lately foregoing, the temple rebuilt; *Jehochim* high priest; and a long peace, of threescore and ten years, or thereabout, ensuing. All these were to be among the *Jews*. Likewise on the other side, we must find a king that reign'd in *Nineveh*,

Nineveh, eighteen years at the least; that vanquished and slew a king of the *Medes*; one whom the *Jews* refused to assist; one that sought to be generally adored as God, and that therefore commanded all temples of such as were accounted gods to be destroyed; one whose viceroy or captain-general knew not the *Jewish* nation, but was fain to learn what they were, of the bordering people.

Of all these circumstances; the priesthood of *Joachim*, with a return from captivity, are found concurring, with either the time of *Manasses* before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, or of *Xerxes* afterward: the rebuilding of the temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the reign of *Xerxes*; the rest of circumstances requisite, are to be found all together, neither before, nor after the captivity of the *Jews* and desolation of the city. Wherefore the brief decision of this controversy is, *that the book of Judith is not canonical*. Yet hath *Torniellus* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was possible in so desperate a case. For he supposeth, that under *Xerxes* there were other kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one (who perhaps restored and re-edified the city of *Ecbatane*, that had formerly been built by *Deioces*) and *Nabuchodonosor* might be another. This granted, he adds, that from the twelfth year to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, that is, five or six years, the absence and ill fortune of *Xerxes*, in his *Grecian* expedition (which he supposeth to have been so long) might give occasion unto *Arphaxad* of rebelling: and that *Nabuchodonosor* having vanquished and slain *Arphaxad*, might then seek to make himself lord of all by the army which he sent forth under *Holofernes*. So should the *Jews* have done their duty, in adhering to *Xerxes* their sovereign lord, and resisting one that rebelled against him; as also the other circumstances rehearsed before be well applied to the argument. For in these times, the affairs of *Jewry* were agreeable to the history of *Judith*, and such a king as this supposed *Nabuchodonosor*, might well enough be ignorant of the *Jews*, and as proud as we shall need to think him. But the silence of all histories takes away belief from this conjecture: and the supposition itself is very hard, that a rebel, whose king was abroad, with an army consisting of seventeen hundred thousand men, should presume so far, upon the strength of twelve hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand archers on horseback, as to think that he might do what he lists, yea, that there was none other God than himself. It is indeed easy to find enough that might be said against this device of *Torniellus*; yet if there were any necessity of holding the book of *Judith* to be canonical, I would rather chuse to lay aside all regard of profane histories, and build some defence upon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all do, the text itself. That *Judith* lived under none of the *Persian* kings, *Belarmine* (whose works I have not read, but find him cited by *Torniellus*) hath proved by many arguments. That she lived not in the reign of *Manasses*, *Torniellus* hath proved very substantially, shewing how the cardinal is driven, as it were, to break thro' a wall, in saying that the text was corrupted, where it spake of the destruction of the temple foregoing her time. That the kings *Arphaxad* and *Nabuchodonosor*, found out by *Torniellus*, are the children of mere phantasy, it is so plain, that it needs no proof at all. Wherefore we may truly say, that they, which have contended about the time of this

history, being well furnished of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themselves (like naked men in a stony field) have chas'd *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition, *extra anni solisque vias*, in an age that never was, and in places that were never known.

Surely to find out ^a the borders of *Japheth*, which were towards the south, and over-against *Arabia*, or the countries of *Phud* and *Lud*, that lay in *Holofernes's* his way; I think it would as much trouble cosmographers, as the former question hath done chronologers. But I will not busy my self herewith; having already so far digressed, in shewing who lived not with *Manasses*, that I think it high time to return unto mine own work, and rehearse what others I find to have had their part in the long time of his reign.

SECT. VI.

Of other princes and actions that were in these times.

THE first year of *Manasses* was the the last of *Romulus*; after whose death, one year the *Romans* wanted a king. Then was *Numa Pompilius* a *Sabin* chosen; a peaceable man and seeming very religious in his kind. He brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had employed only in wars, to some good civility, and a more orderly fashion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with superstition; as persuading them, that he had familiarity with a nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him many ceremonies, which he delivered unto the *Romans* as things of great importance. But all these devices of *Numa* were, in his own judgment, no better than mere delusions, that served only as rudiments, to bring the savage multitude of thieves and out-laws, gathered into one body by *Romulus*, to some form of milder discipline, than their boisterous and wild natures was otherwise apt to entertain. This appeared by the books that were found in his grave, almost six hundred years after his death, wherein the superstition taught by himself was condemned as vain. His grave was opened by chance, in digging a piece of ground that belong'd to one *L. Petilius* a scribe. Two coffins or chests of stone were in it, with an inscription in *Greek* and *Latin* letters, which said that *Numa Pompilius* the son of *Pompo*, king of the *Romans* lay there. In the one coffin was nothing found; his body being utterly consumed. In the other were his books wrapped up in two bundles of wax; of his own constitutions seven, and other seven of philosophy. They were not only uncorrupted, but in a manner fresh and new. The praetor of the city desiring to have a sight of these books, when he perceived whereunto they tended, refused to deliver them back to the owner, and offered to take a solemn oath, that they were against the religion then in use. Hereupon the senate, without more ado, commanded them to be openly burnt. It seems that *Numa* did mean to acquit himself into wiser ages which he thought would follow, as one that had not been so foolish as to believe the doctrine wherein he instructed his own barbarous times. But the poison wherewith he had infected *Rome* when he sat in his throne had not left working, when he ministred the antidote out of his grave. Had these books not come to light, until the days of *Tully* and *Cesar*, when the mist of ignorance was somewhat better

^a *Judith* 2. 23, 25.

discussed; likely it is that they had not only escaped the fire, but wrought some good (and peradventure general) effect. Being as it was, they served as a confutation, without remedy, of idolatry that was inveterate.

Numa reigned three and forty years in continual peace. After him *Tullus Hostilius* the third king chosen, in the six and fortieth year of *Manasses*, and reigned two and thirty years, busied, for the most part in war. He quarrelled with the *Albanes*, who met him in the field; but in regard of the danger, which both parts had cause to fear, that might grow unto them from the *Thuscans*, caused them to be-think themselves of a course, whereby, without effusion of so much blood as might make them too weak for a common enemy, it might be decided, who should command, and who obey.

There were in each camp three brethren twins born at one birth (*Dionysius* says, that they were cousin-germans) of equal years and strength, who were appointed to fight for their several countries. The end was, that the *Horatii*, champions for the *Romans*, got the victory, tho' two of them first lost their lives. The three *Curatii* that fought for *Alba* (as *Livy* tells it) were all alive, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their opposites were slain; but the third *Horatius*, pretending fear, did run away, and thereby drew the others, who by reason of their hurts could not follow him with equal speed, to follow him at such distance one from another, that returning upon them, he slew them, as it had been in single fight, man after man, ere they could join together, and set upon him all at once. *Dionysius* reports it somewhat otherwise, telling very particularly, what wounds were given and taken, and saying, that first one of the *Horatii* was slain, then one of the *Curatii*, then a second *Horatius*, and lastly the two *Curatii*, whom the third *Horatius* did cunningly sever the one from the other, as is shewed before.

This is one of the most memorable things in the old *Roman* history, both in regard of the action it self, wherein *Rome* was laid, as it were in wager, against *Alba*, and in respect of the great increase which thereby the *Roman* state obtained. For the city of *Alba* did immediately become subject unto her own colony, and was shortly after, upon some treacherous dealing of their governour, utterly razed, the people being removed unto *Rome*, where they were made citizens. The strong nation of the *Latins*, whereof *Alba*, as the mother city, had been chief, became ere long dependant upon *Rome*, tho' not subject unto it, and divers petty states adjacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were small, yet many, I will forbear to rehearse (as being the works of sundry ages, and few of them remarkable considered apart by themselves) until such time as this fourth empire, that is now in the infancy, shall grow to be the main subject of this history.

The seventh year of *Hippomenes* in *Athens*, was current with the first of *Manasses*. Also the three last governors for ten years, who followed *Hippomenes*, were in the same king's time. Of these I find only the names, *Leocrates*, *Apfander*, and *Erizias*. After *Erizias* yearly rulers were elected.

These governors for ten years were also of the race of *Medon* and *Codrus*, but their time of rule was shortened, and from term of life reduced unto ten years; it being thought likely, that they would govern the better, when they knew, that they were afterwards to live private men under the command

of others. I follow ^a*Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, in applying their times unto those years of the *Olympiads*, wherein the chronological table, following this work, doth set them. For he not only professeth himself to have taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times; but hath noted always the years of the *Greeks*, how they did answer unto the things of *Rome*, throughout all the continuance of his history. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of *Rome*, in the first year of the seventh *Olympiad*, and affirms, that the same was the first year of *Charop's* government in *Athens*; I hope I shall not need excuse, for varying from *Pausanias*, who sets the beginning of these *Athenians* somewhat sooner.

In the reign of *Manasses* it was, that *Midas*, whom the poets feigned to have had asses ears, held the kingdom of *Phrygia*. Many fables were devised of him; especially that he obtain'd of *Bacchus*, as a great gift, that all things which he should touch, might immediately be chang'd into gold: by which means he had like to have been starv'd (his meat and drink being subject to the same transformation) had not *Bacchus* delivered him from this miserable faculty, by causing him to wash himself in the river *Pactolus*, the stream whereof hath ever since forsooth abounded in that precious metal. Finally it is said, he died by drinking bulls blood; being invaded by the *Scythians*.

In this age flourish'd that *Antimachus*, who (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus*) observ'd the moon's eclipse at the foundation of *Rome*.

The *Milesians*, or (as *Eusebius* hath it) the *Athenians*, having obtain'd some power by sea, founded *Macicratis* a city on the east of *Egypt*. *Psammiticus* herein seems to have assisted them, who used all means of drawing the *Greeks* into *Egypt*, accounting them his surest strength. For neither *Miletus*, nor *Athens*, were now of power sufficient to plant a colony in *Egypt* by force.

About this time, *Archias* with his companion *Miscellus*, and other *Corinthians*, founded ^b*Syracuse* in *Sicily*: a city in after-times exceeding famous.

The city of *Nicomedia*, sometime ^c*Asacus*, was enlarg'd and beautify'd in this age, by *Zipartes* native of *Thrace*. *Sibylla* of *Samus* according to *Pausanias* lived much about this time.

About these times also was *Croton* founded upon the bay of *Tarentum* by *Miscellus*, the companion of *Archias* that built *Syracuse*: *Strabo* makes it somewhat more ancient, and so doth *Pausanias*.

About the same time, the *Parthenians*, being of age, and banished *Lacedemon*, were conducted by *Phalantus* into *Italy*, where it is said they founded *Tarentum*: but ^d*Justin* and *Pausanias* find it built before, and by them conquer'd and amplify'd. Also about the same time, *Manasses* yet living, the city *Phaselis* was founded in *Pamphylia*, *Gela* in *Sicily*, *Interamne* in the region of the *Umbri*, now called *Urbini* in *Italy*. About which time also *Chalcedon* in *Asia*, over-against *Byzantium* (now *Constantinople*) was founded by the *Megarenses*: who therefore were upbraided as blind, because they chose not the other side of *Bosphorus*. It were a long work to rehearse all that is said to have been done in the five and fifty years of *Manasses*: that which hath already been told is enough: the rest, being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, reserving only *Ben Merodach* and *Nabulassar*, to the business that will shortly require more mention of them.

^a Dion. Halic. l. 1. fol. 43. & 45. ^b Plut. & Euseb. ^c Whence in *Strabo* there is said *Asacus*, a part of *Propontis*, where this city standeth. *Paus.* l. 5. *Hal.* l. 3. *Strabo* l. 6. ^d *Justin.* l. 3. *Paus.* l. 10.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of Manasses to the destruction of Jerusalem.

S E C T. I.

Of Ammon and Josias.

AMMON the son of *Manasse*, a man no less wicked than was his father before his conversion, restored the exercise of all sorts of idolatry: for which * God harden'd the hearts of his own servants against him: who slew him after he had reigned two years: *Philo*, *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* give him ten years, following the *Septuagint*.

Josias succeeded unto *Ammon*, being but a child of eight years old. He began to seek after the God of *David* his father; and in his twelfth year he purged ^b *Juda* and *Jerusalem* from the high places, and the groves, and the carved and molten images: and they broke down in his sight the altars of *Baalim*. He caused all the images, as well those which were graven, as molten, to be stamp'd to powder, and strew'd on their graves that had erected them: and this he commanded to be done throughout all his dominions. He also slew those that sacrificed to the sun and moon, and caused the chariots and horses of the sun to be burnt. Of *Josias* it was prophesied, in the time of *Jeroboam* the first, when he erected the golden calf at *Bethel*, that a child should be born unto the house of *David*, *Josias* by name, and ^c upon thee (said the prophet speaking to the altar) shall he sacrifice the priests of the high places, that burn incense upon thee. A prophecy very remarkable.

In the 18th year of his reign, he rebuilt and repaired the temple, at which time *Helkiah* the priest found the book of *Moses* called *Deuteronomy*, or, of the Law, which he sent to the king: which when he had caused to be read before him, and considered of the severe commandments therein written, the prosperity promised to those that observe them, and the sorrow and extirpation to the rest, he rent his garments, and commanded *Helkiah*, and others, to ask counsel of the prophets *Huldah*, or *Olda*, concerning the book, who answered the messengers in these words: ^d Thus saith the Lord, behold I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the curses that are written in the book, which they have read before the king of *Juda*, because they have forsaken me, and burnt incense to other Gods. Only for the ^e king himself, because he was a lover of God and of his laws, it was promis'd that this evil should not fall on *Juda* and *Jerusalem* in his days, but that he himself should inherit his grave in peace.

Josias assembled the elders, caused the book to be read unto them, made a covenant with the Lord, and caused all that were found in *Jerusalem* and *Benjamin* to do the like, promising thereby to observe the laws and commandments in the book contained.

The execution done by *Josias* upon the altar, idols, monuments, and bones of the false prophets, at *Bethel*, argueth his dominion to have extended unto those countries, that had been part of the kingdom of the ten tribes. Yet I do not think, that any victory of *Josias* in war got possession of

these places; but rather that *Ezekias*, after the flight and death of *Sennacherib*, when *Merodach* opposed himself against *Asarhaddon*, did use the advantage which the faction in the north presented unto him, and laid hold upon so much of the kingdom of *Israel*, as he was able to people. Otherwise also it is not improbable, that the *Babylonian* finding himself unable to deal with *Psammiticus* in *Syria* (as wanting power to raise the siege of *Azotus*, tho' the town held out 29 years) did give unto *Manasses*, together with his liberty, as much in *Israel* as himself could not easily defend. This was a good way to break the amity that the kings of *Juda* had so long held with those of *Egypt*, by casting a bone between them, and withal by this benefit of enlarging their territories with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeem the friendship of the *Jews*, which had been lost by injuries done, in seeking to bereave them of their own. When it is said, that *Manasses* did after his deliverance from imprisonment, ^f put captains of war in all the strong cities of *Juda*; it may be that some such business is intimated, as the taking possession, and fortifying of places deliver'd into his hands. For though it be manifest that he took much pains, in making *Jerusalem* itself more defensible; yet I should rather believe, that he, having already compounded with the *Babylonian*, did fortify himself against the *Egyptians*, whose side he had forsaken, than that he travelled in making such provisions, only for his mind's sake. The earnestness of *Josias* in the king of *Babel's* quarrel doth argue, that the composition which *Manasses* had made, with that king or his ancestor, was upon such friendly terms, as required not only a faithful observation, but a thankful requital. For no persuasions could suffice to make *Josias* sit still, and hold himself quiet in good neutrality, when *Pharaoh Neco* king of *Egypt* passed along by him, to war upon the countries about the river of *Euphrates*.

The last year of *Josias's* it was, when as *Neco*, the son of *Psammiticus*, came with a powerful army towards the border of *Judea*, determining to pass that way being the nearest towards ^g *Euphrates*, either to strengthen the passages of that river about *Carchemish* or *Cercusum*, for the defence of *Syria* (as long after this, *Dioclesian* is said by *Ammianus Marcellinus* to have done) or perhaps to invade *Syria* itself. For it seemeth that the travel of *Psammiticus* had not been idly consumed about that one town of *Azotus*, but had put the *Egyptians* in possession of no small part of *Syria*, especially in those quarters, that had formerly belonged unto the *Adads* kings of *Damasco*.

Neither was the industry of *Neco* less than his father's had been, in pursuing the war against *Babel*. In which war, two things may greatly have avail'd the *Egyptians*, and advanc'd their affairs and hopes: the extraordinary valour of the mercenary *Greeks*, that were far better soldiers than *Egypt* could of itself afford; and the danger wherein *Assyria* stood, by the force of the *Medes*, which under the command of more absolute princes began to feel itself better, and to shew what it could do. These were great helps, but of shorter endurance than was the war; as in place more convenient shall be noted. At the present it seems, that either some preparation of the *Chaldeans* to reconquer, did enforce, or some disability of theirs to make resistance, did invite the king of *Egypt* into the countries border-

* 1 Kings 21. 2 Chron. 33. b 2 Kings 22. 2 Chron. 31. c 1 Kings 13. d 2 Chron. 34. 24. e 2 Kings 22. 18.
f 2 Chron. 34. g 2 Chron. 33. 14. h 2 Chron. 35. 20.

ing upon *Euphrates*; whither *Pharaoh Neco* ascend-
ed with a mighty army.

These two great monarchs, having their swords drawn, and contending for the empire of that part of the world, *Josias* advised with himself to which of these he might adhere, having his territory set in the mid way between both, so as the one could not invade the other, but that they must of necessity tread upon the very face and body of his country: now tho' it were so, that *Neco* himself desired by his ambassadors a leave to pass along by *Judea*, protesting that he directed himself against the *Assyrians* only, without all harmful purpose against *Josias*; yet all sufficed not, but the king of *Israel* would needs fight with him.

Many examples there were, which taught what little good the friendship of *Egypt* could bring to those that had affiance therein: as that of *Hosea*, the last king of *Israel*, who, when he fell from the dependance of the *Assyrian*, and wholly trusted to *Sabacus* or *Sous*, king of *Egypt*, was utterly disappointed of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his life and estate, which the *Assyrian* so rooted up, and tore in pieces, as it could never after be gathered together or re-planted. The calamities also, that fell upon *Juda* in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of *Ezekia*, whilst that good king and his people relied upon *Sethon*, and more lately, the imprisonment of *Manasses*, were documents of sufficient proof, to shew the ill assurance, that was in the help of the *Egyptians*, who (near neighbours tho' they were) were always unready, when the necessities of their friends required their assistance. The remembrance hereof might be the reason why *Neco* did not seek to have the *Jews* renew their ancient league with him, but only craved that they would be contented to sit still, and behold the part-time between him and the *Assyrians*. This was an easy thing to grant, seeing that the countenance of such an army, as did soon after this out-face *Nabulassar*, upon his own borders, left unto the *Jews* a lawful excuse of fear, had they forbore to give it any check upon the way. Wherefore I believe, that this religious and virtuous prince *Josias* was not stirred up only by politick respects, to stop the way of *Neco*, but thought himself bound in faith and honour, to do his best in defence of the *Babylonian* crown; whereunto his kingdom was obliged, either by covenant made at the enlargement of *Manasses*, or by the gift of such part as he held in the kingdom of the ten tribes. As for the princes and people of *Juda*, they had now a good occasion to shew, both unto the *Babylonians*, of what importance their friendship was, and to the *Egyptians*, what a valiant nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their enemy.

Some think, that this action of *Josias* was contrary to the advice of *Jeremy* the prophet; which I do not find in the prophecy of *Jeremy*, nor can find reason to believe. Others hold opinion, that he forgot to ask the counsel of God: and this is very likely, seeing he might believe that an enterprise grounded upon fidelity and thankfulness, due to the king of *Babel*, could not but be displeasing unto the Lord. But the wickedness of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken such root, as all the care of *Josias* in reforming the land could not pluck up) was questionless far from hearkening how the matter would stand with God's pleasure, and much farther from enquiring into his secret will, wherein it was determined, that their good king, whose life stood be-

tween them and their punishment, should now be taken from among them, and that in such sort, as his death should give entrance to the miseries ensuing. So *Josias*, levying all the strength he could make, near unto *Megiddo*, in the half tribe of *Manasse*, encounter'd *Neco*: and there he received the stroke of death, which lingring about him till he came to *Jerusalem*, brought him to the sepulchres of his ancestors. His loss was greatly bewailed of all the people and princes of *Juda*, especially of *Jeremy* the prophet; who inserted a sorrowful remembrance thereof in his book of *Lamentations*.

S E C T. II.

Of Pharaoh Neco, that fought with Josias: Of Jehoahaz and Jehoiakim, kings of Juda.

OF these wars, and particularly of this victory, *Herodotus* hath mention, among the acts of *Neco*. He tells us of this king, that he went about to make a channel, whereby ships might pass out of *Nilus* into the *Red* sea. It should have reached above an hundred miles in length, and been wide enough for two gallies to row in front. But in the midst of the work, an oracle foretold that the barbarians should have the benefit of it, which caused *Neco* to desist when half was done. There were consumed in this toilsome business twelve hundred thousand *Egyptians*; a loss great enough to make the king forsake his enterprise, without troubling the oracle for admonition. Howsoever it were, he was not a man to be idle; therefore he built a fleet, and levied a great army, wherewith he marched against the king of *Babel*. In this expedition he used the service, as well of his navy as of his land forces; but no particular exploits of his therein are found recorded, save only this victory against *Josias*, where *Herodotus* calls the place *Magdolos*, and the *Jews* *Syrians*; which is a small error, seeing that *Judea* was a province of *Syria*, and *Magdolos* or *Magdala* is taken to have been the same place (though diversly named) in which this battle was fought. After this, *Neco* took the city of *Cadytis*, which was perhaps *Carchemish*, by *Euphrates*, and made himself lord in a manner of all *Syria*, as *Josephus* witnesseth.

Particularly we find, that the *Phenicians*, one of the most powerful nations in *Syria*, were his subjects, and that by his command they surrounded all *Africa*, setting sail from the gulf of *Arabia*, and so passing along all the coast, whereon they both landed, as need required, and sowed corn for their sustenance, in that long voyage which lasted three years. This was the first navigation about *Africa*, wherein that great *Cape*, now called of good hope, was discovered; which after was forgotten, until *Vasco de Gama*, the *Portuguese*, found it out, following a contrary course to that which the *Phenicians* held; for they, beginning in the east, ran the way of the sun, south and then westward, after which they returned home by the pillars and streights of *Hercules* (as the name was then) called now the streights of *Gibraltar*, having *Africa* still on the right-hand: but the *Portuguese*, beginning their voyage not far from the same streights, leave *Africa* on the larboard, and bend their course unto the east. That report of the *Phenicians*, which *Herodotus* durst not believe, how the sun in this journey was on their right-hand, that is, on the north side of them, is a matter of necessary truth; and the observation then made hereof makes me the bet-

^a 2. Chron. 35.

^b Lament. 4. 20.

^c Jos. Ant. Jud. 1. 10. cap. 7.

^d Herod. 1. 4.

ter to believe, that such a voyage was indeed performed.

But leaving these discourses of *Neco's* magnificence, let us tell what he did in matters more importing his estate. The people of *Juda*, while the *Egyptians* were busy at *Carchemish*, had made *Jeboahaz* their king, in the room of his father *Jofias*. The prophet ^a *Jeremy* calls this new king *Shallum* by the name of his younger brother; alluding perhaps to the short reign of *Shallum* king of the ten tribes: for *Shallum* of *Israel* reigned but one month, *Jeboahaz* no more than three. He was not the eldest son of *Jofias*. Wherefore it may seem that he was set up as the best affected unto the king of *Babel*; the rest of his house being more inclined to the *Egyptian*, as appears by the sequel. An idolater he was, and thrived accordingly. For when as *Neco* had dispatched his business in the north parts of *Syria*, then did he take order for the affairs of *Judea*. This country was now so far from making any resistance, that the king himself came from *Riblah* in the land of *Hamath*, where the matter went so ill on his side, that *Neco* did cast him into bonds, and carry him prisoner into *Egypt*, giving away his kingdom to *Eliakim* his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. This city of *Riblah*, in after-times called *Antiochia*, was a place unhappy to the kings and princes of *Juda*, as may be observ'd in divers examples. Yet here *Jeboiakim*, together with his new name, got his kingdom; an ill gain, since he could no better use it. But however *Jeboiakim* thrived by the bargain, *Pharaoh* sped well, making that kingdom tributary, without any stroke stricken, which three months before was too stout to give him peace, when he desired it. Certain it is, that in his march outward, *Neco* had a greater task lying upon his hands, than would permit him to waste his forces upon *Judea*: but now the reputation of his good success at *Megiddo* and *Carchemish*, together with the dissension of the princes *Jofias's* sons (of whom the eldest is probably thought to have stormed at the preferment of his younger brother) gave him power to do even what should please himself. Yet he did forbear to make a conquest of the land; perhaps upon the same reason which had made him so earnest in seeking to hold peace with it. For the *Jews* had suffered much in the *Egyptians* quarrel, and being left by these their friends, in time of need, unto all extremities, were driven to forsake that party, and join with the enemies; to whom if they shew'd themselves faithful, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaim them, seeing they were such a people, as would not upon every occasion shift side, but endure more than *Pharaoh*, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth should lay upon them: so good a patron did he mean to be unto them. Nevertheless he laid upon them a tribute of an hundred talents of silver, and one talent of gold; that so he might both reap at the present some fruit of his pains taken, and leave unto them some document, in the future, of greater punishment than verbal anger, due to them, if they should rebel. So he departed, carrying along with him into *Egypt* the unfortunate king *Jeboahaz*, who died in his captivity.

The reign of *Jeboahaz* was included in the end of his father's last year; otherwise it would hardly be found, that *Jeboiakim* his successor did reign ten whole years, whereas the scriptures give him eleven; that are current, and incompleat. If any man will rather cast the three months of this short reign into

the first year of the brother, than into the father's last; the same arguments that shall maintain his opinion, will also prove the matter to be unworthy of disputation; and so I leave it.

Jeboiakim, in impiety, was like his brother, in faction he was altogether *Egyptian*, as having received his crown at the hand of *Pharaoh*. The wickedness of these last kings, being expressed in scripture none otherwise than by general words, with reference to all the evil that their fathers had done; makes it apparent, that the poison wherewith *Abaz* and *Manasses* had infected the land, was not so expelled by the zealous goodness of *Jofias*, but that it still cleaved unto the chief of the people, ^b *Yea unto the chief of the priests also*; and therefore it was not strange that the kings had their part therein. The royal authority was much abased by the dangers wherein the country stood, in this troublesome age: the princes did in a manner what they listed; neither would the kings forbear to profess, that they could deny them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Jeboiakim* had the countenance of the *Egyptian* to grace it, which made him insolent and cruel; as we find by that example of his dealing with *Uria* the prophet: tho' herein also the princes do appear to have been instigators. This holy man denounced God's judgments against the city, and temple, in like sort as other prophets had formerly done, and did in the same age. The king, with all the men of power, and all the princes, hearing of this, determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poor man fled into *Egypt*: but such regard was had unto *Jeboiakim*, that *Uria* was delivered unto his ambassador, and sent back to the death; contrary to the custom used, both in those days and since among all civil nations of giving refuge unto strangers, that are not held guilty of such inhuman crimes, as for the general good of mankind should be exempted from all privilege.

It concerned *Pharaoh* to give all contentment possible to *Jeboiakim*; for the *Affyrian* lion, that had not stirred in many years, began about these times, to roar so loud upon the banks of *Euphrates*, that his voice was heard unto *Nilus*, threatening to make himself lord of all the forest. The causes that hitherto had withdrawn the house of *Merodach* from opposing the *Egyptian* in his conquests of *Syria*, require our consideration in this place; before we proceed to commit them together at *Carchemish*, where shortly after this the glory of *Egypt* is to fall.

S E C T. III.

Of the kings of Babylon and Media. How it came to pass that the kings of Babel could not give attendance on their business in Syria; which caused them to lose that province.

M*erodach* the son of *Baladan*, who taking the advantage that *Sennacherib's* misadventure and death, together with the dissension between his children presented, made himself king of *Babylon*, was eleven years troubled with a powerful enemy *Asarhaddon* the son of *Sennacherib*, reigning over the *Affyrians* in *Nineveh*; from whom whilst he could not any other way divert his cares, he was fain to omit all business in *Syria*, and (as hath been formerly shewed) to make over unto *Ezekia* some part of the kingdom of the ten tribes. From this molestation, the death of *Asarhaddon* did not only set him free, but gave unto him

^a Jer. 22. 32. ^b 2 Chron. 36. 14

some part of *Affyria*, if not (as is commonly but less probably thought) the whole kingdom. How greatly this was to the liking of the *Affyrians*, I will not here stand to enquire; his long reign following, and his little intermeddling in matters of *Syria* make it plain, that he had work enough at home, either in defending or establishing that which he had gotten. *Josephus* gives him the honour of having won *Nineveh* it self; which we may believe; but surely he did not hold it long. For in the times soon following, that great city was free, and vanquished *Phraortes* the *Median*. Perhaps it yielded upon some capitulation: and refused afterwards to continue subject when the king being of the *Chaldean* race, preferred *Babylon* before it.

Some think that this was the *Affyrian* king whose captains took *Manasses* prisoner; but I rather believe those that hold the contrary; for which I have given my reasons in due place. To say truth, I find little cause why *Merodach* should have looked into those parts, as long as the *Jews* were his friends, and the *Egyptians*, that maligned the northern empire, held themselves quiet at home, which was until the time of *Psammiticus*, about the end of this king's reign, or the beginning of his son.

Ben Merodach the son and successor of this king, is not mentioned in the scriptures; yet is he named by good consent of authors, and that speak little of his doings. The length of his reign is gathered by inference to have been one and twenty years, for so much remaineth of the time that passed between the beginning of his father's and his nephew's reigns (which is a known sum) deducting the years of his father, and of his son *Nabulassar*. This (as I take it) was he that had *Manasses* prisoner, and releas'd him. He sped ill in *Syria*, where *Psammiticus*, by virtue of his mercenary *Greeks*, did much prevail. This may have been some cause that he releas'd *Manasses*, and did put into his hands some part more of the kingdom of *Samaria*: which is made probable by circumstances alledged before.

Nabulassar, that reigned in *Babylon* after his father *Ben Merodach*, had greater business in his own kingdom, than would permit him to look abroad; inasmuch as it may be thought to have been a great negligence or oversight of *Psammiticus* and *Neco*, that they did not occupy some good part of his dominions beyond *Euphrates*. For it was in his time, that *Phraortes* king of the *Medes* invaded *Affyria*, and besieged *Nineveh*; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulassar*, but constrained to remove by the coming of *Scythians*, who in these ages did overflow those parts of the world, laying hold upon all that they could master by strong hand. Of these *Scythians*, and the lordship that they held in *Asia*, it is convenient that I speak in this place; shewing briefly aforehand, how the *Medes*, upon whom they first fell, were busied in the same times with hopes of conquering *Affyria*.

Phraortes, the son of *Deioces*, king of the *Medes*, having by many victories enlarged his dominions, conceived at length a fair possibility of making himself lord of *Nineveh*.

That city (as *Herodotus* reports it) having been a sovereign lady, was not forsaken of all her dependants; yet remained in such case, that of herself she was well enough.

This makes it plain, that howsoever *Merodach* had gotten possession of this imperial seat, and made it subject as was the rest of the country; yet it

found the means to set it self at liberty: as after this again it did appear, when it had been regained by *Nabulassar* his grand-child.

Sharp war, and the very novelty of sudden violence, use to dismay any state or country, not inur'd to the like: but custom of danger hardneth even those that are unwarlike. *Nineveh* had been the palace of many valiant kings lately reigning therein; it had suffered, and resisted all the fury, wherewith either domestic tumults between the sons of *Sennacherib*, or foreign war of the *Babylonians*, could afflict it: and therefore it is the less wonderful, that *Phraortes* did speed so ill in his journey against it. He and the most of his army perished in that expedition: whereof I find no particular circumstances (perhaps he undervalued their forces, and brought a less power than was needful.) It is enough that we may herein believe *Herodotus*.

Cyaxares, the son of *Phraortes*, a braver man of war than his father, won as much of *Asia* the less, as lay eastward from the river of *Halys*; he sought revenge upon the *Affyrians* for the death of his father, and besieged *Nineveh* it self, having a purpose to destroy it. I rather believe *Eusebius*, That he took the city and fulfilled his displeasure upon it, than *Herodotus*, That the *Scythian* army came upon him whilst he lay before it. For where equal authorities are contradictory (as *Eusebius*, tho' far later than *Herodotus*, yet having seen other authors, that are now lost, is to be valued according to his great reading) there do I hold it best, to yield unto the best likelihoods.

To think that the *Scythians* came upon *Cyaxares*, whilst he lay before *Nineveh*, were to accuse him of greater improvidence, than ought to be suspected in one commended as a good foldier. But to suppose that he was fain to leave the town, when a war so dangerous fell upon his own country, doth well agree both with the condition of such business as that *Scythian* expedition brought into those parts, and with the state of the *Chaldean* and *Affyrian* affairs ensuing.

The destruction of this great city is both foretold in the book of *Tobit*, and there set down as happening about these times; of which book whosoever was the author, he was ancient enough to know the story of those ages, and hath committed no such error in reckoning of times, as should cause us to distrust him in this. As for the prophecy of *Nabum*, tho' it be not limited to any certain term, yet it appears to have taken effect, in the final destruction of *Nineveh* by *Nabuchodonosor*, according to the common opinion. For the prophet hath mention of a conquest of *Egypt*, foregoing this calamity, whereof we will speak in due place. Some that ascribe more authority, than the reformed churches yield, to the book of *Tobit*, are careful, as in a matter of necessity, to affirm, that about these times *Nineveh* was taken; but they attribute (conjecturally) the victory over it, to *Ben Merodach*: a needless conjecture, if the place of *Eusebius* be well considered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Nabulassar* the son of *Ben Merodach* did seize upon it, and place a king or viceroy therein, about such time as the country of *Affyria* was abandoned by *Cyaxares*, when the *Scythian* war overwhelmed *Media*. For then was the conquest wrought out ready to his hand; the swelling spirits of the *Ninevites* were allay'd, and their malice to *Babylon* so much asswaged, that it might be thought a great favour, if *Nabulassar*, appointing unto them a peculiar king, took him and them

into protection: though afterwards, to their confusion, this unthankful people and their king rebelled again, as shall be shewed in the reign of *Nabuchodonosor*.

SECT. IV.

The great expedition of the Scythians, who ruled in Asia eight and twenty years.

† I.

The time of this expedition.

NOW that I have shewed, what impediment was given by the *Affyrians* and the *Medes*, to the *Babylonians*, who thereby were much disabled to perform any action of worth upon the *Egyptians* in *Syria*; it is time that I speak of that great *Scythian* expedition, which grievously afflicted not only the *Babylonians*, but the *Medes* and *Lydians*, with the countries adjacent, in such wise that part of the trouble redounded even to the *Egyptians* themselves. Of the *Scythian* people in general, *Herodotus* makes very large discourse, but interlaced, as of matter ill known, with many fables; of this expedition he tells many particulars, but ill agreeing with consent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needless to recite them, for they are far enough distant from the business in hand. The computation of times, which by inference out of his relations, may seem very strange, needeth some answer in this place: lest otherwise I should either seem to make my self too bold with an author, in citing him after a manner different from his own tale, or else to be too forgetful of my self, in bringing to act upon the stage those persons which I had already buried. Eight and twenty years he saith that the *Scythians* reign'd in *Asia*, before *Cyaxares* delivered the country from them. Yet he reports a war, between *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* the *Lydian*, as foregoing the siege of *Nineveh*; the siege of *Nineveh* being ere the *Scythians* came. And further he tells, how the *Scythians*, having vanquished the *Medes*, did pass into *Syria*, and were encounter'd in *Palestina* by *Psammiticus* king of *Egypt*, who by gifts and entreaty procured them to depart from him. These narrations of *Herodotus* may, every one of them, be true, tho' not in such order of time as he hath marshal'd them. For *Psammiticus* was dead, before *Cyaxares* began to reign: and *Cyaxares* had spent half of his forty years, ere *Halyattes* was king of *Lydia*; so that he could not, after those *Lydian* wars, reign eight and twenty years together with the *Scythians*. It is true, that *Eusebius* doth also call *Psammiticus*; and this king *Psammiticus* may, by some strain'd conjecture, be thought to have been he that met with the *Scythians*; for he lived with both *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*. But *Eusebius* himself refers all that business of the *Scythian* eruption into *Palestina*, to *Psammiticus* the father of *Neco*, whom he leaves dead before the reign of *Halyattes*. Therefore I dare not rely upon *Herodotus* in this matter, otherwise than to believe him, that such things were in these ages, though not in such order as he sets them down.

It remains, that I collect as well as I can those memorials which I find of this expedition scattered in divers places; a work necessary, for that the greatness of this action was such, as ought not to be omitted in a general history; yet not easy, the consent of those that have written thereof being nothing near to uniformity.

I have noted before, that in the reign of *Ardys*, king of *Lydia*, the *Cimmerians* over-ran that kingdom, and were not expelled, until *Halyattes*, the nephew of *Ardys*, got the upper hand of them. In these times therefore of *Ardys*, *Sadyattes*, and *Halyattes*, are we to find the eight and twenty years, wherein the *Scythians* reigned over *Asia*. Now so far as *Psammiticus* the *Egyptian* had some dealings with the *Scythians*, even in the height of their prosperity, we must needs allow more than one or two of his last years unto this their dominion. But the beginning of *Halyattes*'s reign in *Lydia*, being three and twenty years compleat after the death of *Psammiticus*, leaves the space very scant, either for the great victories of the *Scythians*, necessarily supposed before they could meet the *Egyptian* in *Syria*, or for those many losses, which they must have received ere they could be driven quite away. To increase this difficulty, the victorious reign of *Nabuchodonosor* in *Babylon* is of no small moment. For how may we think it possible, that he should have adventured the strength of his kingdom against the *Egyptians* and *Jews*, had he stood in daily fear of losing his own; to a more mighty nation, that lay upon his neck? To speak simply; as it appears to me, the victories ascribed to *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*, over these warlike people, were not obtained against the whole body of their army, but were the defeatures of some troops, that infested their several kingdoms; other princes, and among these, *Nabulassar* having the like success, when the pleasures of *Asia* had mollified the courage of these hardy northern lads. Wherefore we may probably annex the eight and twenty years of the *Scythians* rule, to as many almost the last of *Nabulassar*'s reign, in compass whereof their power was at the greatest. This is all that I can say of the time, wherein *Asia* suffered the violence of these oppressors.

† II.

What nations they were that broke into Asia; with the cause of their journey.

TOUCHING the expedition it self, *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Cimmerians*, being driven out of their country by the *Scythians*, invaded and wasted some part of *Asia*; and that the *Scythians*, not contented with having won the land of the *Cimmerians*, did follow them, I know not why, into far removed quarters of the world, so (as it were by chance) falling upon *Media* and *Egypt*, in this pursuit of men that were gone another way into *Lydia*. Hereby we may gather that the *Cimmerians* were an odious and base people; the *Scythians*, as mischievous and foolish; or else *Herodotus*, and some other of his countrymen, great slanderers of those by whom their nation had been beaten, and *Jonia* more than once grievously ransack'd. The great valour of the *Cimmerians* or *Cimbrians* is so well known, and their many conquests so well testified in histories of divers nations, that the malice of the *Greeks* is insufficient to stain them with the note of cowards. These were the posterity of *Gomer*, who peopled the greatest part of our western world, and whose re-flow did overwhelm no small portion of *Greece* and *Asia*, as well before and after, as in the age whereof we do now intreat. He that would more largely inform himself of their original and actions, may peruse *Gorapius Becanus*'s *Amazonica*; of many things in which book, that may be verified, which the learned *Ortelius* is said to have spoken of all *Gorapius*'s works, *That it is easy to laugh at them, but hard to confute them.* There we

we find it proved, by such arguments and authorities as are not lightly to be regarded, that the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians*, and *Sarmatians*, were all of one lineage and nation, howsoever distinguished in name, by reason of their divers tribes, professions, or perhaps dialect of speech. *Homer* indeed hath mention of the *Cimmerians*; whose country whether he placeth in the west, as near unto the ocean and bounds of the earth, or in the north, as being far from the sun, and covered with eternal darkness, certain it is that he would have them near neighbours to hell; for he had the same quarrel to them which *Herodotus* had, and therefore belike would have made them seem a kind of goblins. It was the manner of this great poet (as *Herodotus* writing his life affirms) to insert into his works the names of such as lived in his own times, making such mention of them, as the good or ill, done by them to himself, deserved. And for this reason it is proved by *Eusebius*, that the *Cimmerians* were so disgraced by him, because they had wasted his country. Perhaps, that invasion of *Phrygia* by the *Amazons*, whereof *Homer* puts a remembrance into *Priamus's* discourse with *Helen*, was the very same, which *Eusebius* noteth to have happen'd somewhat before the age of *Homer*, at what time the *Cimmerians* with the *Amazons* together invaded *Asia*.

This is certain, that both the *Amazons* and the *Cimmerii* (who in after-times were called *Cimbri*) did often break into *Greece* and *Asia*; which tho' it be not in express terms written, that they did with joint forces, yet seeing they invaded the self-same places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One journey of the *Amazons* into *Greece*, mentioned also by *Eusebius*, was by the streights of the *Cimmerians*, as we find in *Diodore*, who further telleth us, that the *Scythians* therein gave them assistance. ^b The same author, before his entry into those discourses of the *Amazons*, which himself acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to have been wives of the *Scythians*, and no less warlike than their husbands; alledging the example of that queen, who is said to have slain the great *Persian Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the *Cimbri* to carry their wives along with them to the wars, and how desperate the courage was of those women, the terrible descent of them into *Italy*, when *Marius* the *Roman* overthrew them, gives proof sufficient. I will not here enter into a discourse of the *Amazons*; another place will give me better leisure to speak of them: but seeing that they are noted by divers historians to have belonged unto the *Cimmerians*, to the *Scythians*, and to the *Sarmatians*, we may therefore the better approve *Goropius's* conclusion, that these three nations were one, at least that they were near allies.

Now as concerning the expulsion of the *Cimmerians* by the *Scythians*, it appears to have been none other than the sending a colony of them forth into *Asia*, with an army of *Scythians* to help them, in purchasing a new seat, and establishing the plantation.

The *Sarmatians* also were companions in this journey. For the city of *Novograd* in *Russia* (which country is the same that was call'd *Sarmatia*) stood in their way homewards, as shall anon be further shew'd. So that all the north was up in arms; and therefore it is no marvel, though many countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voyage was that, which the same people made five hundred years and more after this, when they were encounter'd by the *Romans*.

For they issued from the parts about the lake *Meotis*; they were then likewise assisted (saith *Plutarch* in the most likely report of them) by the *Scythians* their neighbours; they had in their army above three hundred thousand fighting men, besides a huge multitude of women and children; they wander'd over many countries, beating all down before them; and finally, thinking to have settled themselves in *Italy*, they divided their company, for the more easy passage thither, and were consum'd in three terrible battels by the *Roman* consuls. Mere necessity enforc'd these poor nations to trouble the world, in following such hard adventures. For their country, being more fruitful of men than of sustenance, and shut up on the north side with intolerable cold, which denied issue that way to their over swelling multitudes; they were compelled to discharge upon the south, and by right or wrong to drive others out of possession, as having title to all that they had power to get, because they wanted all, that weaker, but more civil, people had. Their sturdy bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardships, gave them great advantage over such as were accusom'd unto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thousand superfluities. Wherefore most commonly they prevail'd very far; their next neighbours giving them free passage, that they might the sooner be rid of them; others giving them, besides passage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthy places; others hiring them to depart with great presents; so as the farther they went on, the more pleasant lands they found, and the more effeminate people.

† III.

Of the Cimmerians war in Lydia.

THE first company of these, consisting for the most part of *Cimmerians*, held the way of the *Euxine* seas, which they had still on the right hand; leaving on the other side, and behind them, the great mountains of *Caucasus*. These having pass'd thro' the land of *Colchis*, that is now call'd *Mengrelli*, enter'd the country of *Pontus*, and being arriv'd in *Paphlagonia*, fortify'd the promontory whereon *Sinope*, a famous haven town of the *Greeks*, was after built. Here it seems that they bestow'd the weakest and most unserviceable of their train, together with the heaviest part of their carriages, under some good guard: as drawing near to those regions, in conquest whereof they were to try the utmost hazard. For in like sort afterwards did the *Cimbri* (of whom I spoke even now) dispose of their impediments, leaving them in a place of strength, where *Antwerp* now stands, when they drew near unto *Gaul*, upon which they determin'd to adventure themselves in the purchase. From *Sinope*, the way into *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, was fair and open to the *Cimmerians*, without any ledge of mountains or any deep rivers to stay their march: for *Iris* and *Halys* they had already pass'd.

What battels were fought between these invaders and the *Lydians*, and with what variable success the one or other part won and lost, I find not written, nor am able to conjecture. This I find, that in the time of *Ardys*, the *Cimmerians* got possession of *Sardes* the capital city of *Lydia*; only the castle holding out against them. Further I observe, that whereas *Herodotus* tells of the acts performed by *Gygos* and *Ardys* kings of *Lydia*, before this invasion, and by *Italyattes* and *Croesus* in the times following; all that *Ardys* did against the *Cimmerians*, and all, save

^a Diod. l. 4. c. 2.

^b Diod. l. 2. c. 11.

^c Plutarch in the life of Marius.

^d Herod. l. 4.

burning the *Milefians* corn-fields, that was done in 12 years by *Sadiattes* his son (who perhaps had his hands so full of this business, that he could turn them to nothing else) is quite omitted: whereby it may seem, that neither of the two did any thing worthy of remembrance in those wars, but were glad enough that they did not lose all.

Certainly, the miseries of war are never so bitter and many, as when a whole nation, or great part of it, forsaking their own seats, labour to root out the establish'd possessors of another land, making room for themselves, their wives and children. They that fight for the mastery are pacify'd with tribute, or with some other services and acknowledgments, which had they been yielded at the first, all had been quiet, and no sword bloodied. But in these migrations, the assailants bring so little with them, that they need all which the defendants have, their lands and cattel, their houses and their goods, even to the cradles of the sucking infants. The merciless terms of this controversy arm both sides with desperate resolution: seeing the one part must either win, or perish by famine; the other defend their goods, or lose their lives without redemption. Most of the countries in *Europe* have felt examples hereof; and the mighty empire of *Rome* was overthrown by such invasions. But our isle of *Britain* can best witness the diversity of conquests; having, by the happy victory of the *Romans*, gotten the knowledge of all civil arts, in exchange of liberty, that was but slenderly instructed therein before; whereas the issue of the *Saxon* and *Danish* wars, was, as were the causes, quite contrary. For these did not seek after the dominion only, but the entire possession of the country, which the *Saxons* obtain'd, but with horrible cruelty, eradicating all of the *British* race, and defacing all memorial of the ancient inhabitants thro' the greater part of the land. But the *Danes* (who are also of the *Cimmerian* blood) found such end of their enterprise, as may seem that the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, and *Scythians* in the higher *Asia*, did arrive unto. So that by considering the process of the one, we shall the better conceive the fortune of the other. Many battels the *Danes* won; yet none of such importance, as suffic'd to make them absolute conquerors: many the *Saxons* won upon the *Danes*, yet not so great, as could drive them quite away, and back from hence, after they had gotten firm footing. But in course of time, the long continuance even of utter enmity, had bred such acquaintance between them, as bowing the natures of both these people, made the one more pliant unto the other. So their disagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduc'd into one mild temper, no small number of the *Danes* became peaceable cohabitants with the *Saxons* in *England*, where great slaughter had made large room; others returning home, found their own country wide enough to receive them, as having disburthened it self of many thousands, that were sent to seek their graves abroad. And such (as I think) was the end of the *Cimmerian* war in *Lydia*; whereunto tho' some victory of *Halyattes* may have hasten'd the conclusion, yet the wearisome length of time seems to have done most in compelling them to desire of rest. I know not why I should fear to add hereunto my further conjecture; which is, that the matter was so compounded between the *Cimmerians* and *Halyattes*, that the river of *Halys* should divide their territories. For *Halys* was henceforth the border of the *Lydians*, and on the eastern-side of the river was the country of the *Amazons*, that is indeed of the *Cimmerians* and other *Scythian* peo-

ple, whose wives and daughters these warlike women are supposed to have been.

And hereunto the quarrel ensuing, between *Halyattes* and *Cyaxares* the *Mede*, hath very good reference. For *Halyattes* (as is said) fought in defence of certain *Scythians*, upon whom the *Median* sought revenge. And it stands with reason, that the *Lydians* and *Cimmerians*, being much weaken'd with mutual slaughters, should have join'd in a league of mutual defence, for their common safety: though otherwise it had been dangerous to *Halyattes*, if he had permitted the *Median* to extend his kingdom so far westward, whatsoever the pretences might be, of taking revenge upon such as had spoil'd each of their countries. As for that occasion of the war between these two kings, which *Herodotus* relates, I find it of little weight, and less propability. He tells of *Scythians*, that being chas'd out of their country by faction, came unto *Cyaxares*; who committed unto them certain boys, to be instructed in the *Scythian* tongue, and feat of archery. Now it so fell out (saith he, *lib. 1.*) that these *Scythians* using much to hunt, and commonly bringing home somewhat with them, did nevertheless otherwhiles miss of their game, and come home as they went. Hereupon the king being froward and cholerick, bitterly revild them; and they, as impatient as he, kill'd one of the boys that was under their charge, whom, dressing like venison, they presented unto him; which done they fled unto *Halyattes*. This *Herodotus* delivers, as the ground of a war that lasted six years between the *Medes* and *Lydians*; the one king demanding these fugitives to be deliver'd into his hand; the other refusing to betray such men as were become his suppliants. To this I will say no more, than that I see no cause that might induce the *Scythians* to betake themselves to either of these kings, unto whom their nation had wrought so much displeasure. Particularly they had reason to distrust *Cyaxares*, for the treachery that he shew'd in the massacring of their countrymen, that were in his kingdom; of whom it is now meet that we should speak.

† IV.

The war of the Scythians in the higher Asia.

AS the *Cimmerians* held their course westerly, along the shores of the *Euxine* sea: so the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians* took the other way, and having the *Caspian* sea on their left hand, pass'd between it and *Caucasus* through *Albania*, *Colthene*, and other obscure nations, where now are the countries of *Servan* and *Georgia*, and so they enter'd into *Media*. The *Medes* encounter'd them in arms; but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to any agreement with them. This was in the time of *Phraortes*, whilst *Psammiticus* reign'd in *Egypt*. If it were in the 6th year of *Nabulassar's* reign over *Babylon* (supposing him to have reigned 35; otherwise we must allow to *Ben Merodach* what we take from him) then do the 28 years of their dominion end, one year before the great *Nabuchodonosor* was king; so giving him good leave to provide securely, for the invasion of *Syria*, which expedition he began while his father yet liv'd, as *Josephus* out of *Berosus* relates the history.

Now the *Medes*, desirous to save themselves as well as they might, from this terrible nation, which when they had no lust to a second trial of the sword, refused not to undergo the burthen of a tribute, but

thought

thought nothing dishonourable, that would serve to remove these troublesome guests into some other lodging. On the other part, the *Scythians* finding still the countries pleasanter and better, the further that they marched into the south, did suffer themselves to be persuaded, that a little more travel would add a great deal more to their content. For they rely'd so much upon their own valour, that they feared no resistance; and being the bravest men, they thought it reason that they should dwell in the best region. That *Phraortes* persuaded them into *Egypt*, I do not think: *Babylon* was near enough; whither if he could send these locusts to graze, then should not his unfriendly neighbours have cause to laugh at his misfortune. What shift *Nabulassar* made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them, I do not read. But it is well known, that his dominions lay in the midst between *Media* and *Egypt*; as also, that they made all those parts of *Asia* tributary; wherefore we may very well believe, that they water'd their horses in his rivers, and that he also was content to give them provender.

Psammiticus hearing of their progress (like the jealous husband of a fair wife) took care that they might not look upon *Egypt*; lest the sight thereof should more easily detain them there, than any force or persuasion, that he could use, would send them going. Therefore he met them in *Syria*, presuming more on the great gifts which he meant to bestow upon them, than on his army that should keep them back. *Egypt* was rich; and half the riches thereof had not been ill spent in saving all. Yet *Psammiticus* took the most likely course, whereby to make his part good against them by strong hand, in case they had been so obstinate as to refuse all indifferent composition. For he lay close upon the edge of the wilderness in *Gaza* (as I take it) the southmost border of *Palestina*: whence he never advanc'd to meet with the *Scythians*; but gave them leave to feel as much of the scalding sun-beams, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of *Syria* could beat upon them. When they were come as far as *Ascalon*, the next city to *Gaza*, then did he assay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to work so much the better, by how much the worse they were pleased with the heat of a climate so far different from their own. *Psammiticus* had at his back a vast wilderness, over the scorching sands whereof, the *Scythians* more patient of cold and wet, than of the contrary distempers, could ill have indured to pursue him, thro' unknown ways, had they fought with him and prevailed; especially the kingdom of *Egypt* being ready to entertain him with relief, and them with new trouble at the end of their weary journey. Wherefore they were content to be intreated, and taking in good part his courteous offers, return'd back to visit their acquaintance in the high countries. The *Egyptian* king (besides that he preserv'd his own estate from a dangerous adventure, by hiring this great army to depart from him) found all his cost well repay'd in the process of his wars in *Syria*, where the nations beyond *Euphrates* had no power to molest him, being more than ever troubled themselves, with the return of their oppressors. For the *Scythians*, resolving now to seek no further, began to demand more than the tribute formerly imposed. And not contented to fleece the naturals with grievous exactions, they presumed to live at discretion upon the country, taking what they list'd from the owners; and many times (as it were to

save the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This tyrannous dominion they long us'd over the higher *Asia*, that is, over the country lying between the *Caspian* and *Red* seas, and between *India* and *Asia* the less. Happy it was for the poor people, that in so large a space of ground, there was room enough for these new comers; otherwise the calamity that fell, as it were by chance, upon those private men, to whose wealth any *Scythian* did bear a fancy, would have lighted in general upon all at one clap, leaving few alive, and none able to relieve their fellows. Yet it seems that the heaviest burthen lay upon *Media*; for it was a fruitful country not far from their own home, and lay under a climate well agreeing with the constitution of their bodies; there also it was that they had the fatal blow, by which their insolent rule was taken from them.

^a *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*, who in this extremity was no better than a rent-gatherer for the *Scythians*, perceiving that his land lay unmanured and waste, through the negligence of his people that were out of heart by daily oppressions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force, resolved to prove what might be done by stratagem. The managing of the business is thus delivered in brief; that he, and his *Medes*, feasted the better part of the *Scythians*, made them drunk, and slew them, recovering hereby the possession of all that they had lost.

Such another slaughter was committed upon the *Danes* in *England*; but it was revenged by their countrymen, with greater cruelties than ever they had practis'd before. That the *Scythians*, which escap'd this bloody feast, made any stir in *Media*, I do not find; neither do I read, that either in revenge hereof, or upon other pretence, the *Medes* were troubled by invasion from *Scythia* in time following.

This is the more strange, for that the army returning home out of *Media* was very strong, and encountred with opposition (as ^b *Herodotus* reports it) no less than it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the device of *Cyaxares*, to free his country, took good effect, with less bloodshed than hath been supposed. For if he surpris'd all the chief of them, it was no hard matter to make a good composition. Many of them doubtless in 28 years had so well settled themselves, that they were desirous of rest, and might be permitt'd, without any danger, to remain in the country; many (of whom I shall speak anon) having done what they could in the business, for which they came forth, were willing to return home with what they had gotten; such as were not pleased with either of these two courses, might go join with the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, or seek their fortunes in other provinces among their own companions. Whereas all the families of the north are said to have been with *Nebuchadnezzar*, it may be understood, that a great part of the *Scythians*, upon hope of gain, or desire to keep what they had already gained, were content to become subject unto *Nabulassar*: mans love of their wealth being most effectual, in taming the more unquiet love of inordinate liberty. This is certain, that ^c *Nebuchadnezzar*, as ever after, so in his first beginning of war, did beat the *Egyptians*, who in ages foregoing had been accustomed to deal with the *Babylonians* after another fashion: and this new success of that king may be imputed, in regard of human means, to such addition as this of new forces.

^a Herod. l. 1. ^b Herod. l. 1. ^c Jer. 25. 9

Of the *Scythian* army returning out of *Media*, divers authors report a story, which confirms me in the opinion, that this company went forth to assist their kindred and friends, in acquiring a new seat, and establishing their plantation. For these had left their wives behind them; a good argument to prove that they meant to come again. The *Scythian* women, to comfort themselves in their husbands absence, became bedfellows to their slaves. These got a lusty brood of youths, that were loth to be troubled with fathers-in-law, and therefore prepared to fight with them at their return. If they were only the children of slaves which compounded an army (as *Herodotus* would have it, who tells us, that the *Scythians* were wont to pull out all their bond-mens eyes) it must needs be that they were very boys, or else that the women did very little while continue chaste. Wherefore I rather believe the tale as it is told by the *Russes* themselves, who agreeing in the rest with the consent of histories, make that report of their ancestors returning homewards, which I will set down, as I find it, in ^a *Doctor Fletcher's* exact discourse of the *Russè Common-wealth*. They understood by the way that their *cholohey*, or bond-slaves whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their *torons*, lands, houses, wives, and all. At which news being somewhat amazed, and yet disdaining the villany of their servants, they made the more speed home: and so not far from *Novograd* met them in warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon advising what was best to be done, they agreed also to set upon them with no other shew of weapon but with their horse-whips (which, as their manner is, every man rideth withal) to put them in remembrance of their servile condition, thereby to terrify them, and abate their courage. And so marching on, and lashing all together with their whips in their hands, they gave the onset; which seemed so terrible in the ears of their villains, and struck such a sense into them of the smart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled all together like sheep before the drivers. In memory of this victory, the *Novogradians* ever since stamped their coin (which they call *Novogrodskoy*, current through all *Russia*) with the figure of a horseman shaking a whip aloft in his hand. It may seem, that all the women in that country, have fared the worse ever since, in regard of this universal fault: for such a pudkey or whip, as terrified those slaves, curiously wrought by her self, is the first present that the *Muscovian* wife, even in time of wooing, sends to him that shall be her husband, in token of subjection; being well assur'd to feel it often on her own loins. But this was a document unto the *Scythians*, or rather *Sarmatians* (for *Novograd* stands in the country that was call'd *Sarmatia*) to beware of absenting themselves any more so long from their wives; which after this, I find not that they did.

Thus much I thought good to set down of the *Scythian* Expedition; not only because it is the most memorable act perform'd abroad by that nation, famous in histories, and terrible to many countries; but for that it appears to have been a great cause of the *Egyptians* prevailing hitherto in *Syria*, and about *Judea*, which continues yet a while the centre of our discourse.

S E C T. V.

Of Princes living in divers Countries in these Ages.

HAVING thus far digressed from the matters of *Juda*, to avoid all further occasion of doing

the like, I will here insert a note of such kings and men of mark, as were between the death of *Manasses*, and the ruin of *Jerusalem*. Of the *Egyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes*, and *Lydians*, I have spoken as much as I thought needful. In *Rome*, *Tullus Hostilius* held the kingdom, until the one and twentieth year of *Josias*; at which time *Ancus Marcius* succeeding, reigned four and twenty years. After him *L. Tarquinius Priscus*, a new come stranger, but very rich, prevail'd so far by his graciousness among the people, that he got the kingdom to himself, disappointing the sons of *Ancus*, over whom he was tutor. He began in the fourth year of *Zeilekia*, and reigned eight and thirty years. In this time it was, namely in the second year of the thirtieth olympiad, that the *Lacedemonians*, be-thinking them how to be aveng'd of the *Arcadians*, who gave succour to the *Messenians* against them in the former war, enter'd the territory, took the city of *Phigalia* or *Phialia*, from whence their garrisons were soon after beaten out. *Cypselus* expelling the race of the *Bacidae* made himself lord of *Corinth* about these times, and govern'd it in peace thirty years; leaving for successor his son *Periander*, one of the seven sages, but a cruel tyrant: who, among other vile acts, slew his own wife, and afterwards, as in her honour, stripped all the *Corinthian* women stark naked, burning their apparel, as an acceptable offering to her ghost. Hereby we may perceive that the wisdom of the *Greeks*, was not excellent in those days; when such a one as this could be admired as excelling all the country.

In these times also were *Zaleucus*, and *Draco*, famous law-givers, the one among the *Locrians* in *Italy*, the other in the city of *Athens*. The laws of *Draco* were so rigorous, that he was said to have written them with blood: for he rewarded every small offence with death. Wherefore his constitutions were soon abrogated, and power given to *Solon* by the *Athenians* to make new in their stead. But the laws of *Zaleucus* were very mild. He forbade any gentlewoman to walk abroad with more than one bond-woman attending on her, unless it were when she was drunk; or to go forth of the town by night, unless it were to some sweet-heart's bed; or to dress herself up in immodest bravery, unless it were to inveigle a lover. By which pleasant ordinances, he affected his desire: for none would seem, in breaking the statutes, to be in such case as challenged the dispensation. It is noted in this man as a singular example of justice, that when his own son had committed adultery, and was therefore to lose both his eyes, he did not cause him to be pardoned, but gave one eye of his own to save the young man (who also lost one) from utter blindness.

I shall not henceforth need so far to wander, as hitherto I often have done, in pursuing of actions collateral to the history, for inserting them in their order of time. The *Chaldeans* will soon fall under the *Persians*; the *Persians*, ere long, encounter with the *Greeks*; the *Greeks* with the *Romans*; the *Romans* with many nations. Concerning all these, as they shall successively present themselves, in their flourishing estate, it will be enough to recapitulate the most memorable accidents, that befel them in their minority. But in the long space of more than thirteen hundred years, which passed between the calling of *Abraham*, and the destruction of *Jerusalem*, we find little matter, wherein the history of *Israel* had any dealing with other nations, than the very nearest borderers. Yet read we

^a *Russè's Common-wealth*, chap. 4

of many kingdoms, that in these many ages were erected and thrown down; as likewise, many memorable acts were perform'd in Greece and elsewhere, though not following one another at any near distance; all which must have been quite omitted, or else reserved unto a very unreasonable rehearsal, had they not been disposed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conveniency, may pardon the necessity.

SECT. VI.

The oppression of Judea, and destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans.

NOW to return to the Jewish story, from whence we have so far digressed. In the third year of *Jeboiakim*, *Nabuchodonosor* the second, his Father yet living, enter'd *Judea* with a great Army, who besieging and forcing *Jerusalem*, made *Jeboiakim* his vassal in despite of *Necho* that had established him king, and took with him for pledges *Daniel*, being as yet a child, with *Ananias*, *Misael*, and *Azarias*. Also he took a part of the church-treasures; but stay'd not to search them thoroughly; for *Necho* halted to the succour of *Jeboiakim*, hoping to find *Nabuchodonosor* in *Judea*: wherein this great *Babylonian* had no disposition to hazard himself and his army, it being a country of an evil affection towards him, as also far off from any succour or sure place of retreat. If he had, as may be supposed, any great strength of *Scythian* Horsemen in his army; it was the more wisely done of him, to fall back, out of that rough, mountainous, and over-hot country, into places that were more even and temperate. But besides all these reasons, the death of his father happening at the same time, gave him just occasion to return home; and take possession of his own kingdom, before he proceeded further in the second care, of adding more unto it. This he did at reasonable good leisure: for the *Egyptian* was not ready to follow him so far and to bid him battle, until the new year came in; which was the fourth of *Jeboiakim*, the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the last of *Necho*. In this year the *Babylonian* lying upon the bank of *Euphrates* (his own territory bounding it on the north-side) attended the arrival of *Necho*. There, after a resolved contention for victory, *Necho* was slain, and his army remaining forced to save it self, which full ill it did, by a violent retreat. This victory *Nabuchodonosor* so well pursued, as he recovered all *Syria*, and whatsoever the *Egyptians* held out of their proper territory towards the north. The *Egyptians* being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the present discouraged, *Jeboiakim* held himself quiet, as being friend in heart unto the *Egyptian*; yet having made his peace with the *Chaldean* the year before, who contented with such profit as he could then readily make, had forbore to lay any tribute upon *Juda*. But this cool reservedness of *Jeboiakim* was, on both sides, taken in ill part. The *Egyptian* king *Psammiss*, who succeeded unto *Necho*, began to think upon restoring *Jeboabaz*, taken prisoner by his father, and setting him up as a domestic enemy, against his ungrateful brother. Against all such accidents the *Judean* had prepared the usual remedy, practised by his fore-fathers: for he had made his own son *Jeboania* king with him long before, in the second year of his own reign, when the boy was but eight years old. As for this rumour of *Jeboabaz*'s return; the prophet *Jeremy* foretold, that it should prove

idle, saying: ^b*He shall not return thither; but he shall die in the place whither they have led him captive, and shall see this land no more.* The *Egyptians* indeed, having spent all their mercenary forces, and receiv'd that heavy blow at *Carchemish*, had not remaining such proportion of sharp steel, as of fair gold, which without other help, is of little effect. The valour of *Necho* was not in *Psammiss*. *Apries*, who reigned after *Psammiss*, did once adventure to shew his face in *Syria*; but after a big look, he was glad to retire, without adventuring the hazard of a battle. Wherefore this decaying nation fought only with brave words, telling such frivolous tales, as men, that mean to do nothing, use, of their glorious acts forepassed, against *Jeboias* and *Jeboabaz*. In this case it was easy for *Jeboiakim* to give them satisfaction; by letting them understand, the sincerity of his affection towards them; which appear'd in time following. But *Nabuchodonosor* went to work more roundly. He sent a peremptory message to *Jeboiakim*, willing him not to stand upon any nice points, but acknowledge himself a subject, and pay him tribute: adding hereunto such fearful threats, as made the poor *Judean* lay aside all thought of *Pbaraob*, and yield to do, as the more mighty would have him. So he continued in the obedience of *Nabuchodonosor* three years. At this time *Jeremy* the prophet cried out against the *Jews*, putting them in mind that he had now three and twenty years exhorted them to repentance, but because they had stop'd their ears against him, and the rest of the prophets, he now pronounced their captivity at hand, and that they should endure the yoke of bondage full 70 years. The same calamity he threaten'd to all the neighbouring nations, to the *Egyptians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Idumeans*, and the rest; foretelling that they should all drink out of the *Babylonian* pitcher, the wine of his fury, whom they had forsaken, and after the seventy years expir'd, that the *Babylonians* themselves should taste of the same cup, and be utterly subverted by the *Medes* and *Judeans* permitted to return again into their own fields and cities. The first imprisonment of the prophet *Jeremy* seems to have been in the fourth year of this *Jeboiakim*, at which time *Baruch* the scribe wrote all his prophecies out of his mouth, whom he sent to read them unto the people, and afterward to the princes, who offer'd them to the king; but fearing the king's fury they had first set *Jeremy* at liberty, and advised him and *Baruch* to hide themselves.

Jeboiakim after he heard a part of it and perceived the ill news therein delivered, made no more ado but did cut the book in pieces and cast it into the fire. All which *Jeremy* caused to be new written, with this addition; that the dead body of *Jeboiakim*, should be cast out, exposed in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost, and that there should be none of his seed to sit on the throne of *David*.

Time thus running on, while *Jeboiakim* rested secure of all danger, as tributary to the *Babylonian*, yet well thought of by the *Egyptian*; the mighty city of *Tyre* opposed it self against the *Chaldean* forces; and upon just confidence of her own strength, despised all preparation that could be made against her. Now soasmuch as the term of seventy years, was prescribed unto the desolation, as well of *Tyre*, as of *Jerusalem*, and other towns and countries; it is apparent, that they which refer the expugnation of this city unto the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, have sure Authority for their warrant.

^a 2 Chron. 36 9.

^b Jer. 22. 11, & 12.

^c Joseph. Ant. lib. 10. cap. 7.

^d Jer. 25.

Whereupon likewise it follows of necessity, that the siege thereof began in the seventh of his reign; as having lasted thirteen years.

Here I will take leave to intrude a brief note, concerning the several beginnings that are reckoned of this great prince's rule, whereupon hath risen much disputation. The third year of *Jehoiakim* was the last of *Nabulassar*, who being delivered from other cares, took notice of such as had revolted from him unto *Pharaoh Necho*, and sent this noble prince, his son, with an army into *Syria*, to reclaim them. In this expedition was ^a *Daniel* carried away, who therefore makes mention of the same year. The year next following, being the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, was the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*; which ^b *Jeremy* affirmeth in express words, and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth year he conquer'd *Egypt*, and then began to reign as a great monarch, finding none that durst offend him. The second from this year it was, wherein he saw that vision, of the image consisting of sundry metals; which did prefigure the succession of great kingdoms, that should rule the earth, before the coming of Christ. I will not stand to dispute about this, which is the best conclusion, that I find, of long disputations; but return unto the siege of *Tyre*, which began in the seventh of his reign.

The city of *Tyre* covered all the ground of an island, that was divided from the main by a deep and broad channel of the sea. The *Chaldeans* had no fleet, and were no seamen; the *Tyrians*, in multitude of goodly ships, and skill to use them, excelled all other nations; and every wind, from one part or other, brought needful provisions into the city. Wherefore neither force nor famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof nevertheless the judgments of God (denounced against it by ^c *Isaiab*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel*) had threaten'd the destruction; and the obstinate resolution of *Nabuchodonosor* had fully determined to perform it. This high-minded king, impatient of resistance, undertook a vast piece of work; even to fill up the sea, that parted the island from the continent. The city of old *Tyrus*, that stood opposite to the new, upon the firm land, and the mountain of *Libanus* near adjoining, that was laden with cedars and abundance of other trees, might furnish him with materials. Thirteen years were spent in this laborious and almost hopeless business. Which needeth not seem strange; for *Alexander*, working upon that foundation which was remaining of *Nabuchodonosor's* pier, and being withal assisted by a strong fleet, was yet seven months ere he could make way into the city. Wherefore, if the raging of the sea was able to carry away that wherewith *Alexander* labour'd to cover a shelf; with much more violence could it overturn, and as it were consume the work of *Nabuchodonosor*, who laid his foundations in the bottom of the deep; striving, as it were, to fill the empty belly of this cormorant; whereas the *Macedonian* did only stop the throat of it. Every man knows, God could have further'd the accomplishment of his own threats against this place (tho' it had not pleased him to use either miracle, or such of his more immediate weapons, as are earthquakes and the like) by making at least the seas calm, and adding the favourable concurrence of all second helps. But so it pleaseth him oftentimes, in chastising the pride of man, to use the hand of man; even the hand of man striving, as may seem, against all resistance of nature and fortune. So in this excessive

labour of the *Chaldeans*, ^d every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare. Yet *Nabuchodonosor* would not give over till he was master of the town.

When he was enter'd upon this desperate service, whether it were so, that some losses received, some mutiny in his army, or (which is most likely, and so ^e *Josephus* reports it) some glorious rumours of the *Egyptians*, gave courage to his evil-willers; *Jehoiakim* renounced his subjection, and began to hope for the contrary of that which quickly fell out. For *Nabuchodonosor* gave him no leisure to do much hurt; but with part of his army marched directly into *Judea*, where the amazed king made so little resistance (the *Egyptians* having left him, as it were in a dream) that he enter'd *Jerusalem*, and laid hands on *Jehoiakim*; whom he first bound, and determin'd to send to *Babylon*, but changing counsel, he caus'd him to be slain in the place, and gave him the sepulchre of an ass, to be devoured by beasts and favenous birds, according to the former prophecies: leaving in his place *Jehoiakim* or *Jechonias* his son; whom after three months and ten days *Nabuchodonosor* removed, and sent prisoner to *Babylon*, with *Ezekiel*, *Mardocheus*, and *Josedech*, the high-priest. The mother of *Jechonias*, together with his servants, eunuchs, and all the ablest men, and best artificers of the land, were also then carried away captives. This *Jechonias*, following the counsel of *Jeremy* the prophet, made no resistance, but submitted himself to the king's will: wherein he both pleased God; and did that which was best for himself; tho' at the present it might seem otherwise, to such as consider'd the evil that befell him, rather than the greater evil that he thereby avoided. This only particular act of his is recorded; which was good. But it seems that he was partaker; at least of his father's faults, if not an instigator: which was the cause, that his submitting himself to God's pleasure did not preserve his estate: for so we read in general words, that *he did evil in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his father had done*. In his stead *Nabuchodonosor* established *Mathania* his uncle in the kingdom of *Juda*, and call'd him *Zedekias*, which is as much as to say, *the justice of God*. For like as *Necho* king of *Egypt*, had formerly displaced *Jehoabaz*, after his father *Josias* was slain, and set up *Jehoiakim* the son of another mother; so *Nabuchodonosor* slew *Jehoiakim*, who depended on the *Egyptians*, and carrying his son *Jechonias* prisoner to *Babel*, gave the kingdom to this *Zedekias*, that was whole brother to that *Jehobabaz*, whom *Necho* took with him into *Egypt*. From *Zedekias* he required an oath for his faithful obedience, which *Zedekias* gave him, and called the living God to witness in the same, that he would remain assured to the kings of *Chaldea*.

In the first year of *Zedekias*, *Jeremy* saw and expounded the vision of the ripe and rotten grapes, the one signifying those *Judeans* that were carried away captive, the other those that stay'd and were destroyed.

In the fourth year of *Zedekias*, *Jeremy* wrote in a book all the evil that should fall upon *Babylon*, which book or scroll he gave to *Seraias*, when he went with the king *Zedekias* to *Babylon*, to visit *Nabuchodonosor*; willing him first to read it to the captive *Jews*, and then to bind it to a stone, and cast it into *Euphrates*, pronouncing these words: *Thus shall Babel be destroyed, and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her*. This journey of *Zedekias* to *Babel* is probably thought to have been

^a Dan. 1. 1.

^b Jer. 25. 1.

^c Isa. 23. Jer. 25. Ezek. 26.

^d Ezek. 29.

^e Jos. Ant. Jud. 1. 10. c. 7.

in way of visitation, carrying some presents. But I further think that he had some suit there to make which his lordly master refused to grant, and sent him away discontented. For at his return all the bordering princes sent messengers to him, inciting him (as it seems) to those unquiet courses, from which *Jeremy* dehorted both him and them. The prophet, by God's appointment, made bonds and yokes; one of which he wore about his own neck, others he sent unto the five kings of *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Tyre* and *Zidon*, by those messengers which came to visit *Zedekias*: making them know, that if they and the kings of *Juda* abode in the obedience of *Babylon*, they should then possess and enjoy their own countries; if not, they should assuredly perish by the sword, by fire, and by pestilence.

He also foretold them, that those vessels, which as yet remained in *Jerusalem*, should also travel after the rest, and at length they should be restored again.

The same year *Ananias* the false prophet took off the wooden chain which *Jeremy* wore in sign of the captivity of the *Jews*, and brake it: vaunting, that in like manner, after two years, God would break the strength of *Babel*, and the yoke which he laid on all nations; restore *Jechonias*, and all the *Jews*, with the vessels and riches of the temple, and give an end to all these troubles. But *Jeremy*, instead of his wooden yoke, wore a collar of iron: and in sign that *Ananias* had given a deceitful and false hope to the people, he foretold the death of this cold prophet, which seized upon him in the second month. After this, when *Zedekias* had wavered long enough between faith and passion, in the eighth year of his reign he practised more seriously against *Nabuchodonosor*, with his neighbours the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Tyrrians*, and others that were promised great aids of the *Egyptians*: in confidence of whose resistance, he determined to shake off the *Babylonian* yoke. Hereof when *Nabuchodonosor* had knowledge, he march'd with his army in the dead of winter, toward *Jerusalem*, and besieged it. *Jeremy* persuaded *Zedekias* to render the city and himself: but being confident of the help from *Egypt*, and being persuaded by his counsellors, and false prophets, that it was impossible that the kingdom of *Juda* should be extirpate, until the coming of *Silo* (according to the prophecy of *Isaac*) he despised the words of *Jeremy* and imprisoned him. For *Jeremy* had told the king, that the city should be taken and burnt; that the king should not escape, but be taken prisoner, and brought to the presence of *Nabuchodonosor*; that he should not perish by the sword, but being carried to *Babel*, die his natural death.

Jerusalem being, the following year, surrounded by *Nabuchodonosor's* army; the king of *Egypt*, *Pharaoh Hophra* according to *Jeremy* (*Herodotus* call-eth him *Apries*) enter'd the border of *Juda*, with his army, to succour *Zedekias*, of whose revolt he had been the principal author. But *Jeremy* gave the *Jews* faithful counsel, willing them not to have any trust in the succours of *Egypt*: for he assured them, that they should return again, and in no sort relieve them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the *Chaldeans* removed from *Jerusalem* to encounter the *Egyptians*, these vaunting patrons abandon'd their enterprise, and taking *Gaza* in their way homeward, return'd into *Egypt*, as if they had already done

enough; leaving the poor people of *Jerusalem* to their destin'd miseries.

In the mean while the *Jews*, who, in their first extremity, had manumitted their *Hebrew* bondmen (as God's law required at the year of *Jubilee*) and made them free, thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now, upon the breaking up of the *Chaldean* army, repent them of their charity: and thinking all had been at an end, held them perforce to their former slavery. But the *Chaldees* being return'd to the siege, the prophet *Jeremy*, when the state of *Jerusalem* began now to grow to extremity, counselled *Zedekias* to render himself unto them; assuring him of his own life, and the safety of the city, if he would so do. But his obstinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his infidelity and perjury, had provided for him.

Three and twenty months (as some do reckon it) or according to *Josephus* eighteen; the *Babylonian* army lay before *Jerusalem*, and held it exceeding straitly besieged. For *they built forts against it round about*, or (as *P. Martyr* hath it) *extruxerunt contra eam turrem ligneam per circuitum; they surrounded the city with wooden towers*, so as the besieged could neither sally out, nor receive into the city any supply of men or victuals. *Josephus* reports, that they over-top'd the walls, with high towers raised upon mounts; from which they did so beat upon the wall with their engines, that the defendants were compelled to forsake their stations. Now although it were so that the besieged also raised counter-buildings like unto these, yet the great king of *Babel*, who commanded all the regions thereabouts, and had the woods and rivers to obey him, found means to overthrow all the citizens endeavours; and to beat down as fast from without, as they raised from within; the body and foundation of his own works being guarded, by the walls of *Jerusalem* interposed; and theirs within, laid open to their enemies disturbance. Besides, both famine and pestilence (which commonly accompany men straitly besieged) grew on fast upon them, whereby, when the number, strength, and courage of the *Jews* failed, the *Chaldeans* made a breach, and forcing an entry, their princes did seat themselves, as lords of the town, in the middle gate. *Zedekias* beholding this uncomfortable sight, and finding no remedy of the danger present, lost both his courage and his hope at once; and shifted himself, together with his wives, children, princes, and principal servants, out of the city, by a way under ground; leaving his amazed and guideless people, to the merciless swords of their enemies. Thus he, who, when *Jeremy* the prophet persuaded him to render himself, despised both the counsel of God, and the force of *Nabuchodonosor*, used now that remedy, which *Holpius* truly termeth, *triste turpe, & infelix*, woful, shameful, and unfortunate.

By this secret subterranean vault, *Zedekias* making his stealth, recover'd (by the help of the dark night) the plains or deserts of *Jerecho*: but by reason of the train that followed him and his (every one leading with him those whom they held most dear unto them) he was easily traced and pursued. How great soever the company was that attended on him, yet, as *Josephus* reports it, they on whose fidelity he most repos'd himself, no sooner beheld the *Chaldeans* approach, but they all abandon'd his defence, and shifted themselves into the deserts as they

^a Jer. 27. ^b Gen. 49. 10. ^c Jer. 32. & 31. ^d Jer. 44. ^e Herod. l. 2. ^f Levit. 25. 39, 40, &c. ^g Jer. 34. ^h Jer. 39. ⁱ 2 Kings 25. ^k Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. 10. cap. 11. ^l Joseph. Ant. lib. 10. cap. 11.

could. For whom God had forsaken, no man follow'd, but the ministers of his vengeance; by whom *Zedechias* being made prisoner, with his children and princes, he was conveyed to *Rebla* or *Reblath*, a city (as some think) of *Neptbalim*, where *Nabuchodonosor* then lay, as a place indifferent between *Jerusalem* and *Tyre*, with both which at once he had to do.

Now after *Nabuchodonosor* had laid before *Zedechias* the many graces and benefits conferr'd upon him, together with the notable falshood and perjury wherewith he had requited them; he commanded his children, princes and friends to be slain before his face. This being done, to the end that so lamentable a spectacle should be the last that ever he should behold in the world, he caused his eyes to be torn out of his head, and so carried him in a slavish manner to *Babel*, where he consumed the rest of his wretched life in perpetual imprisonment. Herein this most marvelous prophecy of *Ezekiel* was perform'd; *ⁱ Adducam eum in Babylonem, ⁊ ipsam non videbit; I will bring him into Babylon, and he shall not see it.*

Thus in the eleventh and last year of *Zedekias*, which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, the *Chaldeans* enter'd the city by force, where sparing no sex nor age, they committed all to the sword that they therein found.

In the year next following, *ⁱ Nabuzaradan*, general of the army, burnt the king's palace, and the rest of *Jerusalem*: and after this fire had lasted from the seventh to the tenth day, he also burnt the temple of God to the ground, when it had stood four hundred thirty and one years.

After this, upon a second search, *Nabuzaradan* (not yet satiated with blood) commanded seventy and two others to be slaughtered, which had hidden themselves from the first fury, to wit, the chief and the second priest, two commanders of *Zedechias* his men of war, five of his household-servants, and others to that number; carrying away to *Babylon* the ablest of the people throughout all *Judea*, and leaving the poorest labouring souls, with some that followed the party of *Nabuchodonosor*, to till the ground: over whom he left governour, *Godolia* the nephew of that *Saphan* whom *Josias* had formerly employed in the reformation of religion, who is, for his justice and equity, by *Josephus* highly commended. This man, a *Jew* by nation, left *Zedechias*, as it seemeth, in the beginning of the war: and by *Jeremy's* desire to live with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the same advice, which the prophet gave unto *Zedechias*; which was, to

submit himself altogether to the *Babylonian*, who being ordained by God to exercise his justice, was therefore resistless. The prophet *Jeremy* being left to his own choice, either to live in *Chaldea*, or elsewhere, he made election of *Godoliah*, to whom he was recommended; who not only embraced *Jeremy*, but gave comfort to all the other *Jews* that were left under his charge, promising them favour and liberty, so long as they remain'd obedient subjects to *Nabuchodonosor*, by whom he was establish'd provincial governour of his own nation.

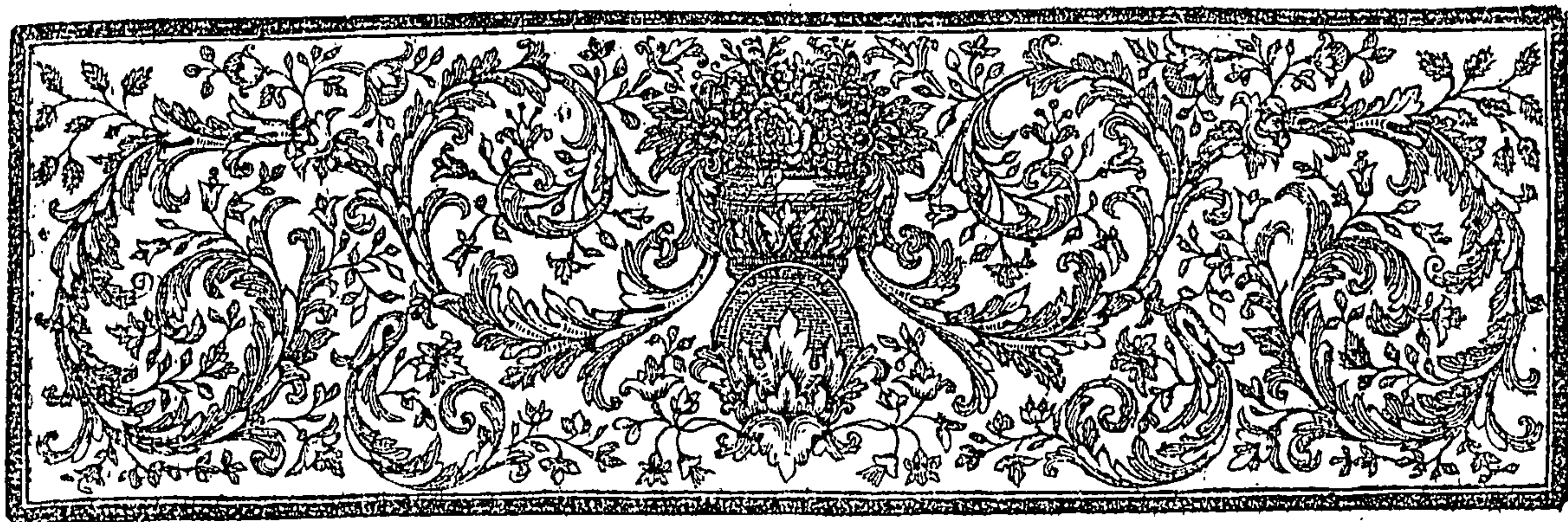
But ere that year was expir'd, a prince of the late king's house (who, during the siege of *Jerusalem*, had kept himself out of the storm, with *Baalis* king of the *Ammonites*) being followed by ten other chosen men, while *Godoliah* feasted them in *Maspha* or *Mitspa*, the city of his residence, traiterously slew him, together with divers *Chaldeans* and *Jews* that accompany'd him. This done, he made an escape, and in his way encountering with eighty persons, repairing towards *Godoliah* with presents, he slew the most of them, and spared the rest, because they promised to discover unto him some treasures hidden in the fields during the war. He also took with him a daughter of *Zedechias*, committed to the care of *Godoliah* by *Nabuchodonosor*. This practice and intent of *Ismael* had been formerly discovered unto *Godoliah* by *Johanan*, one of the leaders of the few remaining *Jews*; but *Godoliah* was incredulous.

Judea being now left without a governour (for *Ismael* durst not take it upon him, but retired himself, or rather fled as fast as he could to the *Ammonites*) the residue of the *Jews*, fearing the revenge of the *Chaldeans*, resolved to fly away into *Egypt*, and besought *Jeremy* to ask counsel of God for them: who readily made them answer, That if they remained in *Judea* God would provide for them and shew them mercy; but if they sought to save themselves in *Egypt*, that they should then undoubtedly perish. Notwithstanding this advice, the *Jews* held their determination; and despising the oracle of God, and constraining *Jeremy* and *Baruch* to accompany them, they travelled into *Egypt*, and inhabited by the permission of *Pharaoh*, near unto *Tophnes*, where when *Jeremy* often reprehended them for their idolatry, foretelling both the destruction of themselves, and the *Egyptians* also, he was by these his own hard-hearted and ungrateful countrymen stoned to death; and by the *Egyptians*, who greatly revered him, buried near the sepulchre of their own kings.

^a Ezek. 12. 13.

^b 2 Kings ult.

The End of the Second Book.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD:

INTREATING of the

*Times from the Destruction of JERUSALEM to
the Time of PHILIP of MACEDON.*

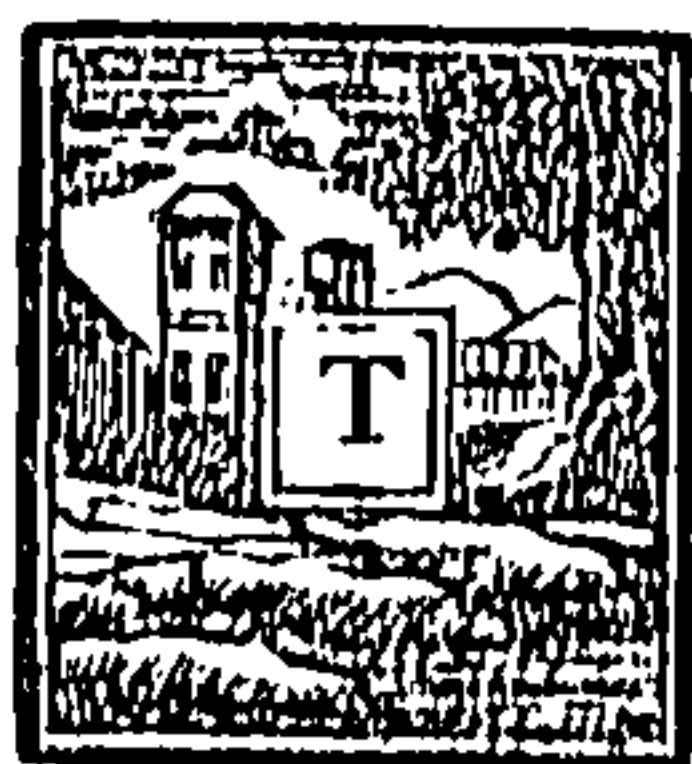
The THIRD BOOK.

CHAP. I.

*Of the Time passing between the Destruction of Jerusalem, and
the Fall of the Assyrian Empire.*

SECT. I.

Of the connection of sacred and profane history.



THE course of time; which in profane histories might rather be discerned thro' the greatest part of his way, hitherto passed in some outworn foot-steps, than in any beaten path, having once in Greece by the *Olympiads*, and in the eastern countries by the account from *Nabonassar*, left surer marks, and more applicable to actions concurrent, than were the war of *Troy*, or any other token of former date; begins at length in the ruin of *Jerusalem* to discover the connection of antiquity fore-spent, with the story of succeeding ages. Manifest it is, that the original and progress of things could ill be sought in those that were ignorant of the first creation: as likewise that the affairs of kingdoms

and empire afterwards grown up are not to be found among those, that have now no state nor policy remaining of their own. Having therefore pursued the story of the world unto that age, from whence the memory of succeeding accidents is with little interruption of fabulous discourse derived unto us, I hold it now convenient briefly to shew, by what means and circumstances the history of the *Hebrews*, which of all other is the most ancient, may be conjoined with the following times, wherein that image of sundry metals, discovered by God unto *Nebuchadnezzar*, did reign over the earth, when *Israel* was either none, or an unregarded nation.

Herein I do not hold it needful, to insist upon those authorities, which give, as it were by hearsay, a certain year of some old *Assyrian* king unto
some

some action or event, whereof the time is found expressed in scripture: for together with the end of *Ninus's* line in *Sardanapalus*, if not before, all such computations were blotted out; the succession of *Belochus* and his issue that occupied the kingdom afterwards, depending upon the uncertain relations of such, as were neither constant in assigning the years of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to rely upon. Let it therefore suffice, that the consent and harmony, which some have found in the years of those overworn monarchs, doth preserve their names, which otherwise might have been forgotten. Now concerning the later kings of that nation, howsoever it be true that we find the names of all or most of them in scriptures, which are recorded by prophane historians, yet hereby could we only learn in what age each of them lived, but not in what year his reign began or ended, were it not that the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* is more precisely applied to the times of *Jeboiakim* and *Zedekiah*. Hence have we the first light whereby to discover the means of connecting the sacred and prophane histories. For under *Nebuchadnezzar* was the beginning of the captivity of *Juda*, which ended when 70 years were expired; and these 70 years took end at the first of *Cyrus*, whose time being well known, affords us means of looking back into the ages past, and forwards into the race of men succeeding. The first year of *Cyrus's* reign in *Persia*, by general consent, is joined with the first year of the 55th *Olympiad*, where, that he reigned 23 years before his monarchy, and 7 years afterwards, it is apparent, and almost out of controversy. Giving therefore 408 years unto the distance between the fall of *Troy*, and the instauration of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*; we may easily arrive unto those antiquities of *Greece*, which were not merely fabulous. As for princes ruling the whilst in sundry parts of the world, *St. Augustine* and others may be trusted in setting down their times, which they had by tradition from authors of well-approv'd faith and industry.

From *Cyrus* forwards, how the times are reckoned unto *Alexander*, and from him to the battel of *Actium*, it were (peradventure) in this place impertinent to set down. But seeing that the beginning and end of the *Babylonian* captivity are marks whereby we are chiefly directed, in passing from the first unto the latest years of the world, thro' any story, with least interruption, it is very expedient that we take some pains to inform our selves truly of the 70 years, during which it continued, even from *Nebuchadnezzar* unto *Cyrus*.

SECT. II.

A brief rehearsal of two opinions, touching the beginning of the captivity: with an answer to the cavils of Porphyry, inveighing against St. Matthew, and Daniel, upon whom the later of these opinions is founded.

MANY commentators, and other historians and chronologers find, that the captivity then began when *Jechonias* was carried prisoner into *Babylon*, 11 years before the final destruction of *Jerusalem* under *Zedekias*. This they prove out of divers places in *Ezekiel*, especially out of the 14th chapter, where he makes a plain distinction between the beginning of the captivity, and utter destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Nabuzaradan*, in these words: *In the five and twentieth year of our being in captivity in the beginning of the year, in the tenth*

day of the month, in the fourteenth year after that the city was smitten. In which words he beginneth the captivity in plain terms, 11 years before the city was destroy'd. *Beroaldus* is of opinion that it began in the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the 4th of *Joakim*, which he endeavours to prove out of the 2d of *Chronicles*, but more especially out of *St. Matthew* and *Daniel*, whose words afford matter of long disputation, but serve not to make good so much as *Beroaldus* would enforce. That place of *St. Matthew*, and the whole book of *Daniel*, have ministred occasion of scoffing and railing at the Christian religion to that wretched man *Porphyry*, who, not understanding how the sons of king *Josias* were called by divers names, as *Epiphanius* hath shew'd at large, thought that the apostle had spoken he knew not what in reckoning the sons, or, according to some translations, the sons and nephews of that good king, begotten about the time of the captivity. Upon *Daniel* also the same *Porphyry* doth spend the 12th of his malicious books written against the Christians, affirming that these prophecies and visions remembred by *Daniel*, were written long after his death, and at, or near the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. This fond supposition of his, *Eusebius*, *Apollonius*, and others, have sufficiently answer'd. For the 70 interpreters, who converted the *Old Testament* about 100 years before *Epiphanius*, did also turn this book of *Daniel* out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, as a part of scripture received. And were there no other argument to confound *Porphyry*, than that of *Alexander Macedon*, it were sufficient, who lived divers years before *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For *Jaddus* the high priest shew'd that great conqueror, when he came towards *Jerusalem* to have destroy'd it, this book of *Daniel*, wherein he beheld his own glory foretold, as the same was plainly expounded unto him; which not only stay'd his hand from the harm of that city and people, but his assurance and resolution was so confirm'd and strengthened thereby, as despising all future peril and resistance, he conquered *Darius*, and the eastern empire in a shorter time than *Nabuchodonosor* had done one city, to wit, *Tire* in *Phenicia*.

It is true indeed, that the *Jews* themselves give less authority to *Daniel*, than to *Moses*, and the prophets, accounting his book among those which they call *Cetaphim*, or *Hagiographa*, or holy writings, which they say *Esdra*s and the seniors of the synagogue compiled after their return from *Babylon*. But first, that the book of *Daniel* (I mean so much as is found in the *Hebrew*) is canonical: Secondly, that it was written by *Daniel* himself, and not by *Esdra*s and the seniors; we may assure ourselves by testimony of councils, and fathers. For in the council of *Laodicea* held about the year of our Lord 368, after the death of *Jovinian* the emperor, and after the *Nicene* council 43 years, this book of *Daniel* was received, verified and confirmed among the other canonical scriptures, as in the epitome of the same council it may be seen, and so doth *Meliton* the most ancient bishop of *Sardis* number it, witness *Eusebius* in his ecclesiastical history, the 4th book, and 25th chapter, so doth the same author in the catalogue of canonical books upon *Origen*, so doth *Hilarius* in his preface upon the *Psalms*, and *Epiphanius* in his book of *Weights and Measures*, &c. To these I may add *St. Jerome*, *Gregory Nazianzene*, and others. For the *Hagiographie* books, or holy writings, the *Jews* and *Rabbins* reckon to be these, *Daniel*, *Psalms*,

^a Ezek. 1. 2. & 3. 11, 15.

^b 1 Mac. 11.

^c Jos. Ant. 11.

Proverbs, Job, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Chronicles. And that it was *Daniel*, and not *Esdra*, that wrote this book, God's commandment unto him by his angel, to seal up the same to the time appointed, is an unanswerable testimony. Yea, that which exceedeth all strength of other proof, our Saviour Christ who citeth no apocryphal scripture, in *Matth. xxiv. 15.* and *Mark xiii. 14.* alledgeth *Daniel* the prophet, to wit, the last verse of his 19th chapter. Further, in *John. v.* Christ distributeth the risen from the dead, as in *Daniel xii. 2.* St. *Paul* describeth *Antichrist* out of *Daniel*, and the *Revelation* is wholly an interpretation of *Daniel's* visions.

S E C T. III.

That the 70 years of captivity are to be numbred from the destruction of Jerusalem; not from the migration of Jechonia.

HAVING thus far digressed, in maintaining that authority, which must often be cited in the present argument, it is now convenient, that we return unto the differences of opinion, concerning the beginning of these 70 years. Neither will I stand to trouble my self and others with laying open the grounds or weakness of that which *Eusebius* and some few nameless authors, have sometimes held in this point, which is lately revived by *Beroaldus*; but will forthwith enter into consideration of that opinion, which many both ancient and late writers have so earnestly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Four kings of *Juda* were carried away captives to *Babylon*: first *Manasses*; then *Jehoiakim*, and with him among others, *Daniel* the prophet: thirdly *Jechonias*, and with him *Ezekiel*: lastly, *Zedekias*, at which time the city and temple were destroyed. To the first of these captivities the beginning of the 70 years is referr'd by none that I have read; to the second by few and with weak proof; to the third by very many and with much confidence. For besides those places of *Ezekiel* already cited, there is a strong argument gather'd out of *Jeremy xxix. 10.* which may seem to make the matter plain; for the prophet in comforting the people that were carried away with *Jechonias*, used these words: *Thus saith the Lord: after 70 years be accomplished at Babel, I will visit you, and perform my good promise towards you, and cause you to return to this place.*

But it stands indeed with little reason that we should seek the interpretation of a prophecy out of circumstances, when the prophecy is such as doth sufficiently expound it self. *Jeremiah* had already in the 4th year of *Jehoiakim*, denounced the judgment of God against the land, for the sins and impenitency of that obstinate people, in these words: *Behold, I will send and take to me all the families of the north, saith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babel, my servant, and will bring them against this land, and against the inhabitants thereof, and against all these nations round about, and I will destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing, and a continual desolation. Moreover, I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride, the noise of the mill-stones, and the light of the candle, and this whole land shall be desolate, and an astonishment, and these nations shall serve the king of Babel 70 years. And when 70*

years are expired, I will visit the king of Babel. Here we see prescribed unto the captivity the term of 70 years, which were to commence, neither when the prophecy was uttered; nor when *Jehoiakim*, who then reign'd, was taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*; nor yet in the time of *Jechonia*; but with the utter desolation of the city, whereof *Jeremiah* did again give notice to those that were already in *Babylon*, at such time as he sent them the comfort of deliverance before rehearsed. And so did the people understand this prophecy, in those times when they saw it accomplished, beginning the 70 years at the time of the desolation, as manifestly appears in the end of the history of *Juda*, where it is said thus: *They burnt the house of God, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, and burnt all the palaces thereof with fire, and all the precious vessels thereof, to destroy all: and they that were left by the sword, carried he away to Babel, and they were servants to him and to his sons, until the kingdom of the Persians had rule, to fulfil the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had her fill of her sabbaths: for all the days that she lay desolate, she kept sabbath, to fulfil 70 years. But in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia (when the word of the Lord, spoken by the mouth of Jeremiah, was finished) the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus. We seldom find one piece of scripture so precisely and plainly expounded by another, as in this prophecy, to have afterwards been the subject of altercation. For one can hardly devise, how either the desolation could have been express'd more sensibly than it was by the prophet, or the event of the prophecy have been more exactly set down, than it was in the place now last of all cited. If it be requisite that we bring more proof in so evident a case, the 9th chapter of *Daniel* yields testimony sufficient, unto this exposition of *Jeremiah's* prophecy, that *Jerusalem* was to lie waste 70 years. For in the first year *Darius the Mede*, which was the last of the 70, *Daniel* obtained of God the deliverance that had been promised by prayer, which he made upon consideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth us in these words: *In the first year of his reign, I Daniel understood by books the number of the years, whereof the Lord hath spoken unto Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish 70 years in the desolation of Jerusalem.* So that howsoever the time of *Daniel's* own captivity be reckon'd from the taking of *Jehoiakim*, and that the people carried away with *Jechonia*, did account, as well they might, the years of their own captivity; yet with the general desolation of the country, wherein were few or none of the *Israelites* left remaining to inhabit, began in the 19th year of *Nabuchodonosor* the great captivity, which by God's appointment continued unto the end of 70 years. This I will not further seek to prove, by the authority of *Josephus* and others affirming the same; forasmuch as that which already hath been produced, is enough to satisfy any man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrary.*

S E C T. IV.

Sundry opinions of the kings which reigned in Babylon during the 70 years.

WHAT kings reign'd in *Babylon*, during these 70 years of the captivity, and how long each of them did wear the diadem, it is a matter of no great importance to know, for as much

^a Jer. 29. 16, 17, 18.

^b 2 Chron. 36. 19, 20.

^c Dan. 9. 2.

as neither their acts were notable in the age where-in they lived, nor the length of their reigns any way helpful to the concordance of times, foregoing or succeeding. The conquests recounted by ^a *Xenophon* of *Syria*, *Arabia* (or rather some part of it) *Ilyrcania*, *Bactria*, and perhaps of some other countries, may seem fruits of the victories obtain'd by *Nebuchadnezzar* the great (or by some of his ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betook himself to ease, and to the sumptuous building of his great *Babel*, for the house of his kingdom, and for the honour of his majesty, where it may seem that he and his heirs kept a great state, and did very little. The idle behaviour of the *Assyrian* soldiers, in such skirmishes as afterwards they had with the *Medes*, doth argue no less. For whereas under *Nebuchadnezzar*, they were so stout and industrious, that (to omit other proofs) they attempted, and finish'd, that hardy piece of work, of winning the strong city of *Tyre*, by joining it unto the continent, filling up the deep and broad channel of the sea, dividing it from the main with a mole, or peer of earth, and other matter, the reparation whereof, when the sea had washed it away, was the very greatest of *Alexander's* works; in the times following, they became timorous, that they durst not approach nearer to the enemy than their bows would carry, but were ready to turn their backs as soon as any, tho' inferior in numbers, adventuring within the distance offered to charge them.

Now as their actions, from the end of ^b *Nebuchadnezzar's* wars, till the ruin of their empire, were not worthy to be recorded; so was the distinction of their times, and reign of their several kings, unworthy of the great labour that hath in vain been taken in that business. For when it is granted, that the captivity of *Juda*, ending with that empire, lasted 70 years, we may as reasonably forbear to search into the particular continuance of two or three slothful kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the patriarchs, and their children, living in the *Egyptian* servitude; resting satisfy'd in both with the general assured sum.

Yet for as much as many have travelled in this business, upon desire (as I take it) to approve the beginning and end of the 70 years, not only by the reigns of other princes, ruling elsewhere, but by the times of the *Assyrians* themselves: I will not refuse to take a little pains in collecting their opinions, and shewing what I think may best be held for likely, if the certain truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the kings themselves, and in setting down the years of their several reigns. The first (as I take it) the surest, is theirs, who meerly follow the authority of the scriptures, without borrowing any help from others. These name only three kings, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Evilmerodach*, and *Balthasar*. Neither have they only the silence of *Daniel*, who names none other, to be their warrant, but the prophecy of *Jeremiah* precisely, and in a manner purposely teaching the very same. For God, by the mouth of that prophet, shewing that he being absolute lord of all would dispose of all, according to his own will, and making it known that he had put some countries here named, into the hands of the king of *Babel*, saith thus: *And all nations shall serve him, and his son, and his sons son, until the very time of his land come also; then many nations and great kings shall serve themselves of him.* These words expressing the continuance of

the *Chaldean* empire, and number of the kings, will hardly be qualify'd with any distinction. But indeed I find no other necessity of qualification to be used herein than such as may grow out of mens desire to reconcile the scriptures unto prophane authors. And this desire were not unjust, if the consent of all histories were on the one side, and the letter of the holy text were single on the other side.

But contrariwise, the authors which are cited in this case, are so repugnant one to the other, and the proofs of their different reports are so slender and unsufficient, that the succession of these princes, had it not been thus delivered in scriptures, but only set down by some author of equal credit with the rest, might very well have found and deserved as good belief, as any of those things which they have delivered in this point. For some there are, who following ^c *Josephus*, derive that empire, as by descent from father to son, thro' five generations; beginning with *Nabuchodonosor* the great, and giving to him 43 years, to *Evilmerodach* 18, to *Niglifar* the son of *Evilmerodach* 40, to *Labosardach* the son of *Niglifar* 9 months, and lastly to *Balthasar* (whom *Josephus* intimates to be of the race of *Nabuchodonosor*, without naming his father) 17 years. And this opinion (save that he forbears to reckon the years, and plainly calls *Balthasar* the son of *Labosardach*) *St. Jerome* doth follow, alledging *Berosus*, and *Josephus* as a sectator of *Berosus*, for his authors; tho' *Berosus*, as he is cited by ^e *Josephus*, reports the matter far otherwise. For he tells us that *Evilmerodach* the son of *Nabuchodonosor* did reign but two years, being for his wickedness and lust, slain by his sister's husband *Niziglissoroor*, who occupied the kingdom after him four years, and left it to his own son *Labosardach*, who being an ill-conditioned boy, was at the end of 9 months slain by such as were about him, and the kingdom given to one *Nabonidus*, who held it by the election of the conspirators, and left it unto *Cyrus* after 17 years. This relation ill agrees with that of *Josephus*, and both of them as bad with the scriptures, in number either of years, or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle, have procured unto them some authority, so that the names which they have inserted, are taken as it were upon trust. There is a third opinion, which makes the three last kings brethren, and sons of *Evilmerodach*; and this may well enough agree with the scripture: tho' I had rather believe ^d *Xenophon*, who saith that the last king of *Babylon* was immediate successor to his father. But whereas the author of the scholastical history, who is founder of this opinion, placeth between him that took *Jerusalem*, and *Evilmerodach*, another *Nabuchodonosor*: plain enough it is that he hath, out of any history sacred or prophane, as little warrant to guide him, as we have reason to follow him. *Eusebius*, *Sulpitius Severus*, and *Theodoret*, upon better ground, have supposed, that *Evilmerodach* and *Balthasar* were brethren and sons of the great *Nabuchodonosor*. This is built on the 5th chapter of *Daniel*, wherein *Balthasar* (for of *Evilmerodach* there is none that ever doubted) is often called *Nabuchodonosor's* son. And so common grew this explication, that *St. Jerome* called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of *Jeremiah* before cited, proves that *Balthasar* was not the son indeed, but the grand-child of that great conqueror, tho' by the phrase very common in scriptures, and familiar in those eastern languages, he was called the son.

^a *Xenoph.* *Cyropæd.* l. 1. ^b *Xenoph.* *Cyropæd.* l. 1. & l. 3. *Apriou.* l. 1. ^c *Xenoph.* *Cyropæd.* l. 4.

^d *Jer.* 27. 7.

Jos. Ant. l. 10 c. 12.

^e *Jos. contr.*

Annius's Metasthenes hits very rightly the 70 years of captivity, giving to *Nabuchodonosor* 45 years, to *Evilmerodach* 30 years, and to the 3 sons of *Evilmerodach*, nephews of *Nabuchodonosor*, 14 years; that is, to *Reg-Affer* the eldest son 3 years, to *Lab-Affer Datch* the 2d son 6 years, and to *Balthasar* the 3d son 5.

To this account agreeing with the scriptures, both in the whole sum of years, and in the number of generations, I have sometime subscribed, as not daring to reject an appearance of truth, upon no greater reason than because the author was of *Annius's* edition. Yet could I not satisfy my self herein; both for that none of the ancient, and few such of the modern writers as deserve to be regarded, have consented with this *Metasthenes*; and for that making *Balthasar* to succeed unto his brother in the kingdom, and not unto his father, he is wholly against *Xenophon*, whose history of the elder *Cyrus* in his *Assyrian* war I cannot slightly value in many respects, and especially because it is very agreeable to the scriptures, in the taking of *Babylon*, while the king was at his drunken feast.

Seeking therefore diligently into all circumstances that might give any light in this obscurity, I found manifest proof, that the time allotted unto *Balthasar*, by *Annius's Metasthenes*, was far short of the truth, which is enough to render all suspected that he hath said in distributing what part of the 70 years he pleased among the rest. For in the 3d year of *Balthasar*, *Daniel* saw a vision, after which he was sick certain days, but when he rose up, he did the king's business: from which business, that he did afterwards withdraw himself, and lived retired, so long that he was forgotten in the court, it appears plainly, both by the many words which the old queen used to set out his sufficiency, and by the king's asking of him, when he came into his presence, whether he were *Daniel*. Now to think that a man of such account and place as *Daniel* had held, could in two years have been worn out of remembrance, were in my judgment a very strange conceit, which rather than I would entertain, I can well be contented to think the whole story (thus related) a part of *Annius's* impostures.

Out of these reports of *Josephus*, *Berosus*, and others, many new opinions are framed, by conjectures of late writers. For the endurance of the captivity being 70 years, and these years extending unto the first of *Cyrus*, in which course of time *Nebuchadnezzar*, his son and grand-child, must have reigned; it hath seemed needful to supply the years of these three descents, by inserting some whole reigns might fill up the whole continuance of the captivity, with which the time allotted by *Berosus* and others, to *Evilmerodach* and *Balthasar*, joined unto the years following the 19th of *Nebuchadnezzar* (wherein *Jerusalem* was laid desolate) are nothing even.

Therefore *Mercator*, and others following him, fashion the years of *Evilmerodach* in this sort. They say, that the 18 years given to him by *Josephus* in the 10th of his antiquities, should be read and numbred 28 years, and the 2 years that *Berosus* hath allowed to *Evilmerodach* should be written 23: in the first number the figure of [1] is mistaken for the figure of [2] and in the latter there should have been added the figure of [3] to that of [2:] this granted [to wit] that *Evilmerodach* reigned 28 years, whereof 5 together with his father, and 23 after his death, and the same number

of 23 added to the 25 which *Nabuchodonosor* lived after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, make 49, then 4 years of *Niglifar* according to *Berosus*, 9 months of *Labassardach* his son, and 17 years of *Labonidus* or *Balthasar*, make up the number of 70 years to the first of *Cyrus*. But whether by error in figures or in words, the numbers be utterly mistaken, in all copies extant; upon how weak a foundation do they build; who having nothing to help them, save only the bare names of two unknown kings, found in authors manifestly corrupted, and such as if they had been entirely extant, were not worthy to have that place of *Jeremiah* called into dispute, in regard of their authority?

SECT. V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, persons, and reigns of the Babylonian kings.

OTHER suppositions, little different in substance from this of *Mercator*, I purposely forbear to rehearse, as falling under the same answer. That of *Joseph Scaliger* I may not forget, as deserving to be consider'd apart from the rest. He gives to *Nebuchadnezzar* 44 years, to *Evilmerodach* 2; to *Balthasar* 5, and to *Nabonidus* 17. So that from the 19th of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in which *Jerusalem* was destroy'd, unto the time of *Cyrus*, he accounteth only 59 years; beginning as (many do) the captivity 11 years sooner, from the transportation of *Jechonia*. But hereof enough hath been said already. That which we are now to consider, is his distribution of the time running between the 19th of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the fall of the *Chaldean* empire: wherein if he have erred, then is all further inquisition frivolous.

Concerning the length of *Nebuchadnezzar's* reign, I shall hereafter upon better occasion deliver my opinion. The time which he gives to *Evilmerodach* is very short, and more precisely agreeing with *Berosus* than with the scriptures. For we find in *Jeremiah*, that this *Evilmerodach* in the first of his reign, shewing all favour to *Jechonia*, did among other things take order for him at his table; and that he did continually eat bread before him all the days of his life. His portion was a continual portion given him of the king of *Babel*, every day a certain, all the days of his life until he died. The very sound of these words (which is more to be esteemed, than the authority of *Berosus*, were he perfectly extant) imports a far longer time than two years, wherein *Jechonia*, under this gentle prince, enjoy'd the comfort sent by God, whose commandment he had obey'd in yielding himself to *Nebuchadnezzar*. Indeed how long *Jechonia* did live it cannot be proved; but plain it is hereby that all his remaining days he eat bread before this king. Now that he lived not so short a while after this as two years, it is more than likely, for he was but 55 years old when he was set at liberty, having been 37 years in the prison, whereinto he was cast at the age of 18 years; after which time it seems plain that he begat *Salathiel*, as well by the age of *Zorobabel*, who is said to have been but a young man, and one of *Darius's* pages threescore years after this, as by other circumstances of his imprisonment it self.

Of *Balthasar*, to whom *Scaliger* gives the next five years, naming him also *Labassardach*, I should wonder why he calls him *Nebuchadnezzar's* daugh-

^a Dan. 8. 1. & 27.

^b Dan. 5. 11, 12, 13. Dan. 2. 49.

^d Jer. 52. 33, 34.

ter's son, were it not that herein I find him very careful to help out *Berosus*, by shifting in his *Niglissoor*, as husband to *Nebuchadnezzar's* daughter, and protector of his son four of these years; by which means there remains about one year to *Balthasar* alone, agreeing nearly with the nine months assigned by *Berosus* to the son of *Niglisar*. But *Jeremy* hath told us that it was to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and to his son, and to his son's son (not to his daughter's son) that the empire was promis'd: which difficulty, if *Scaliger* could not help it, was well done of him, to pass it over with silence.

Nabonidus the last of these, whom others (desirous to reconcile *Berosus* to the scriptures) have judged to be all one with *Balthasar*, is by *Scaliger* thought to be *Darius* of the *Medes*. But herein *Scaliger* is no firm *Berosian*: for *Berosus* makes him of the same stock or race, a *Babylonian*. I speak not this to disgrace the travel of that most learned man (for it highly commends his diligence and judgment, that he was not so wedded to any author, as affected with the love of truth) but to shew that he himself having in some points disliked those writers, whom in general he approveth, might with greater reason have wholly reformed them by the scriptures, wherein can be no error. Two things there are which chiefly did breed to confirm this opinion in *Scaliger*, that he whom *Berosus* calls *Nabonidus*, was the same whom *Daniel* had called *Darius* of the *Medes*: First, the phrase scripture, which signifies unto us, that *Darius* took the kingdom, not saying that he won it by force of arms. Secondly, a fragment of *Megasthenes* found in *Eusebius*, wherein this *Nabonidus* is called the *Median*. Touching the word of the original, or of the *Greek* translation, which expressing no force of arms doth only signify, that *Darius* took or received the kingdom; I see no reason why we should thereupon infer, that the next king enter'd by election; seeing *Daniel* relateth not the means and circumstances of *Balthasar's* death, but only the swift accomplishment of his own prophecy. Neither could it indeed have properly been said (if *Daniel* had car'd to use the most expressive terms) that *Darius* of the *Medes* breaking into the city, did win the kingdom; seeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the absence of *Darius*, though by his forces, and to his use. Now concerning the fragment of *Megasthenes*, true it is, that in *Eusebius's* works printed at *Basil*, in the year 1599, I find only thus much of *Megasthenes*, cited out of *Alpheus*; that *Nabuchodonosor*, was more valiant than *Hercules*; that he subdued all *Libya*, and the rest of *Asia* as far as to the *Armenians*; and that, as the *Chaldeans* report, being return'd into this kingdom, and wrapt with a divine fury, he cry'd with a loud voice, O *Babylonians*, I foretell ye of a great calamity that shall come upon you, which neither *Bel*, nor any of the Gods shall avert: There will come a Persian, half an ass, that shall bring slavery upon ye: and that this and the like when he had spoken, he vanish'd. Of all this I believe little or nothing, saving that *Nabuchodonosor* knew before-hand, that this empire should be translated, as *Daniel* had foretold, from the golden-head, to the silver breast. But that he won all *Africa* or *Libya*, I hold it neither true nor probable.

If *Scaliger's* copy of *Eusebius* were the more perfect, out of which *Megasthenes* tells us that *Nabuchodonosor* won both *Africa* and *Spain*, I believe the fragment so much the less; and am as little moved with the authority of it, where it calls a

Median the pride and confidence of the *Affyrians*, as where it tells of *Nebuchadnezzar's* own vanishing away. Indeed that same title of half an ass, by which he calleth *Cyrus*, makes me to suspect the fable as cunningly forged out of *Apollo's* oracle, wherein he termeth him a mule, because his parentage was more noble on the mother's side, than on the father's; as mules are begotten by asses upon mares. And thus much in answer of the two principal foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnity and coherence which it hath within it self, I easily allow it. But this proves nothing, for meer fictions have not wanted these commendations: neither can any man believe that one so judicious, industriously and deeply learned as *Joseph Scaliger*, would over-shoot himself in setting down repugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the scriptures, from which there is no appeal. And herein it seems that *Scaliger*, well knowing his own sufficiency, hath been little careful to satisfy men that would frame arguments against him. For if the prophecy of *Daniel* were true, that the kingdom of *Balthasar* was divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*, either we must think that *Darius* of the *Medes* was not *Nabonidus*, or else we must bethink our selves what *Persian* it might be that shared the kingdom with him. For it is not more certain, that *Balthasar* lost his life and kingdom, than that his kingdom was divided and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*. Neither did the *Medes* and *Persians* fall out and fight for it, as by supposing *Nabonidus* to have been *Darius*, they should be thought to have done; but these two nations did compound the body of that empire, and were accounted as lords over all the subject provinces, insomuch that the *Greek* historians did commonly call those wars which *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, made upon *Greece*, the wars of the *Medes*. Yea, to clear this point, even *Daniel* himself resembles that king, with whom *Alexander* fought, unto a ram with two horns, calling him the king of the *Medes* and *Persians*. Wherefore the whole nation of *Chronologers* were not to have been condemned by *Joseph Scaliger*, for maintaining upon such good grounds, that *Darius* of the *Medes* was partner with *Cyrus* in his victories, and not a *Chaldean* king by him subdued. Neither was *Josephus* to be the less regarded for affirming that *Balthasar* was destroyed by *Darius* of the *Medes*, and his nephew *Cyrus*, though herein he varied from *Berosus*, and others, whose authority elsewhere he gladly citeth. For *Josephus* had no reason to believe any man's faith or knowledge of those times, half so well as *Daniel's*, whom I believe that he understood as far as was needful in this case. Lawful it was for him to alledge all authors that had any mention, though imperfect, of the same things that were contain'd in the writings of the *Jews*, to whose histories thereby he procured reputation in the *Roman* world, where they were strangers, and might seem fabulous. Even so do *Eusebius*, and other *Christian* writers, willingly embrace the testimonies of heathen books making for the truth in some particulars; yet will they not therefore be tried in general by the self-same *Hebrenick* philosophers, but leave them where they are against the truth; as *Josephus* in this case hath left *Berosus*. And thus much I thought it meet to say of *Scaliger's* opinion in this point; holding nevertheless in due regard his learning and judgment, which in some things it had not failed, the miracle had been very great.

SECT. VI.

What may be held as probable of the persons and times of Nabuchodonosor's successors.

IT now remains that I freely acknowledge mine own weakness, who cannot find how the 70 years of captivity are to be divided among them which reigned in *Babylon*, tho' I find that the distribution made of them, in such wise as already is rehearsed, be ill agreeable to the holy scriptures. Wherefore I may truly say with *Pererius*, that we ought liberally to pardon those whose feet have failed them in the slippery ways of chronology, wherein both learning and diligence are subject to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulness, or heedless reckoning. Yet will I adventure to deliver my opinion, wherein the judgment of *Lyra* and others (holding those only to have reign'd over *Chaldeans*, whose names are found in the scriptures) appears more conformable to reason and account of time, than any of the other sentences or conjectures before rehearsed. Not that I will take upon me to defend *Lyra's* conjectures, when he supposeth by *Niglifar* and *Labofardach* to be meant the same persons which are called in scripture *Evilmerodach* and *Balthasar* (for this can by no good colour be maintained) but only to shew that the kings by him cited, are likely to have occupied the whole time of 70 years. First therefore, let us consider the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in whose 18th year *Jerusalem* was taken and sack'd, but in his 19th laid utterly desolate.

Most writers have given to him 43 years of reign, following therein *Berosus*. There are who have added one year more; and some have made it up 45. To dispute about the certainty were needless: for in shewing by what length of time the scriptures measure him, we shall shew the certain truth.

Manifest it is, that the 19th year of ^a*Nebuchadnezzar*, is joined with the 11th of *Zedekia*; as also that his 8th year, was the first year of *Jechonia's* captivity; the reign of *Zedekia* occupied all the mean space, being of 11 years. This is generally agreed upon, so that it needs no further proofs: As for the beginning of his successor ^b*Evilmerodach*, it was in the 37th year of *Jechonia's* captivity; so that *Nebuchadnezzar* after his 8th year (which was the first of *Jechonia's* bondage) reigned 35 whole years, and peradventure a good part of the 36th, forasmuch as *Jechonia* was enlarged with so great favour, not until the end of the year. Subtracting therefore out of these 44, which *Nebuchadnezzar's* reign did well near occupy, those 18 years of his which passed away before the captivity of *Juda*, and ruin of the city, we have remaining 26 years of the 70, that were almost wholly spent, when his son began to reign.

It is now to be considered how the remainder of the 70 years were divided between the kings ruling in *Babylon* until the first of *Cyrus*. A question more difficult (as I said before) than greatly needful: the whole sum being certain, and the distinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who were slothful princes. Neither can any man the more justly suspect the beginning or end of the whole 70 years, for that the distribution of some part of them is only conjectural; seeing that none who gives any other terms to their beginning or end, hath refused to follow both un-

likely and desperate conjectures in dividing them. I will therefore be bold to do as others have done; knowing well before-hand, that whosoever shall discover my error, must do me the pleasure (which I could rather wish in a case more material) of making me to understand the truth.

Of the 44 years remaining in account at *Nebuchadnezzar's* death, we are to take away the last, which was the first of *Darius the Mede*, and then having authority good enough to warrant us from blame of presumption, in giving us 17 years to *Balthasar*, we find left in our hands to bestow upon *Evilmerodach* 26 years. Of the year belonging to *Darius the Mede*, I have already spoken what I thought sufficient, in delivering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this captivity. That *Balthasar* did reign 17 years, we have the authority of *Josephus*, before cited in express words; we have also the general consent of all, or the most late writers, interpreting *Berosus's Nabonidus*, who reigned so long; and *Balthasar* to have been one. But nothing moved me so much to believe this tradition, as first these evident places in *Daniel*, shewing that in the 3d year of *Balthasar*, he followed the king's business, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his reign (a proof sufficient of no few years passing under this man, especially seeing it is no where found that *Daniel's* employments took end either that year or the next.) Secondly, the consideration of *Cyrus's* wars against the *Assyrians*, which beginning with the death of this man's father, and being always prosperous, could hardly have occupied any longer time, tho' we make large allowance to his deeds in the lower *Asia*, which fell out in the mid way: I have already shewed, that there appears in the scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible that the reign of *Evilmerodach* was not short; and that men of great judgment have found it most probable that he was a king 23 years. More, I think, they would have allowed him, had not the desire of satisfying *Berosus* caused them to rest content with this. And surely it were greatly to be wished, that books of such antiquity, as those of *Berosus*, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yield in many dark passages of antiquity. I will yet confess, that were his works never so excellent, and in all things else unquestionably true, I would not therefore condescend unto him in some one point, wherein the scriptures were his open enemy. How much less ought I to obey a broken fragment of his, containing only 7 or 8 lines, and part even of the title corrupted, as they believe that follow him in the rest? The scriptures have told us, that God gave the empire to ^d*Nebuchadnezzar*, to his son, and to his sons son: how long each of them held it, we find not express'd; yet would we gladly know it of *Berosus*, or of any other that would teach us; provided always, that helping us in a particularity, he destroy not thereby the general truth. More words are needless. It is enough to say with others, that *Berosus*, or *Josephus* who cited him, hath been wronged by the carelessness of scribes; and that it was as easy for those scribes to err in writing 2 for 26, as for 23, or perhaps more easy. For the omission of the 2d figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the character ς signifying 6, hath a nearer resemblance of ρ that stands for 2, than hath γ which is used for 3. So that the numeral notes $\rho\varsigma$ expressing 26, were not safe enough from being mistaken in the true copy, and might be al-

^a 2 Kings 24. 5, 8. Jer. 51. 12. 2 Kings 24. 12. ^b 2 Kings 25. 27. Jer. 52. 31. ^c Dan. 8. 1. 27. & 1. 11, 12, 13. Jer. 27. 7.

tered, as ill written, if some crooked hand, or other mischance not unusual, had omitted the first stroke of the former letter, or added a dash to the latter, which might cause them to seem not two different figures, but the one a correction of the other, which how it could be supposed in standing for 23, I do not well perceive. As for the arithmetical figures now in use, they were long after the time of *Josephus* brought in by the *Arabians*, and therefore do not appertain to this business; unless we should guess that his works were corrupted in that unlearned age, which following the *Saracen* conquest, was little occupied in the studies of humanity, but in a sort wholly given over to the doctrine of *Aristotle*. If this will serve to make *Berosus* our friend, so let it be; if not, I will not purchase the favour of his authority, by forsaking *Jeremiah* and *Daniel*; when they seem to be his opposites.

S E C T. VII.

Of the victories which Nabuchodonosor obtained between the destruction of Jerusalem and conquest of Egypt.

WITH what actions this time of 70 years was entertained by the *Babylonian* kings, few have written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peradventure have been some cause that the time it self was, and is yet sought to be abridged, as not having left sufficient matter to witness the length of it. But by such an argument we might as well deny to many people even their being. For every nation (I know not whom I should except) between the beginning and last end of it, hath in some slothful age rather dream'd away the time, than spent it. It is therefore no marvel, if the posterity of *Nabuchodonosor*, finding all things ready to their hand, which their hearts could have desired, betook themselves to their ease and pleasures, thinking perhaps, like the prodigal sons of greedy fathers, their own wisdom greater, which knew how to enjoy, than that of their ancestors, which wearied away their days in the restless travel of purchasing. Tho' indeed the reign of *Nabuchodonosor* was so divided, that his youthful and stronger years having been exercised in victorious arms, no small part of his life was remaining to be spent in establishing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthy labours past. The 19th year of his reign it was, when destroying utterly the great and mighty city of *Jerusalem*, he enrich'd himself with abundance of spoil, and terrified all that would offer to resist him, by that fearful example. From that time forward, until his 23d year, he labour'd in the conquest of those adjoining regions, which God had exposed unto his sword, and commanded to wear his yoke; namely the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrians*, *Sidonians*, and *Egyptians*, tho' some of these were already become his followers, and served under him, when *Jerusalem* was beaten down and burnt. But the *Tyrians*, whose city was founded on an island, safe enough from any danger of a land army, and whose fleet was so strong that they needed not to fear any enemy at sea, were neither daunted with the fall of their neighbour cities, nor with the obstinate resolution of this mighty prince, employing all his power to their subversion.

That the city of *Tyre* was rather well pleased than any way discouraged with the fall of *Jerusalem* (which had held the same course that *Tyrus* did,

and endured all that might be in the same quarrel against the common enemy) it appears by the words which *Ezekiel* condemneth as the common voice of *Tyrus*; ^a *Aha, the gate of the people is broken, it is turned unto me; for seeing she is desolate, I shall be replenished.* Yet at length, even in the 19th year of *Nabuchodonosor*, that great work of his, whereof we have already spoken, began to appear above the waters, and threaten them with inevitable mischief.

But those prophecies of ^b *Jeremiah* and of *Isaiab*, which appoint unto this desolation of *Tyre* the same term of 70 years, that was prescribed unto the reign of the *Chaldeans*, do plainly shew, that she followed *Jerusalem*, the same 19th year of *Nabuchodonosor*, in the same, or a very like fortune. The particulars, which doubtless were memorable in the issue of so great and laborious a siege, are in a manner utterly lost. Thus much we find, that the citizens perceiving the town unable to hold out, embarked themselves, and fled into the isle of *Cyprus*. Nevertheless it seems that this evasion served only the principal men, who escaping with their goods, abandon'd the poorer sort unto the enemies fury. For not only such people of *Tyre* as dwelt on the continent (who were called her daughters in the field) were put to the sword; but the like execution was done in the streets, into which with excessive labour the *Affyrian* made way for his horses and chariots. Thus ^c *Nabuchodonosor* caused his army to serve a great service against *Tyrus*, wherein every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare, yet had he no wages, nor his army; but was fain to rest contented with the honour of having destroy'd that city, which in all mens judgments had been held invincible.

The destruction of these two great and powerful cities, having made the name of the *Chaldeans* dreadful in the ears of all the nations thereabout, *Nabuchodonosor* used the advantage of that reputation which he had obtain'd by victories already gotten, to the gaining of more, and more profitable, with less pain. The kingdom of *Egypt* was the mark at which he aimed; a country so abounding in all riches and pleasures, that it might well have tempted any prince, finding himself strong enough, to seek occasion of quarrel against it; and so far an enemy to the crown of *Babylon*, that had it been poorer, yet either it must have been subdu'd, or the conquest of *Syria* could ill have been established. Nevertheless it was needful that before he entred into this business, the countries adjacent should be reduc'd into such terms, that either they should wholly stand at his devotion, or at least be unable to work him any displeasure. And herein the decree of God concurr'd, as in all prosperous enterprises, with reason of state. For the people of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Damascus*, *Kedar*, *Hazor*, and other adjoining regions, whom God for their sins had condemn'd to fall under the *Babylonian* swords, were such, as regarding only their own gain, had some of them, like ravens, follow'd the *Chaldean* army, to feed upon the carcases that fell by the cruelty thereof; others taking advantage of their neighbours miseries, occupied the countries which were by his victories belonging to *Nabuchodonosor*, all of them thinking, that when the *Affyrian* had satisfy'd his fury, he should be fain to forsake those desolate parts, and leave the possession to those that could lay hand upon it. Particularly the ^d *Edomites* and *Philistines* had shewed much malice to the *Jews* when their city was taken. What good service they

^a Ezek. 26. 2.^b Jer. 25. 16a. 23. 15.^c Ezek. 29. 18.^d Ezek. 25. 12, 15.

had done to the *Chaldeans*, I find not; if they did any, it is likely to have been with reference to their own purposes, wherein they were disappointed. The ^a*Ammonites* were not contented to rejoice at the fall of *Jerusalem*, but presently they entered upon the country of *Gad*, and took possession, as if not the *Assyrians*, but they had subdu'd *Israel*. Neither can I perceive what other ground that practice had of ^b*Baalis* king of the *Ammonites*, when he sent *Ismael*, a prince of the blood of *Juda*, to murder *Gedalia*, whom the king of *Babel* had left governour over those that remain'd in *Israel*, and to carry captive into the *Ammonites* country the people that abode in *Mispah*, than a desire of embroiling *Nabuchodonosor* with so many labours at once, as should make him retire into his own country, and abandon those wasted lands to himself and others, for whom they lay conveniently. Such or the like policy the *Moabites* did exercise; whose pride and wrath were made frustrate by God, and their dissimulation condemn'd, as not doing right.

All these nations had the art of ravaging, which is familiar to such as live or border upon deserts; and now the time afforded them occasion to shew the uttermost cunning of their thievish wits. But *Nebuchadnezzar* did cut asunder all their devices by sharp and sudden war, overwhelming them with unexpected ruin, as it were in one night; according to the prophecies of ^c*Isaiab*, *Jeremiah*, and *Ezekiel*, who fore-told with little difference of words, the greatness and swiftness of the misery that should come upon them. With which of them he first began, I find not; it seems that *Moab* was the last which felt his hand: for so do many good authors interpret the prophecy of *Isaiab*, threatening *Moab* with destruction after 3 years, as having reference to the third year following the ruin of *Jerusalem*; the next year after it being spent in the *Egyptian* expedition. This is manifest, that all the principal towns in these regions were burnt, and the people slain, or made slaves, few excepted, who being preserv'd by flight, had not the courage to return to their habitations over-hastily, much less to attempt any thing against *Nabuchodonosor*, but liv'd as miserable out-laws, or at least oppress'd wretches, until the end of the 70 years, which God had prescrib'd unto the desolation of their countries, as well as of the land of *Juda*.

S E C T. VIII.

That Egypt was conquer'd, and the king therein reigning slain by Nabuchodonosor, contrary to the opinion of most authors: who following Herodotus and Diodorus, relate it otherwise.

WHEN by a long course of victory *Nabuchodonosor* had brought into subjection all the nations of *Syria*, and the bordering *Arabians*, in such wise that no enemy to himself, nor friend of the *Egyptians*, was left at his back, that might give impediment unto his proceeding, or take advantage of any misfortune; then did he forthwith take in hand the conquest of *Egypt* himself, upon which those other nations had formerly been depending. Of this expedition, and the victorious issue thereof, the three great prophets *Isaiab*, *Jeremiah*, and *Ezekiel*, have written so plainly, that I hold it altogether needless to look after more authority, or to cite for proof half of that which may be alledg'd out of these. Nevertheless we find many and good

authors, who, following *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, are well contented to strain these prophecies with unreasonable diligence unto such a sense, as gives to *Nabuchodonosor* little more than the honour of having done some spoil in *Egypt*, omitting the conquest of that land by the *Babylonian*, and referring the death of *Apries* or *Hophra* to a chance long after following, which had no coherence with these times or affairs. So preposterous is the delight which many men take in the means and second helps conducing to their purpose, that oftentimes they prefer the commentator before the author; and to uphold a sentence giving testimony to one clause, do carelessly overthrow the history it self, which thereby they sought to have maintain'd. The reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, concerning the kings of *Egypt*, which reign'd about these times, are already rehearsed in the former book: but that which they have spoken of *Apries*, was purposely reserv'd unto this place. ^d*Herodotus* affirms, that he was a very fortunate king, but wherein he telleth not (unless we should understand that he was victorious in the war which he is said to have made upon *Tyrus* and *Sidon*) that he reign'd 25 years, and was finally taken and put to death by his own subjects; who did set up *Amasis* as king, which prevail'd against him. The rebellion of the *Egyptians* he imputeth to a great loss which they receiv'd in an expedition against the *Cyrenians*, by whom almost their whole army was destroy'd. This calamity the people of *Egypt* thought to be well pleasing to their king, who had sent them on this dangerous expedition, with a purpose to have them consum'd, that so he might with greater security reign over such as stay'd at home. So they who escap'd, and the friends of such as were slain, rebell'd against *Apries*, who sent *Amasis* to appease the tumult; but *Amasis* became captain of the rebels, and was by them chosen king. Finally, the whole land consented unto this new election; whereby *Apries* was driven to trust unto his foreign mercenaries, the *Ionians* and *Carians*, of whom he kept in readiness 30000 good soldiers that fought valiantly for him, but were at length vanquish'd by the great numbers of the *Egyptian* forces, amounting unto 250000, which were all by birth and education men of war. *Apries* himself being taken prisoner, was gently intreated by *Amasis* for a while, until the *Egyptians* exclaiming upon him as an extreme enemy to the land, got him deliver'd into their hands, and strangled him, yet they gave him honourable burial. Such is the report of *Herodotus*, with whom ^e*Diodorus Siculus* nearly agrees, telling us that *Apries* did vanquish the *Cyprians* and *Phenicians* in battel at sea, took by force and demolish'd *Sidon*, won the other towns of *Phenicia*, and the isle of *Cyprus*, and finally perished, as is before rehearsed, when he had reign'd 22 years. This authority were enough (yet not more than enough) to inform us of *Apries*'s history, if greater authority did not contradict it. But the destruction of *Egypt* by the *Babylonian*, foretold by the prophets, which hath no coherence with these relations, hath greater force to compel our belief, than hath the traditions of *Egyptian* priests (which the *Greek* historians followed) and greater probabilities to persuade those that look only into human reasons. For ^f*Isaiab* prophesy'd long before of the shameful captivity of the *Egyptians*, whom the king of *Assur* should carry away naked, young and old, in such wise that the *Jews*, who fled unto them for deliverance from the *Assyrian*, should be

^a Ezek. 25. 3. Jer. 49. 1. ^b Jer. 40. 14. & 41. 2, 10
^c Diod. Sic. l. 1. c. 2. ^d Isa. 20. 4, 5, 6.

Jer. 28. 27. ^e Isa. 16. 14. ^f Herod. l. 2. & l. 4.

ashamed of their own vain confidence in men so unable to defend themselves.

But *Ezekiel* and *Jeremiah*, as their prophecies were nearer to the time of execution, so they handled this argument more precisely. For *Ezekiel* telleth plainly, that *Egypt* should be given to *Nebuchadnezzar*, as wages for the service which he had done at *Tyre*: also he recounteth particularly all the chief cities in *Egypt*, saying, that these by name should be destroy'd and go into captivity; yea, that ^a *Pharaoh* and all his army should be slain by the sword. Wherefore it must needs be a violent exposition of these prophecies, which by applying the issue of such threatnings to an insurrection and rebellion, concludes all, without any other alteration in *Egypt*, than change of the king's person, wherein *Amasis* did succeed unto *Apries*, by force indeed, but by the uniform consent of all the people. Certainly, if that notable place of *Jeremiah*, wherein he foretelleth how the ^b *Jews* in *Egypt* should see *Pharaoh Hophra* delivered into the hands of his enemies, as *Zedekia* had been, were to be referred unto the time of that rebellion whereof *Herodotus* hath spoken, as the general opinion hath over-ruled it, then was it vainly done of the same prophet (which God forbid that any Christian should think, seeing he did it by the appointment of God himself) to hide in the clay of a brick-kiln, those very stones, upon which the throne of *Nabuchodonosor* should be set, and his pavilion spread. Yea, then was that prophecy no other than false, which express'd the end of *Pharaoh* thus: ^c *Behold, I will visit the common people of No, and Pharaoh and Egypt, with their gods and their kings, even Pharaoh, and all that trust in him: and I will deliver them into the hands of those that seek their lives, and into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babel, and into the hands of his servants.* The clearness of this prophecy being such as could not but refute that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of *Amasis*, it caused me to wonder what those commentators would say to it, who are elsewhere so diligent in fitting all to the *Greek* historians. Wherefore looking upon *Junius*, who had in another place taken the enemies of *Pharaoh Hophra* to be *Amasis*, and his followers, I found him here acknowledging that the *Egyptian* priests had notably deluded ^d *Herodotus* with lies, coin'd upon a vain-glorious purpose of hiding their own disgrace and bondage. And surely it may well be thought, that the history of *Nebuchadnezzar* was better known to the *Jews* whom it concern'd, than to the *Greeks* that scarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I see no cause why we should not rather believe *Josephus*, reporting that *Nabuchodonosor* in the 23d year of his reign, and the 5th year of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, did conquer *Egypt*, kill the king thereof, and appoint another in his stead, than *Herodotus* or *Diodore*; who being meer strangers to this business, had no greater reason to labour in searching out the truth, but might rest contented with any thing that the priests would tell them. Now, if setting aside all advantage of authority, we should only consider the relations of ^e *Josephus*, and of the *Greek* historians, as either of them might be verified of it self by apparent circumstances, without reflecting upon the *Hebrew* prophets or *Egyptian* priests; methinks the death of *Apries* can no way be approved, as having been wrought by consent of the people, but affords great matter of suspicion; yea, tho' no man had oppo-

fed the reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodore*. For the great love and honour which the *Egyptians* did bear unto their kings, is notorious by the uniform testimony of all others that have handled the matters of that country, as well as by the report of *Diodore* himself. How then can we think it probable, that *Apries* having won great victories, did for one only loss fall into the hatred of all his people, or which may serve to persuade us, that a king of *Egypt* would seek, or so demean himself, that he might be thought to seek the destruction of his natural subjects? As for that army of 30000 soldiers *Carians* and *Ionians*, which the king of *Egypt*, whom *Amasis* took prisoner, is said to have kept for his defence: doth it not argue that he was a foreigner, and one that armed himself against the *Egyptian*, wishing them few and weak; rather than any of the *Pharaohs*, who accounted the force of the country, as assuredly their own, as the strength of their own bodies? It were more tedious than any way needful, to use all arguments that might be alledged in this case. The very death of this supposed *Apries*, which the clamours of the people obtained of *Amasis*, who sought to have kept him alive, doth intimate that he was some foreign governour, not a natural prince; otherwise the people would have desired to save his life, and *Amasis* to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to disprove that opinion, whereunto I should not have yielded, tho' it stood upon great appearance of truth, considering that the voice of truth it self cries out against it; but leave the circumstances proving the conquest of *Egypt* by *Nabuchodonosor* to be observ'd, where due occasion in course of the story following shall present them.

S E C T. IX.

How Egypt was subdued and held by Nebuchadnezzar.

IT is a great loss, that the general history of the world hath suffer'd, by the spoil and waste which time hath made of those monuments, that should have preserved the memory of such famous actions as were accomplished by this mighty prince *Nabuchodonosor*; wherein, whether his virtue or fortune were greater, it is now uncertain. That his victories following the conquest of *Syria*, and the neighbour provinces, were such as did more enlarge his dominion, than all the former wars had done, it may easily be gathered out of *Ezekiel*: who reckons up in his 30th chapter (besides the whole country of *Egypt*) *Phut* and *Lud*, with other nations that may seem to have reach'd out into *Mauritania*, as people subdu'd by this great *Babylonian*. The circumstances of these wars are in a manner utterly lost; but that the victory was easy and swift, any man shall find, who will take the pains to confer the places, wherein the three great prophets touch this argument. Thus much I think worthy of more particular observation; that *Pharaoh*, who (as is already noted in the former book) thought himself most safe in *Egypt* by the well defended situation of his country, did very unwisely in suffering his enemies to sweep the way clean unto his own doors, by consuming all his friends and adherents in *Syria*. For as the labour of this business did more harden than weary the *Chaldean* army, so the confidence and vain security of the *Egyptians*, relying upon the difficult passages which the

^a Ezek. 29. 20. Ezek. 30. Ezek. 32. 31.

^b Jer. 44. 30. Jer. 43. 10.

^c Jer. 46. 25. 26.

^d Jun. in Jer. 44. 30.

^e Joseph. de Antiq. Jud. l. 10. c. 11.

enemy was to make through the *Arabian* deserts, and the much advantage which the great river of *Nilus* would afford unto themselves, did little avail them in provision for the war, and much astonish them (as may justly be thought) in the time of execution: it being usually seen, that the hearts of men fail, when those helps fail, in which they had reposed more confidence than in their own virtue. Hitherto the kingdom of *Egypt* had flourished under the rule of the *Pharaohs*, about a thousand and five hundred and fourscore years; but from this time forward it remained forty years without a king, under the subjection of the *Babylonians*; and then at length it began to recover by little and little the former greatness, yet so, that it was never dreadful unto others, God having said of that people, *"I will diminish them that they shall no more rule the nations."* For whereas it hath been said of *Pharaoh*: *"I am the son of the wise, I am the son of the ancient kings;* and whereas he had vaunted, *"The river is mine, and I have made it;* the princes of *Egypt* now became fools, the river failed them, the king himself was taken and slain, and that ancient lineage quite extinguished. This came to pass in the first year after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the 23d of *Nebuchadnezzar*, at which time (saith *Josephus*) *He slew the king then reigning, placed another in his room, and carried captives thence to Babylon, the Jews whom he found in that country.* Now concerning the time which *Josephus* gives unto this business, and the business it self, I have already shewn that it is warranted by all the prophecies which insinuate the same. As likewise the last destruction of *Jerusalem*, and carrying away those unto *Babel*, who inhabited the miserable ruin of that great city; which was in the same *"three and twentieth of Nebuchadnezzar,"* is not improbably thought by good authors to have been at the return from this *Egyptian* expedition. But whereas *Josephus* tells us that there was another king put in the room of *Apries* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, we must understand, that he was only a viceroy, and not (as some have mistaken it) think that this was *Amasis*. For to place the beginning of *Amasis's* reign in the 23d of *Nebuchadnezzar*, were as well repugnant unto the prophecies before alledged, as to all chronology and history. Some there are, which to help this inconvenience imagine that there were two successively bearing the name of *Amasis*; others that there were two *Apries*, the one slain by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the other by *Amasis*: a question of small importance, because the difference is only about a name, it being once granted that the person mention'd in scriptures, was deprived of life and kingdom by the *Affrians*. Yet for any thing that I can perceive, that *Apries*, of whom the *Greek* historians wrote, could not be the deputy of *Nebuchadnezzar*, seeing that he was the grandchild of *Pharaoh Neco*, and made war (as they report) upon the *Phenicians*, who were, before the *Egyptians*, become subject unto the crown of *Babylon*. I might add perhaps, that he whom *Nebuchadnezzar* left as governour of *Egypt*, was more likely to have had some *Chaldean* or *Affryan* than *Egyptian* name; unless we should think that he had been a traitor to his natural prince, and so rewarded by the conqueror with lieutenantship the country: about which it were but frivolous to dispute. Thus much in brief we ought to believe, that *Nabuchodonosor* made an absolute conquest of *Egypt*; that he was not so foolish as to give it away, any man may guess; that he appointed one to rule the country, it is consequent unto the former, and

hath authority of *Josephus*; that this governour (or some successor of his) was afterwards taken and slain by *Amasis*, I see probability enough to persuade my self; and yet can well be content, that others use their liberty, and believe what they list. As for the army which the *Egyptian* king *Apries* is supposed to have kept of *Ionians* and *Carians*; I hold them to be none other than the garrisons of mercenary soldiers which were left by the *Affryan* for the guard of his viceroy, and custody of the new subdued province: as likewise the company returning from *Cyrene* and *Barce*, who together with the friends of such as were slain in that expedition, remembered before out of the *Greek* historians, deposed and slew *Apries*, I take them to have been the *Egyptian* fugitives which then recovered their own country. Sure it is that this prophecy of *Ezekiel* was verified, *"At the end of forty years will I gather the Egyptians from the people where they were scattered, and I will bring again the captivity of Egypt, and will cause them to return into the land of Pathros into the land of their habitation, and they shall be there a small kingdom."* If the *Egyptian* priests alluded hereunto in the tale which they made of *Amasis's* obtaining the kingdom, then are they to be help'd with this or the like interpretation; if they devised matter that had no shadow of truth, only to keep the *Greeks* from knowledge of their country's disgrace; then are they little to be regarded, since we know the truth with them.

SECT. X.

Of the sundry accounts drawn from sundry acts of Nebuchadnezzar, and of the destruction of Nineveh by him; the time of which action is uncertain.

THESE victories brought the greatness of the *Affryan* empire to the full, and from them was reckoned the time of *Nebuchadnezzar's* reign in sundry places of scripture. To speak any more of the questions arising about the supputation of *Nebuchadnezzar's* times, might seem to be the overhandling of one argument: yet thus much I will note; that whereas *Daniel* was carried captive in the 3d year of *Jehoiakim's* reign (which ran along with some part of *Nebuchadnezzar's* first year) and was kept in diet 3 years more, before he was brought into the king's presence; it could not be the 2d of *Nebuchadnezzar's* kingdom, wherein he interpreted the forgotten dream of the great image, foreshewing the success of monarchies, but the 2d of his empire. The same or the like may be said of divers places which refer sundry matters unto their set years; as that of *Ezekiel* before cited, where he foretells that *Egypt* should be given in reward for the service done before *Tyrus*, dating his prophecy in the 27th year; and that of *Daniel*, placing the erection of the golden image in the 18th year: for these years held no dependance upon either the beginning of *Nebuchadnezzar's* kingdom, or of his empire, nor yet upon any of the captivities, but had reference to some memorable actions omitted in scripture, and therefore not easy to be found, nor worth the labour of uncertain search.

Of any war made by *Nebuchadnezzar* after such time as he returned from the conquest of *Egypt*, I do not read: excepting that against *Nineveh*, the destruction whereof was fore-told by the prophet *Nabum*. *Nineveh* had long before been taken by *Merodach* (as in due place hath been shewed) and together with the rest of *Affria* made

^a Ezek. 29. 13, 14, 15. ^b Isa. 19. 11. ^c Ezek. 29. 9. 13. 14. ^d Dan. 1. 2.

N^o. 24.

^d Jos. Ant. Jud. l. 10. c. 11. ^e Jer. 52. 30. ^f Ezek. 30.

subject to *Babylon*. Yet was it left under a peculiar king, who rebelling against the *Chaldean*, as *Jehoiakim* and *Zedekias*, tributary kings of *Juda*, had done, tasted likewise of the same fortune. That the destruction of *Nineveh* followed the conquest of *Egypt*, it appeareth by the comparison which *Nabum* the prophet made between this city that was to fall, and the city of *No* in *Egypt* that was fallen already. But how long after this came to pass, it is (methinks) impossible to find out. For whereas it is found in an *Hebrew* chronology, that it was in the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign; the place of *Nabum* last cited is enough to disprove it. Whereas it is referred by some unto the first of his monarchy, which began at the end of the *Egyptian* wars; the whole prophecy of *Nabum*, which went between the one and the other, argueth strongly, that there was a longer space of time intercurrent. So that to enquire into the very year of this destruction, or other circumstances of the war, whether managed by *Nabuchodonosor* in person, or by his lieutenants, were somewhat like unto the vain curiosity of *Tiberius Cesar*, enquiring who was the mother of *Hecuba*; or to the like idle pains which he should take, who would seek to learn what woman that *Huzzab* queen of *Nineveh* was, whose woful captivity the same prophet *Nabum* likewise did foretell.

SECT. XI.

Of the latter time of Nebuchadnezzar; his buildings, madness, and death.

OF the time which this great monarch spent in quiet, I think there are no monuments extant; save those which we find among the prophecies of *Daniel*. Among these we may reckon his great works at *Babylon*, wherewith he pleased himself so well, that he broke out into these glorious words: *Is not this great Babel that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?* Surely if those things be true that are by *Josephus* rehearsed of him out of *Berosus* and *Megasthenes*, he might well delight himself with the contemplation of such goodly and magnificent buildings. For it is said, that he fortified *Babylon* with a triple wall; that besides other stately works, he raised those huge arches wherewith were borne up the high orchards, hanging as it were in the air, and equalling the tops of mountains, which most sumptuous frame, that outlasted all the remainder of the *Assyrian*, and all the *Persian* empire, is said to have been reared, and finished in 15 days.

But of all this, and other his magnificence, we find little else recorded, than that (which indeed is most profitable for us to consider) his over-valuing of his own greatness abased him unto a condition, inferior to the poorest of men. And not undeservedly fell these judgments of God upon him. For whereas God had honoured him, not only with many victories, and much happiness in his own life, but with a discovery of things to come after him, yea, and had approved the certainty of his dream, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memory, and interpretation thereof by *Daniel* the prophet: he nevertheless became so forgetful of God, whose wonderful power he had seen and acknowledged, that he caused a golden image to be set up and worshipped: ordaining a cruel death as reward unto them that should dare to disobey his kingly will and pleasure, which was utterly repug-

nant to the law of him that is *the King of kings*. Hereof *St. Jerome* hath well noted; *Velox oblivio veritatis, ut qui dudum servum Dei quasi Deum adoraverat, nunc statuum sibi fieri jubeat, ut ipse quasi Deus in statua adoraretur*: A hasty forgetfulness of the truth, that he who so lately had worshipped (*Daniel*) the servant of God, as if he had been God himself, should now command a statua to be erected unto himself, wherein himself might be worshipped as God. From this impiety it pleased God to reclaim him, by the strange and wonderful delivery of those blessed saints out of the fiery furnace; who being thrown into it bound, for refusing to commit idolatry, were assisted by an angel; preserved from all harm of the fire; loosened from their bands; and finally called out with gracious words, and restored to their former honour, by the king: who, amazed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which by erection of his image he had violated. Yet this devotion of *Nebuchadnezzar* was not so rooted in him, that it could bring forth fruit answerable to his hasty zeal. Therefore was he forewarned by God in a dream of the terrible judgment hanging over his head, which *Daniel* expounding, advised him to *break off his sin by righteousness, and his iniquity by mercy towards the poor, that there might be an healing of his error*. Hereby it seems injustice and cruelty were the faults, for which he was threatened, but this threatening sufficed not unto his reformation. For that so great a monarch should be driven from among men (according to the tenor of the dream and interpretation) yea compelled to dwell with the beasts of the field, and made to eat grass as the oxen, was a thing so incredible in man's judgment, that easily it might be thought an idle dream, and much more easily be forgotten at the year's end. One whole year's leisure to repent was given to this haughty prince: which respite of the execution may seem to have bred in him a forgetfulness of God's sentence. For at the end of 12 months; walking in the royal palace of *Babel*, he was so overjoy'd and transported with a vain contemplation of his own seeming happiness, that without all fear of God's heavy judgment pronounced against him, he uttered those lofty words before rehearsed, in vaunting of the majestic works which he had reared, as well be- seeming his majestic person. But his high speeches were not fully ended, when a voice from heaven, telling him that his kingdom was departed from him, rehearsed over unto him the sentence again, which was fulfilled upon him the very same hour.

That *Solomon* and many other princes and great ones, have taken delight in their own buildings, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I do not remember that ever I have read of any, that were punished for rejoicing in works of this kind (tho' it is hard in joy, or any passion of the mind, to keep a just measure) excepting only this *Nebuchadnezzar*.

The like may be said of *David*: for other (and some very godly) kings have mustered all their forces to the very last man; but few or none have been known to have been punished as *David* was. Surely I not only hold it lawful to rejoice in those good things, wherewith God hath blessed us; but a note of much unthankfulness to entertain them with a sullen and unfeeling disposition. Yet as all human afflictions, wherein due reference to God is wanting, are no better than obscure clouds, hindring the influence of that blessed light, which

^a *Nabum* 3. 8.

^b *Dan.* 4. 27.

clarifies the soul of man, and predisposeth it unto the brightness of eternal felicity; so that insolent joy, which man in the pride of his vain imagination conceiveth of his own wrath, doth above all other passions blast our minds, as it were with lightning, and make us to reflect our thoughts upon our seeming inherent greatness, forgetting the whilst him, to whom we are indebted for our very being. Wherefore these *mala mentis gaudia*; the evil joys of the mind, were not unaptly, by the prince of *Latin* poets, bestowed in the entrance of *hell*, and placed further inward than sorrows, cares, and fears; not far from the iron cabbins of the *furies*. And certainly it is no unlikely token of vengeance near at hand, when these unreasonable flushes of proud and vain joy, do rage in a mind, that should have been humbled with a just repentance and acknowledgment of ill deserving.

This was verified upon *Nebuchadnezzar*, whose punishment was singular and unexampled. For he ran among beasts in the fields and woods, where for seven years he lived, not only as a savage man, but as a savage beast, for a beast he thought himself *secundum suam imaginationem*, as ^a *Thomas* noteth, and therefore fed himself in the same manner, and with the same food that beasts do; not that he was changed in figure external according to ^b *Mediana*, in so much as he appeared a beast to other men's eyes, as *St. Jerome* in the life of *Hilarius* (how true God knows) speaks of a woman that appeared to all other men's sight a cow, but to *Hilarius* only a woman; neither was he changed as *Iphigenia* the daughter of *Agamemnon* was said to be, into a hind, nor made a monster as ^c *Dorotheus* and *Epiphanius* dreamed: but according to *St. Jerome's* exposition of these words. *At the same time was my understanding restored unto me, &c. Quando dicit* (saith *St. Jerome*) *sensum sibi redditum, ostendit non formam se amisisse sed mentem*; when he saith that his sense was restored unto him, he sheweth that he had not lost his human shape, but his understanding. Seven years expired, it pleased God to restore *Nebuchadnezzar*, both to his understanding, and to his estate, for which he acknowledged and praised God all the rest of his life, ^d confessing his power and everlasting being; that he was the Lord of heaven and earth, and wrought without resistance what he pleased in both; that his works were all truth, and his ways righteous. Which gave argument to many of the fathers, and others, not to doubt of his salvation; namely *St. Augustine*, *Theodoret*, *Lyra*, *Carthusianus*, and others. And for that place of *Esay* the fourteenth, out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforesaid authors apply the same to *Balthasar*, because *Esay* both in the thirteenth and fourteenth chapter speaketh of the king, and the destruction of *Babylon* jointly.

S E C T. XII.

Of EVILMERODACH.

HAVING already spoken what I could of the succession and years of *Nebuchadnezzar's* posterity; the most that may be said of him, is said of *Evilmerodach*, which I will not here again rehearse.

He lost some part of that which his father had gotten; and left his kingdom burning in a war that consumed it to ashes. He lost *Egypt* by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth year of his reign, which was forty years after his father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the

account of *Herodotus*, who allows to *Amasis* four and forty years of reign; nor with that of *Diodorus*, who gives him five and fifty, saying that he died in the third year of the threescore and third *Olympiad*, when *Cambyses* did conquer *Egypt*. There were indeed but seven and thirty years, which passed between the second year of the four and fiftieth *Olympiad* (which was the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach*, and the first of *Amasis*) and the fifth of *Cambyses's* reign wherein he won *Egypt*; of which seven and thirty years it is credibly held that *Psammennitus*, the son of *Amasis*, reigned three: so that *Amasis* could be no longer king than four and thirty years. But seeing that these two *Greek* historians have been abused by *Egyptian* priests, in the substance of that which was spoken of *Amasis*, it is no marvel though they were also deceived in the length of his reign. This is the plain answer to this objection. For to say either that the numbers were miswritten, and four and forty set down instead of four and thirty, or that *Amasis* did temporise a while with the *Affyrians*, and not bear himself as absolute king of *Egypt*, until the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach* (at which time, and not before, it hath been proved out of *Ezekiel*, that *Egypt* became again a kingdom) I hold it a superfluous excuse.

Whether these *Egyptian* troubles did animate the king of the *Medes* to deal with *Evilmerodach*, as with a prince greater in fame, and reputation, gotten by the decayed valour of his people, than in present forces; or rather (as I think) some foil received by the *Affyrian* invading *Media*, emboldened the *Egyptians* to rebel against him: I will neither undertake, nor seek to define. ^e *Xenophon* tells, that the first service of young *Cyrus* in war was under *Astyages* king of the *Medes*, his grandfather, in a prosperous fight against the *Affyrian* prince, who did set upon him; at which time *Cyrus* was fifteen or sixteen years old. If therefore *Cyrus* lived threescore and three years (as he is said to have died well stricken in years) which is held to be the ordinary term of no short life, then was this encounter in the third year of *Evilmerodach's* reign. Yet by the same reckoning it should follow, that the war began more early between these nations, for as much as the manner of their fight in former times, with other circumstances insinuating as much, are found in the same place of ^f *Xenophon*. And it may well be, that the death or destruction of *Nabuchodonosor* gave courage unto those that had felt him a troublesome neighbour, to stand upon prouder terms with the *Affyrians*, than in his flourishing estate they durst have used. Howsoever the quarrel began, we find that it ended not before the last ruin of the *Affyrian* monarchy. For the *Babylonian*, being too proud to digest the losses which he received by the *Medes* and their allies the *Persians*, drew unto his party the *Lydians*, and all the people of the lesser *Asia*, with gifts and strong persuasions, hoping so to overwhelm his enemies with a strong invasion, whom in vain he had sought to weary out with a lingering war.

This happen'd after the death of *Astyages*, who left the world in the nineteenth year of *Evilmerodach*, at which time *Amasis* took possession of *Egypt*. So that the *Affyrian* having his hands already full of business, which more earnestly did affect him, seems thereby to have given the better means unto the *Egyptians*, of new erecting their kingdom, which by long distance of place did sundry times find occasion to rebel in after-ages, and set up a king within it self, against the far more mighty *Persian*.

^a L. 2. de Reg. pri. ^b Med. l. 2. de rella in Penn. sile, cap. 7. ^c Dori. in Synopsi Ep. in vii. Dan. ^d Dan. 4. 32, 34. ^e Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1. ^f Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 8.

The issue of these great preparations made by *Evilmerodach* against the *Medes*, was such as opened the way unto the fulfilling of those prophecies, which were many years before uttered against *Babel*, by *Esay* and *Jeremy*.

For the *Affyrians*, and their confederates, who, trusting in their numbers, thought to have buried the *Medes* and *Persians*, under their thick showers of arrows and darts, were encountered with an army of stout and well-trained men, weightily armed for close fight, by whom they were beaten in open battle, wherein *Evilmerodach* was slain. So that great frame of empire which *Nabuchodonosor* had raised and upheld, being shaken and grievously crack'd under his unfortunate son, was left to be sustained by his unworthy nephew: a man more likely to have overthrown it, when it was greatest and strongest, than to repair it, when it was in way of falling.

S E C T. XIII.

A private conjecture of the author; serving to make good those things, which are cited out of Berosus, concerning the successors of Evilmerodach, without wrong to the truth, the quality, and death of Balthasar.

THOUGH I have already (as it seems to me) sufficiently proved that *Balthasar* was the son and immediate successor to *Evilmerodach*, yet considering earnestly the conjectures of those writers, which following *Berosus*, insert *Niglifar* or *Niriglissoroor*, and his son *Labassardach* between them: as also that which I find in *Herodotus* of *Nitocris* a famous queen of *Babylon*, who greatly adorned and fortified that city; I have thought it not superfluous here in this place to shew, by what means it was possible that some error might have crept into the history of those times, and thereby have brought us to a needless trouble of searching out the truth, as it were by candle-light, in the uncertain fragments of lost authors, which we might have found by day-light, had we adher'd only to the scriptures. First therefore I observe, that the time which *Berosus* divides betwixt *Evilmerodach*, and the two next kings, agrees with the years in which *Nebuchadnezzar* lived wild among brute beasts in the open field. Secondly, that the suddenness of this accident, which came in one hour, could not but work much perturbation in that state, wherein doubtless the honour of so noble a prince was highly regarded, his calamity pity'd, and his restitution hop'd; the prediction of *Daniel* finding reputation in that clause which promised his recovery, as being verified in that which had been more incredible. Now if we do in common reason judge, what course was like to be taken by the great ones of the kingdom, for settling the government, whilst the king was thus distracted, we shall find it most likely, that his son and heir did occupy the royal throne, with condition to restore it unto his father, when God should enable him to repossess it. In this his rule *Evilmerodach* being to supply the utter want of understanding in his father, as *protectors* do the unripeness of it in young, but reasonable kings, might easily either commit the infolencies, or fall into the troubles, incident to such an office. That he had in him very small ability of government, it appears by his ill maintaining the empire, when he held it in his own right. That his sister *Nitocris* (if *Nitocris* were his sister) was a woman of an high spirit, it appears by that which *Herodotus* reports of her, say-

ing that she was more cunning than *Semiramis*, as appear'd in her magnificent and useful works about the river of *Euphrates*, and her fortification of *Babylon* against the *Medes*, who had gotten many towns from the *Affyrians*, and amongst them *Nineveh*. Wherefore it were not unreasonable to think, that such a woman, seeing how the empire went to decay through her brother's misgovernment, used practices to get the rule into her own hands, and afterwards, as a mother, to leave it unto her ungracious son. Other time than this, wherein *Nitocris* could have reigned, we do not find; but we find in *Berosus* (as *Josephus* hath cited him) that *Niglifar*, who got the kingdom from *Evilmerodach*, was his sister's husband; which argues this to have been the same woman. As for *Labassardach* the son of *Niglifar*, if at the end of nine months reign he were for his lewd conditions slain by the nobility, as the same *Berosus* reporteth, it seems that God prepared here by the way for *Nebuchadnezzar*'s restitution (whose term of punishment was then expired) by raising such troubles as should make him the more desired, both of the princes and the people. I will not here use many words to confute that which *Berosus* hath further set down of *Evilmerodach*, telling us that he was slain by his sister's husband: for the plain words of scripture naming the year wherein he gave liberty to *Jechania*, do plainly testify that he out-lived the three or four and fortieth year of his father's reign, which was the last of his life.

This may suffice to shew, that they who are said to have succeeded *Evilmerodach* in the kingdom, might indeed have so done, though not when he held it in his own right. Of *Balthasar*, who was his son and heir, we find, that he had such conditions, as God permitted to be in a king for the ruin of the people. He was from his young years of a mischievous nature; having in his father's time slain a noble young man that should have married his sister, only for spight and envy to see him kill two wild beasts in hunting, at which himself having thrown his javelin had missed them. Another great lord he had gilded, because a gentlewoman commending his beauty, said it were a happy woman that should be his wife. Such barbarous villanies caused many which had loved his father (as a good and gracious, though unfortunate prince) to revolt from him unto the enemy as soon as he was king. Neither do I find that he perform'd any thing worthy of record, but as a coward and a fool he lost all; sitting still, and not once daring to give battle to them that daily took somewhat from him; yet carelessly feasting when danger had hemm'd him in on every side, and when death arrested him by the hands of those whom he had wronged in his father's life. So the end of him was base and miserable; for he died as a fool taken in unexcusable security, yet had not that happiness (such as it is) of a death free from apprehension of fear, but was terrified with a dreadful vision, which had shewed his ruin not many hours before, even whilst he was drinking in that wine, which the swords of his insulting enemies drew out of him, together with his latest blood. It is therefore in this place enough to say of him, That after a dishonourable reign of seventeen years, he perished like a beast, and was slain as he deserved. The rest that concerneth him in question of his time, hath been spoken heretofore; in matter of his affairs, shall be handled among the of *Cyrus*, to whose story that of *Balthasar* is but an appendix.

C H A P. II.

Of the original and first greatness of the Persians.

S E C T. I.

That the Medes were chief actors in the subversion of the Babylonian empire.

THE line of Belochus being now extinguish'd in Balthasar, the empire of Babylon, and of Assyria, was joined first to that of Media, which then was governed by Cyaxares or Darius Medus, after whom Cyrus became lord and monarch both of Assyria and of Media itself.

Of the race of Phul Belochus there were ten kings besides himself, and of Arbaces as many are found by Metasthenes. These two provincial governours, having cut down the last branch of Ninus in Sardanapalus, divided between them the eastern empire. Cyaxares (whom the scriptures call Darius Medus) the last of the race of Arbaces dying about two years after that the line of Belochus was ended in Balthasar; the dominions as well of the conqueror, as of the conquered, fell to a third family, namely, to Cyrus of the house of Achemenes, the princes of which blood reigning in Persia had formerly been dependants on the Medes, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the world.

Of the family of Achemenes, and line of the Persian kings, we shall hereafter find occasion in due place to intreat.

The nation of the Medes descended from Madai the third son of Japhet; that they had kings soon after the flood, Lactantius and Diodorus have found record; for Lactantius remembreth an ancient king of the Medes called Hydaspes, and Diodore speaketh of Pharnus with his seven sons, slain by the Assyrian in the beginning of their empire.

But of these who succeeded Arbaces the first, that freed his nation from the Assyrians; I take the list and number from Eusebius, adding Darius Medus: of whom I have spoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are these:

Arbaces	Who reigned	28 years
Sofarmus		30 years
Medidus		40 years
Cardiceas		13 years
Diocles		53 years
Ibraortes		24 years
Cyaxares		32 years
Astyages		38 years
Darius Medus		

And though the Greeks ascribe the conquest of Babylon to Cyrus alone, yet the scriptures teach us that Darius was not only king of Media, and had the Persians his followers, but that the army victorious over Balthasar was his; as the Assyrian and Babylonian empire also was during his own life. For we find in Daniel, that Darius of the Medes took the kingdom being threescore and two years old: And further, what officers it pleased him to set over the kingdom. And so was it prophesied by Isaiah long before: "Behold I will stir up the Medes against them," &c. And by Jeremy, "The Lord hath raised up the spirit of the king of the Medes, for his purpose is against Babel to destroy it; and in the eight and twentieth verse, Prepare against her the nations,

with the king of the Medes, the dukes thereof, the princes thereof, and all the land of his dominion. These scriptures Julius Africanus doth well open, who taking authority from Diodore, Castor, Thallus, and others, delivereth that Babylon was taken before Cyrus began to reign, which also agreeth with Strabo, where he saith, That as the Medes were subjugated by the Persians, so before that, both the Babylonians and Assyrians were master'd by the Medes. And therefore the reports of Justin and Herodotus are not to be received, who attribute the taking of Babylon to Cyrus alone.

S E C T. II.

By what means the empire was translated from the Medes to the Persians.

HOW the kingdom of the Medes fell into the hands of Cyrus, it is a doubt not sufficiently clear'd by historians: but rather their different relations of his beginnings have bred the former opinion of those who give the conquest of Babel to the Persian only. For some there are who deny that Astyages had any other successor than Cyrus his grand-child by Mandane. Whereas Ctesias on the contrary side affirmeth, that Cyrus was no way descended from Astyages (whom he calleth Astygas or Apama) but only that having vanquished him in battle, and confined him to Bactria, he married his daughter Amytis. But I find the relations of Ctesias often cited and seldom followed, and himself sometimes very justly reprov'd of wilful untruth.

Viginier, a diligent and learned historian of this age, produceth many probable reasons that Astyages had no such son as Cyaxares, or Darius Medus; and to confirm his opinion the more, he citeth Diodore, Justin, Strabo, Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, and before them Castor, Thallus, and Phlegon, who do not find any such successor. Neither do Tatianus, Theophilus Antiochenus, Julius Africanus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Justin Martyr, Lactantius, Eusebius, St. Jerome, or St. Augustine, make report out of any faithful author by them read, that hath given other son or successor to Astyages than Cyrus.

Yet seeing that this manner of argument, *ab authoritate negative*, doth never enforce consent; we may be the bolder (all this great list of noble writers by him alledg'd notwithstanding) to affirm, that either Astyages himself must have been Darius of the Medes, which cannot agree with his place in the course of time: or else, to give him some other successor, according to Josephus and Xenophon, the same whom Daniel calleth Darius. For it is manifest, and without dispute, that the king of the Medes commanded in chief, and was absolute lord of that conquest, Cyrus during his life being no other than the lieutenant of his army, and subject to his authority; the strength of both nations, to wit, the Medes and Persians, with other the vassals of Darius, being joined together to compound it.

But it is very certain, that the honour of that great victory over Babylon was wholly given to Cyrus, who was the instrument pre-ordained and fore-named by God himself, not only for this action, but for the delivery of his church; a greater work

^a Isa. 13. 17. ^b Jer. 1. 11, & 23. ^c Lib. 16. ^d Zon. l. 1. c. 19. ^e Jos. Ant. l. 10. c. 13. ^f Xen. l. 8. p. 1. ^g No. XXV. ^h 5 E ⁱ in

in the eyes of God, than the subversion of any state or monarchy, how powerful soever.

And it may well be thought, that the soldiers employed in that service did rather ascribe the glory to him that was the best man of war, than to the *Median*, who was greatest in riches and power. All which also falling upon *Cyrus* by succession, and continuing in his posterity, did much augment the fame of his virtue, which among prophane historians over-grew altogether the honour due to *Cyaxares*, both because he was old, and did nothing in person; as also because he soon after quitted the world, and left *Cyrus*, who was possess'd of what-soever belonged to *Darius*, before the fame of any such king or conqueror was carried far off.

And for the *Greek* historians, they took all things from the relation of the *Persians*, who gave to *Cyrus* all the praise of a most excellent prince, making none his equal. Only *Daniel* in the first, fifth, and sixth chapters of his prophecies, makes it plain that himself not only lived a great officer under king *Darius*, but that he continued in that estate to the first of *Cyrus*, which, being the year of *Daniel's* death, could not have been distinguished from the reign of *Darius*, if they had begun together and reigned jointly; neither can it be imagined that *Darius* held the kingdom by *Cyrus's* permission, considering that *Cyrus* began after him.

SECT. III.

Xenophon's relation of the war which the Medes and Persians made with joint forces upon the Assyrians and others.

THESE testimonies of the scriptures, which need no other confirmation, are yet made more open to our understanding, by that which *Xenophon* hath written of these wars: the cause whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the *Assyrian* had enlarged his empire with victories, and was become lord of all *Syria*, and many other countries, he began to hope that if the *Medes* could be brought under his subjection, there should not then be left any nation adjoining able to make head against him. For the king of the *Medes* was able to bring into the field three-score thousand foot, and above ten thousand horse, to which the forces of *Persia* being joined made an exceeding strong army.

The *Assyrian* considering the strength of such a neighbour, invited *Cresus* king of *Lydia*, a prince very mighty both in men and treasure, and with him other lords of *Asia* the less to his assistance, alledging that those eastern nations were very powerful, and so firmly conjoin'd by league and many alliances, that it would not be easy, no not possible, for any one nation to resist them. With these incitements, and strengthened with great presents, he drew to himself so many adherents as he compounded an army of two hundred thousand foot, and three-score thousand horse; of which, ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot were led by *Cresus*, who had great cause of enmity with the *Medes*, in regard of the war made by them against his father *Alyattes*; but this great army was by *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*, and by *Cyrus* general of the *Persian* forces, utterly broken; upon which defeat, the *Assyrian* king being also slain, so many of the *Assyrians* revolted as *Babylon* it self could not longer be assured without the succours of mercenaries, waged with great sums of money out of *Asia* the less, *Egypt*, and elsewhere. Which new-gathered forces were also scattered by *Cyrus*, who following his advantage, possess'd himself of a great part of the lesser *Asia*, at

which time it was, as I take it, that *Cresus* himself was also made prisoner.

The attempt of *Babylon* following soon after, the army lying before it being paid by *Darius*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, and led by *Cyrus's* sister's son, prevailed against *Balthazar*, as in due time shall be set down.

Those *Persians* which followed *Cyrus*, and by him levied, are number'd thirty thousand Foot-men, of which a thousand were armed gentlemen, the rest of the common sort were archers, or such as used the dart and the sling. So far *Xenophon*. Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he described in *Cyrus* the pattern of a most heroical prince, with much poetical addition: so it cannot be denied, but that the bulk and gross of his narration was founded upon mere historical truth.

Neither can it indeed be affirmed of any the like writer, that in every speech and circumstance he hath precisely tied himself to the phrase of the speaker, or nature of the occasion, but borrowed in each out of his own invention, appropriating the same to the times and persons of whom he treated. Putting therefore apart the moral and political discourse, and examining but the history of things done, it will easily appear that *Xenophon* hath handled his undertaken subject in such sort, that by beautifying the face thereof, he hath not in any sort corrupted the body.

SECT. IV.

The estate of the Medes and Persians in times foregoing this great war.

FOR it is commonly agreed upon, that *Achemenes* the son of *Perfes* being governour of *Persia*, did associate himself with *Arbaces*, who commanded in *Media* in that rebellion against *Sardanapalus*, and that each of them after the victory obtained, held for himself the dominion of those countries which he had formerly ruled for the *Assyrians*; as also that they conveyed over the same honour and power to their posterity; which in *Media* was not absolutely regal, but with some restraint limited, until such time as *Deioces* took upon him the full authority and majesty of a kingdom. From the death of *Sardanapalus* to the reign of *Deioces*, are usually accounted about an hundred and forty years, in the last sixty whereof there reigned in *Assyria* mighty princes, namely *Salmanassar* and his successors, whose great achievements in *Syria* and elsewhere witness, that the *Medes* and *Persians* found it not for their advantage to undertake any offensive war against those victorious kings, it being also probable that the league continued as yet between these the successors of *Belochus*, and *Arbaces*, who had formerly shared the empire.

Now from the beginning of *Deioces* to the first of *Ashyages*, there pass'd above ninety years, in which if *Herodotus* have written truly, that *Phraortes* conquered *Persia*, and how he and other the kings of *Media* by many victories greatly enlarged their dominions, and commanded many parts of *Asia*, it had been but an unadvised enterprise of the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, to have wasted themselves against the *Syrians* and *Egyptians*, leaving so able and victorious a nation on their backs. But that the *Medes* had done nothing upon the south parts of *Persia*, and that the *Persians* themselves were not masters of *Susana* in *Nabuchodonosor's* time, it is manifest in *Daniel*, who was then governour for the *Babylonians* in *Susa* or *Susan*, the chief city thereof. It is true indeed, that the *Medians*, either under *Cyaxares* or *Ashyages*, or both, had quarrel with *Alyattes*

Cyattes the father of *Cresus*, which after some six years dispute was compounded.

How the affairs of *Persia* stood in so many ages; I do not find any memory. It seemeth that the roughness of the mountainous country which they then possess'd, with the confederacy which they continued with the *Medes*, gave them more security than fame: For if their kings, being the posterity of *Achemenes*, had done any memorable acts, the greatness which they afterward obtained would not have suffer'd any forgetfulness thereof. But as we find all *Xenophon's* reports, both of these wars and the state of those countries to be very consonant and agreeable to the relation of many other good authors, so it appears, that the race of *Achemenes* held the principality of *Persia* from father to son for many descents. And therefore we may better give credit to *Xenophon*, who affirmeth, that *Cambyfes* the father of *Cyrus* was king of *Persia*: than to those that make him a mean man, and say, that *Astyages* gave him his daughter *Mandane* in marriage, to the end that her son (whose nativity he feared) might be disabled from any great undertaking by his father's ignobility.

For what cause of grief could it be to *Astyages*, that the son of his daughter should become lord of the best part of *Asia*? No; it was more likely, that upon such a prophecy his love to his grandchild should have encreased, and his care been the greater to have married her to some prince of strength and eminent virtue.

Yea, the same *Herodotus*, who is the first author, and, as I think, the deviser of the mischief intended against *Cyrus* by his grand-father, doth confess, That the line of the *Achemenidae* was so renowned, that the great king *Xerxes* in the height of his prosperity did thence derive himself, and vaunt of it: which he would never have done, had they been ignoble, or had they been the vassals of any other king or monarch.

For in this sort *Xerxes*, in the seventh of *Herodotus*, deriveth himself.

Achemenes
Cambyfes
Cyrus
Teispes
Ariaramnes
Arfarnes
Hystaspes
Darius
Xerxes.

Of the *Achemenidae* there were two races: of the first was *Cyrus* the great, whose issue-male failed in

his two sons, *Cambyfes* and *Smerdis*. This royal family is thus set down by the learned *Reineccius*.

Achemenes the son of *Perfes*; first king of *Persia*.

Darius.

Cyrus, the first of that name, had *Cambyfes* and *Atossa*, who, married to *Pharnaces*, king of *Cappadocia*, had *Artystona* and other daughters.

Cambyfes had

Cyrus the great; *Cyrus* had

Cambyfes, who succeeded him, and *Smerdis* slain by his brother *Cambyfes*.

Of the second were those seven great princes of *Persia*, who having overthrown the usurped royalty of the *Magi*, chose from among themselves *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes* king.

This kingdom of *Persia* was first known by the name of *Elam*, so called after *Elam* the son of *Sem*, and the people therein inhabiting *Elamite*; by *Elianus*, *Elymæ*; by *Josephus*, *Elymi*.

Suidas derives this nation sometimes from *Assur*, sometimes from *Magog*, of whom they were called *Magusæi*; which *Magusæi*, according to ^a *Eusebius*, are not to be taken for the nation in general, but for those who were afterward called the *Magi*, or wise men. So do the *Greeks*, among many other their sayings of them, affirm, that the *Persians* were anciently written *Artæi*, and that they called themselves *Cephenes*. But that they were ^b *Elamitæ*, *Moses*, and the prophets, *Isaiab*, *Jeremiab*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and *Esdra*s, in many places confirm: which also *St. Jerome* upon *Jeremiah* the 25th, upon *Daniel* the 8th, and in his *Hebrew* questions approveth, saying, *Elam a quo Elamitæ principes Persidis*; *Elam*, of whom were the *Elamites* princes of *Persia*.

And that city which the author of the 2d book of the *Maccabees* calleth *Persepolis*, is by the author of the ^d 1st called *Elimais*, but is now called *Siras*, being the same, which *Antiochus*, for the great riches thereof, twice attempted in vain, and to his great dishonour. And yet this city, now called *Siras*, was not the old *Persepolis*; for *Alexander*, at the request of *Thais* the harlot, burnt it.

The first king of *Persia* to us known, if we follow the current of authors interpreting the 14th chapter of *Genesis*, was *Chedorlaomer*, who lived with *Amraphel* or *Ninias*, and joined with him in the war against those *Arabians*, who was afterwards extinguished by the forces of *Abraham*.

^a Euseb. l. 6. c. 8. de Prep. Evang.

^b Gen. 10.

If. 11. 21, 22.

Jer. 25, & 29.

Ezek. 32

Dan. 8. Efd. 4

^c 2 Mac. 9.

^d 1 Mac. 6.

C H A P. III.

Of C Y R U S.

S E C T. I.

Of Cyrus's name and first actions.

AS touching the name of *Cyrus*, ^a*Strabo* saith, that the same was taken from a river which watereth *Persia*; this great prince having *Agradatus* for his proper name. But the great *Cyrus* was not the first of that name. *Herodotus* otherwise; and that *Cyrus* signifieth a father in the *Persian* tongue, and therefore so intitled by the people.

It is true, that for his justice and other excellent virtues he was indeed called a father; but that the name of *Cyrus* had any such signification, I think it be mistaken.

^b*Plutarch* hath a third opinion, affirming, that *Cyrus* is as much as to say the sun, in the same language. Howsoever it be, yet the prophet *Isaiah*, almost 200 years before *Cyrus* was born, gives him that name, *Thus saith the Lord unto Cyrus*, &c.

Before the conquest of *Babylon*, the victories which *Cyrus* obtained were many and great: among which, the conquest of *Lydia*, and other provinces thereto subject, together with the taking of *Cresus* himself, are not recounted by *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, and others, but placed among his later achievements, whose opinion for this difference of time is founded upon two reasons; namely, that of the *Median* there is no mention in that last war against *Cresus*: and that the obtaining of *Sardis* is referr'd to the 58th *Olympiad*, and the glorious victory which *Cyrus* had over *Babylon*, to the 55th *Olympiad*.

The former of which might have been used (and was by the *Greeks*) to exclude the *Medes* from the honour of having won *Babylon* it self, which in due place I have answered. The later seems to have reference to the second war which *Cyrus* made upon *Lydia*, when it rebelled; at which time he so established his former conquest, as after that time these nations never offered to revolt. Wherefore I like better in this particular to believe with *Herodotus*, whom the most of chronologers follow, and find the enterprize of *Sardis* to precede that of *Babylon*.

S E C T. II.

Of *Cresus* the king of *Lydia*, who made war upon *Cyrus*.

I Have in the last book spoken somewhat of *Cresus*, of his race and predecessors, as also of those kings which governed *Lydia* in more ancient times: of which the first (to prophane authors known) was *Lydus*, the son of *Atys*: which family extinguished, the kingdom was by an oracle conferred upon *Argon*, descended from *Hercules*, whereof there were 22 generations, *Gandaules* being the last, who, by shewing his fair wife naked to *Gyges* his favorite, was by the same *Gyges* (thereto urged upon peril of his own life by the queen) the next day slain. Which done, *Gyges* enjoy'd both the queen and kingdom of *Lydia*, and left the same to *Atys* his son, who was father to *Sadyattes*, the father of *Halyattes* (who thrust the *Cimmerians* out of *Asia*) and *Halyattes* begat *Cresus*: which five kings, of a third race, enjoy'd that kingdom 170 years. *Halyattes* the father of *Cresus* was an undertaking

prince, and after he had continued a war against *Cyaxares* the *Median*, a prince very powerful, and maintained it 6 years, a peace was concluded upon equal conditions between them.

Astyages, the son of *Cyaxares*, and grand-father to *Cyrus*, thought himself greatly honoured by obtaining *Argenes*, *Cresus*'s sister, whom he married.

But *Cresus* so far enlarged his dominions after his father's death, as he was nothing inferior in territory to any king or monarch of that age: of which, about that time, there were four in effect of equal strength; to wit, the *Median*, the *Babylonian*, the *Egyptian*, and the *Lydian*: only *Nabuchodonosor*, after he had joined *Phenicia*, *Palestina*, and *Egypt* to his empire, had thenceforward no competitor during his own life.

But *Cresus*, notwithstanding the men and treasure spent in the quarrel of the *Babylonians*, yet mastered *Æolis*, *Doris*, and *Ionia*, provinces possess'd by the *Greeks* in *Asia* the less, adjoining to *Lydia*; gave law to the *Phrygians*, *Bithynians*, *Carians*, *Mysians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other nations. And that he also enforced the *Ephesians* to a knowledge him, notwithstanding they compassed their city with *Diana*'s girdle, ^d*Herodotus* witnesseth. Moreover, ^e*Athenæus* out of *Berosus* (which also *Strabo* confirmeth) makes report of a signal victory which *Cresus* obtain'd against the *Saceans*, a nation of the *Scythians*, in memory whereof the *Babylonian*'s allies did yearly celebrate a feast, which they called *Sacæa*: all which he perform'd in 14 years.

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and envious of *Cyrus*'s fame, doubting also, that his prosperous undertakings might in the end grow perilous to himself, he consulted with the oracle of *Apollo*, whom he presented with marvellous rich gifts, what success he might hope for against *Cyrus*, if he undertook him: from whom he received this riddle, *Cresus passing over the river Halys, shall dissolve a great dominion*. For the devil, being doubtful of the success, paid him with merchandise of both sides like, and might be inverted either way to the ruin of *Persia*, or of his own *Lydia*.

S E C T. III.

Cresus's expedition against Cyrus.

Hereupon *Cresus* being resolved to stop the course of *Cyrus*'s fortunes, if he could, despised all the arguments used by *Sandanes* to the contrary, who desired him to forethink, that he urged a nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous region, a people not covered with the soft silk of worms, but with the hard skins of beasts; not fed with such meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of water, not of wine: and in a word, a nation warlike, enduring, valiant and prosperous; over whom if he became victorious, he could thereby enrich himself in nothing but fame, in which he already excelled: and if by them beaten, and subjected, so great would his loss appear of all things which the world hath in account, as the same could neither hastily be told, nor readily conceived.

^a Strab. l. 15.^b Plut. in vit. Artax.^c Herod. l. 1. p. 3. 4. 5.^d Herod. l. 5.^e Athen. l. 14. c. 17.

Notwithstanding this solid counsel, *Cresus* having prepared a powerful army, he led the same towards *Media*, but in his passage he was arrested at *Pterium*, a city of great strength in *Cappadocia*; which while he fought by all means to surprize or to force, *Cyrus* came on, and found the *Lydians* encamped before it. That each was inferior to other in strength or opinion, I do not find: for out of doubt, *Cresus* as he excell'd any prince of that age in riches and ability; so was he not under any in territory and fame that then lived.

But as *Cratippus* of *Mitylene* answer'd *Pompey* when he complain'd against the Gods, because they favour'd a disturber and usurper of the commonwealth against him who fought for the *Roman* liberty, That kingdoms and commonwealths had their encrease and period from divine Ordinance: so at this time was the winter of *Cresus's* prosperity at hand, the leaves of his flourishing fortune ready to fall, and that of *Cyrus* but in the flower and first spring. The God of all power, and not *Admetis Herdman*, *Apollo*, had given date to the one, and a beginning of glory to the other.

When these two armies were in view of each other, after the entertainment of divers skirmishes, the *Persians* and *Lydians* began to join in gross troops: supplies from both kings thrust on upon the falling off and advancement of either nation: and as the *Persians* had somewhat the better of the day, so when the dark veil of night had hidden each army from the other's view, *Cresus* doubting what success the rising sun would bring with it, quitted the field to *Cyrus*, and with all speed possible retir'd, and taking the next way into *Lydia*, recover'd *Sardis* his first city and regal seat, without any pursuit made by *Cyrus* to retard him. Where being arrived, and nothing suspecting *Cyrus's* approach, or any other war for that winter, he dismissed the soldiers, and sent the troops of his sundry nations to their own provinces, appointing them to reassemble at the end of five months, acquainting his commanders with his intents for the renewing of the war at the time appointed.

SECT. IV.

The conquest of Lydia by Cyrus.

CYRUS in the following morning finding the *Lydians* departed, put his army in order to pursue them, yet not so hastily, and at their heels, as to be discovered. But having good intelligence of *Cresus's* proceeding, he so measured his marches, as he presented not himself before *Sardis*, till such time as *Cresus* had disposed his army to their wintering garrisons: when being altogether unlook'd for, and unfeared, he surrounded *Sardis* with his army: wherein *Cresus* having no other companies than his citizens and ordinary guards, after fourteen days siege the same was enter'd by assault, and all executed that resisted. *Cresus* having now neither arms to fight, nor wings to fly, *Sardis* being on all parts strongly encompassed, thrust himself into the heap and miserable multitude of his vassals, and had undergone the common fortune of common persons vanquished, had not a son of his, who had been dumb all his life (by extremity of passion and fear enabled) cried out to the soldiers to spare *Cresus*. Who thereupon being taken and imprisoned, despoiled of all things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and set on the top of a great and high heap of wood, to be consumed to ashes thereon. To which when the fire

was set and kindled, remembering the discourse which he had had with the *Athenian* law-giver, he thrice cried out on his name, *Solon, Solon, Solon*: and being demanded what he meant by that invocation, he first used silence; but urg'd again, he told them, That he had now found it true which *Solon* had long since told him, That many men in the race and courses of their lives might well be accounted fortunate, but no man could discern himself for happy indeed, till his end.

Of which answer *Cyrus* being speedily inform'd, remembering the changes of fortune and his own mortality, he commanded his ministers of justice to withdraw the fire with all diligence to save *Cresus*, and to conduct him to his presence: which done, *Cyrus* demanded of him who it was that had persuaded him? or what self-reason had conducted him to invade his territory, and to make him of a friend an enemy? To whom he thus answer'd, it was thy prosperous and my unprosperous destiny (the *Grecian* God flattering therewithal my ambition) that were the inventors and conductors of *Cresus's* war against *Cyrus*.

Cyrus being pierc'd with *Cresus's* answer, and bewailing his estate, though victorious over it, did not only spare his life, but entertained him ever after as a king and his companion, shewing therein a true effect of mercy indeed. *Quæ non causam, sed fortunam spectat.*

And herein is the real difference discerned between that behaviour which we call *Beneficium latronis*, & *gratiam principis*: A thief sometimes sparing the life of him which is in his power, but unjustly: A king that giveth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cause and author of his own evil.

The report made by *Xenophon* is, That *Cyrus* did friendly entertain *Cresus* at the first sight, not mentioning that which *Herodotus* delivers, and is here already set down, that he should have been burnt alive. It may well be, that *Xenophon* portraying (in *Cyrus*) an heroical prince, thought an intent so cruel fitter to be forgotten than rehearsed, as too much misbecoming a generous nature. And it is very likely, that nearness of alliance might withhold *Cyrus* (had he been otherwise vicious) from so cruel a purpose against his grand-mother's brother. Howsoever it was, the moral part of the story hath given much credit and reputation to the report of *Herodotus* (as to many the like it often doth) and made it pass for current, though the trust reposed in *Cresus* afterwards may seem to argue, that *Cyrus* did not use him inhumanely at the first.

For as *Herodotus* himself telleth us, when *Cyrus* pass'd with his army over *Araxes* into *Scythia*, he left *Cresus* to accompany and advise his son *Cambyfes*, governour of the empire in his absence, with whom he lived all the time of *Cyrus*, and did afterwards follow *Cambyfes* into *Egypt*, where he hardly escaped his tyrannous hand. What his end was I do not find.

But in this time the races of three of the greatest kings in that part of the world took end; to wit, of the *Babylonians*, *Medians*, and *Lydians*; in *Balthasar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Cresus*.

SECT. V.

How Cyrus won Babylon.

AFTER this *Lydian* war ensued the great conquest of *Babylon*, which gave unto *Cyrus* an

^a In communi calamitate suam quisque habet fortunam, Curt. Volin. c. 7. ^b Homo qui in homine calamitose misericors est

^c Memoriam metus perimit: timor vocis est incitamentum, &c. meminuit sui, Call.

empire so large and mighty, that he was justly reputed the greatest monarch then living upon earth. How long time the preparations for this great action took up, it is uncertain; only it seems, that ten whole years did pass between his taking those two cities of *Sardis* and *Babylon*, which nevertheless I do not think to have been wholly occupied in provision for the *Assyrian* war, but rather to have been spent in settling the estate which he had already purchased. And hereunto perhaps may be referr'd that which *Ctesias* hath in his fragments, of a war made by *Cyrus* upon the *Scythians*, though related as foregoing the victory obtain'd against *Cresus*. He telleth us, that *Cyrus* invaded *Scythia*, and being victorious over that nation, took *Amorges* their king prisoner: but being in a second battle overthrown by the wife of *Amorges*, *Sparetha*, and therein taken, the one king was deliver'd for the other.

Likewise it may be thought that no small part of those troubles which arose in the lower *Asia*, grew soon after the departure of the victorious army, before the conquest was fully established.

For after *Cyrus* was returned out of *Asia* the less, many nations, conquered formerly by *Cresus*, and now by *Cyrus*, revolted from him; against whom he employed *Pastias*, and then *Harpagus*, who first reduced the *Phocians* under their former obedience, and then the rest of the *Greeks* inhabiting *Asia* the less, as the *Ionians*, *Carians*, *Eolians*, and *Lycians*, who resolutely (according to the strength they had) defended themselves. But in the attempt upon *Babylon* it self, it is not to be doubted, that *Cyrus* employed all his forces, having taken order beforehand, that nothing should be able to divert him, or to raise that siege, and make frustrate the work upon which he did set all his rest. And great reason there was, that he should bend all his care and strength unto the taking of that city, which beside the fame and reputation that it held, as being head of an empire thereon depending, was so strongly fenced with a treble wall of great height, and surrounded with waters unfordable, so plentifully victualled for many years, that the inhabitants were not only free from all doubt and fear of their estate, but despised and derided all purposes and power of their besiegers.

The only hope of the *Medes* and *Persians*, who despaired of carrying by assault a city so well fortified and man'd, was, in cutting off all supplies of victuals and other necessities: whereof though the town was said to be stored sufficiently for more than twenty years, yet might it well be deemed, that in such a world of people as dwelt within those gates, one great want or other would soon appear, and vanquish the resolution of that unwarlike multitude. In expecting the success of this course, the besiegers were likely to endure much travail, and all in vain, if they did not keep strict watch and strong guards upon all quarters.

This was hard to do, in regard of the vast circuit of those walls which they were to gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men sufficiently assured unto their commander: The consideration whereof ministered unto the *Babylonians* matter of good pastime, when they saw the *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Cappadocians*, and others, quartered about their town to keep them in, who having been their ancient friends and allies, were more likely to join with them, if occasion were offered, than to use much diligence on the behalf of *Cyrus*; who had, as it were yesterday, laid upon their necks the galling yoke of servitude. Whilst the besieged were

pleasing themselves in this deceitful and vain gladness, which is the ordinary fore-runner of sudden calamity, *Cyrus*, whom the ordinance of God made strong and constant, and inventive, devised, by so many channels and trenches as were sufficient and capable of *Euphrates*, to draw the same from the walls of *Babylon*, thereby to make his approach the more facile and assured: which when by the labour of many hands he had perform'd, he stayed the time of his advantage for the execution: for he had left certain banks or heads uncut, between the main river which surrounded the city, and his own trenches.

Now *Balthasar*, finding neither any want or weakness within, nor any possibility of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding sumptuous feast, publick plays, and other pastimes; and thereto invited a thousand of his princes or nobility, besides his wives, curtizans, and others of that trade. This he did either to let the besiegers know, that his provisions were either sufficient, not only for all needful uses, but even for jollity and excess; or because he hoped that his enemies, under the burthen of many distresses, were well near broken; or in honour of *Bel* his most revered idol; or that it was his birth or coronation-day; or for many or all these respects. And he was not contented with such magnificence as no prince else could equal, but (using *Daniel's* words) *he lifted himself up against the Lord of heaven*: for he and his princes, wives and concubines, made carousing cups of the vessels of God, in contempt of whom he praised his own puppets, made of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood and stone; *Quanta sunt stultitia in vasibus aureis bibentes, ligneos & lapideos deos laudare!* How great a foolishness was it (saith *St. Jerome*) drinking in golden cups, to praise Gods of wood and stone! Whilst *Balthasar* was in this sort triumphing, and his brains well filled with vapours, he beheld a hand, which by divine power wrote on the wall opposite unto him, certain words which he understood not: wherewith so great a fear and amazement seized him, as *the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against the other*. Which passion, when he had in some part recovered, he cryed out for his *Chaldeans*, astrologians, and soothsayers, promising them great rewards, and the third place of honour in the kingdom to him that could read and expound the writing: but it exceeded their art. In this disturbance and astonishment, the queen hearing what had past, and of the king's amazement, after reverence done, used this speech: *There is a man in thy kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the holy Gods, and in the days of thy father, light and understanding, and wisdom, like the wisdom of the Gods was found in him, whom the king Nabuchodonosor, thy father, the king (I say) thy father made chief of the incanters, astrologians, Chaldeans, and soothsayers, because a more excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, &c. were found in him, even in Daniel, &c. Now let Daniel be called, and he will declare the interpretation.*

This queen, *Josephus* takes for the grandmother; *Origen* and *Theodoret*, for the mother of *Balthasar*; either of which may be true; for it appeareth that she was not any of the king's wives, because absent from the feast; and being past the age of dancing, and banqueting, she came in upon the bruit of the miracle, and to comfort the king in his distraction. And whereas *Daniel* was forgotten and neglected by others both of younger years and times, this old queen remembered well what he had done in the days of *Nabuchodonosor*, grandfather to this

^a Xenoph. Cytopad. l. 7.

^b Dan. 5. 6.

^c Orig. & Theod. in Dan. Joseph. Ant. 10.

Balthasar, and kept in mind both his religion and divine gifts.

When *Daniel* was brought to the king's presence, who acknowledg'd those excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him, he pray'd him, together with promises of reward and honour, to read and interpret those words miraculously written; to whom *Daniel* made answer in a far different style from that he used towards his grandfather: for, the evil which he foretold *Nabuchodonosor*, he wished that the same might befall his enemies; but to this king (whose neglect of God, and vice, he hated) he answered in these words, *Keep thy rewards to thy self, and give thy gifts to another; yet will I read the writing unto the king, and shew him the interpretation.* Which before he had performed, he gave him first the cause of God's just judgment against him, and the reason of this terrible sentence, whereof the king and all his wise men were utterly ignorant. Which being written at large in *Daniel* v. 18, 19, 20. hath this effect, that forgetting God's goodness to his father, whom all nations fear'd and obey'd, and that for his pride and neglect of those benefits, as he deprived him of his estate and understanding, so upon the acknowledgment of God's infinite power he restored him to both. This king, notwithstanding, lifted himself up against the same God; and presuming both to abuse those vessels dedicated to holy uses, and neglecting the Lord of all power, praised and worshipped the dead idols of gold, silver, brass, iron, stone and wood: and therefore those words, from the oracle of a true God delivered (to wit) *Mene Tekel, Upharsin*, gave the king knowledge, that God had numbred the time of his kingdom, and finished it; that he was weighed in the ballance of God's justice, and found too light; and that his empire was divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*.

The very evening or night of this day, wherein *Balthasar* feasted and perished, *Cyrus*, either by his spies, according to *Xenophon*; or inspired by God himself, whose ensign he followed in this war, found the time and opportunity to invite him: and therefore while the king's head, and the heads of his nobility were no less filled with the vapours of wine, than their hearts with the fear of God's judgment, he caused all the banks and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut down with that diligence, as by them he drew the great river of *Euphrates* dry for the present, by whose channel running, his army made their entrance, finding none to disturb them. All the town lay buried (as the poet saith) in sleep and wine: such as came in the *Persians* way were put to the sword, unless they saved themselves by flight, as some did, who ran away crying, and filling the streets with an uncertain tumult.

Such *Affyrian* lords as had revolted from *Balthasar*, and betaken themselves to the party of *Cyrus*, did now conduct a selected company to the king's palace; which having easily forced, they rushed into the chamber where the king with his princes were banqueting, slew both him and them without any mercy, who struggled in vain to keep those lives which God had newly threatened to take away. And now was the prophecy of *Jeremiah* xxvii. fulfilled, and that of *Isaiah* xlvii. 200 years before this subversion; who in his 47th chapter, and elsewhere, writeth this destruction so feelingly and lively, as if he had been present both at the terrible slaughter there committed, and had seen the great and unfeared change and calamity of this great empire;

yea, and had also heard the sorrows and bewailings of every surviving soul thereunto subject. His prophecy of this place he beginneth in these words; *Come down, and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babel: sit on the ground, there is no throne, &c.* And again, *Sit still, and get thee into darknes, O daughter of the Chaldeans; for thou shalt no more be called the lady of kingdoms.* For, tho' it cannot be doubted, that God used *Nabuchodonosor*, and the *Chaldeans*, to punish the idolatry of the *Judeans*; yet ^a *Isaiah* teacheth us in this place, that he did not yet forget, that the execution of his judgments was mix'd with a rigorous extremity. For (saith *Isaiah*) in the person of God, *I was wroth with my people, I have polluted mine inheritance, and given them into thine hand: thou didst shew them no mercy, but thou didst lay thy very heavy yoke upon the ancient. I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and will cut off from Babel the name, and the remnant, and the son, and the nephew.* And in the 13th, *Every one that is found, shall be stricken thorough: whosoever joineth himself, shall fall by the sword, their children also shall be broken in pieces before their eyes, their houses spoiled, and their wives ravished.* So as there is no historian who was either present at this victory of *Cyrus*, or that received the report from others truly as it was, that could better leave the same to posterity after it happen'd, than *Isaiah* had done in many places of his prophecies, which were written 200 years before any thing attempted.

The greatness and magnificence of *Babylon*, were it not by divers grave authors set down, might seem altogether fabulous: for, besides the reports of *St. Jerome*, *Solinus*, and *Orosius*, *Aristotle* in the 3d of his *Politicks*, the 2d chapter, received the report for true, that one part of the city knew not that the rest was taken three days after. Which is not impossible, if the testimony of ^b *Diodorus Siculus* may be taken; who finds the compass thereof at 360 stadia or furlongs, which makes forty-five miles: the walls whereof had so great a breadth, that six chariots might pass in front thereon. And of height, according to *Ctesias* and *Clitarchus*, three hundred threescore and five foot, garnished with an hundred and fifty towers. *Strabo*, in the beginning of his 16th book of geography, gives it a greater circuit, adding twenty-five furlongs more to the former compass, reckoning the same at three hundred fourscore and five furlongs, which make forty-eight miles and one furlong, but finds the wall far under that which *Diodore* reports: and so doth *Curtius* measure their thickness but at thirty-two foot, and their height at an hundred cubits, which is also very much; every cubit containing a foot and a half of the large measure, tho' to the whole circuit of the city he gives the same with *Siculus*, and eight furlongs more. ^c *Herodotus* finds a greater content than *Strabo* doth, namely, four hundred and fourscore furlongs circle; the thickness of the wall he measures at fifty cubits, and the height at two hundred of the same regal cubit. For entrance, it had an hundred gates of brass, with posts and hooks to hang them on of the same metal: and therefore did the prophet ^d *Isaiah* rightly intitle *Babylon*, *The princess and glory of kingdoms.*

But when *Cyrus* had won her, he stripp'd her out of her princely robes, and made her a slave, dividing not only all her goodly houses, and her whole territory, with all the riches therein contained,

^a Isa. 14. To wit, Evilmerodach and Balthasar.

^b Diod. l. 3.

^c Her. l. 1.

^d Isa. 47. 13.

among his soldiers; but bestowing the inhabitants themselves as bond-slaves upon those that had taken possession of their goods.

Touching the reign of *Cyrus*, and the time which he enjoy'd in rest and pleasure, I can say no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all chronologers to have lasted only seven years: in which time he made such constitutions as differ little from the ordinances of all wise kings that are desirous to establish a royal power to themselves and their posterity.

SECT. VI.

The end of Cyrus.

THE last war, and the end of this great king *Cyrus*, is diversly written. *Herodotus* and *Justin* deliver, that after the conquest of *Asia* the less, *Cyrus* invaded the *Massagetes*, a very warlike nation of the *Scythians*, governed by *Tomyris* their queen: and that in an encounter between the *Persians* and these northern *Nomades*, *Tomyris* lost her army, and her son *Spargapises* that commanded it: in revenge whereof, this queen making new levies of men of war, and following the war against *Cyrus*, in a second battel, beat the *Persian* army, and taking *Cyrus* prisoner, cut off his head from his body, and cast the same into a bowl of blood, using these words, *Thou that hast all thy life time thirsted for blood, now drink thy fill and satiate thy self.*

It should hereby seem, that *Cyrus*, knowing the strength and multitude of those frozen nations, was persuaded to abate their fury by some forcible invasion and depopulation, because in the time of *Cyaxares*, father to *Astyages*, those *Scythians* invaded *Media* and *Asia* the less, and held the same in a servile subjection 28 years.

This war, which *Metasthenes* calleth *Tomyrique*, lasted (saith he) six years, and took end at the death of *Cyrus*.

But in this particular I believe with *Viginier*, that this *Scythian* war was rather the same which *Cyrus* made against the *Sacians*, before the conquest of *Lydia*, according to *Ctesias* before cited, who calleth *Tomyris*, *Sparetha*, tho' he deliver the success of that war otherwise than *Herodotus* doth: the rather (saith *Viginier*) because *Strabo* in his 11th book reciteth, that *Cyrus* surprized the *Sacians* by the same stratagem by which *Justin* saith, he defeated the son of *Tomyris*. And the same *Ctesias* also reporteth, that the last war which *Cyrus* made, was against *Amorrbæus* king of the *Derbicians*, a nation (as the rest) of *Scythia*; whom tho' he overcame, yet he then received the wound of his death, which he suffered three days after.

Strabo also affirmeth, that he was buried in his own city of *Pasagardes*, which himself had built, and where his epitaph was to be read in his time; which is said to have been this: *O vir, quicumque es, & undecunque advenis, neque enim te adventurum ignoravi: ego sum Cyrus qui Persis imperium constitui, pusillum hoc terræ quo meum tegitur corpus mihi ne invidias; O thou man, whosoever thou art, or whencesoever thou comest; for I was not ignorant that thou should'st come: I am Cyrus that founded the Persian empire, do not envy unto me this little earth, with which my body is covered.*

This tomb was opened by *Alexander*, as *Quintus Curtius*, l. 1. reporteth, either upon hope of treasure, supposed to have been buried with him (or upon desire to honour his dead body with certain ceremonies)

in which there was found an old rotten target, two *Scythian* bows, and a sword. The coffin wherein his body lay, *Alexander* caused to be covered with his own garment, and a crown of gold to be set upon it. These things well considered, as they give credit to the reports of *Xenophon* and *Zonaras*, so they derogate much from *Herodotus*, who leaves his body in the hands of *Tomyris*.

And surely, had *Cyrus* lost the army of *Persia* in *Scythia*, it is not likely, that his son would so soon have transported all his remaining forces into *Egypt*, so far off from that quarter; the *Scythian* nation then victorious, and bordering *Media*: neither had *Cambyfes* been able in such haste to have undertaken and performed so great a conquest. Wherefore I rather believe *Xenophon*, saying, that *Cyrus* died aged, and in peace: and that finding in himself, that he could not long enjoy the world, he called unto him his nobility, with his two sons *Cambyfes* and *Smerdis*; or, after *Xenophon*, *Tanaoxares*: and, after a long oration, wherein he assured himself, and taught others, of the immortality of the soul, and of the punishments and rewards following the good and ill deserving of every man in this life; he exhorted his sons by the strongest arguments he had, to a perpetual concord and agreement. Many other things he uttered, which make it probable, that he received the knowledge of the true God from *Daniel*, when he governed *Susa* and *Persia*, and that *Cyrus* himself had read the prophecy of *Isaiah*, wherein he was expressly named, and by God (for the delivery of his people) preordained. Which act of delivering the *Jews* from their captivity, and of restoring the holy temple and city of *Jerusalem*, was in true consideration the noblest work that ever *Cyrus* performed. For in other actions he was an instrument of God's power, used for the chastising of many nations, and the establishing of a government in those parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the Grace to be an instrument of God's goodness, and a willing advancer of his kingdom upon earth; which must last for ever, tho' heaven and earth shall perish.

SECT. VII.

Of Cyrus's decree for building the temple of God in Jerusalem.

HAVING therefore spoken of his great victories, mention'd by sundry historians, the glory of all which was a reward of this his service done unto him that was author of them and of all goodness: I hold it meet at length to speak of the decree made in the first of his reign, being perhaps the first that ever he made after his possession of the *Babylonian* empire: that the captive *Jews* should return again into their own territory, and re-build the house of God in *Jerusalem*, having now endured and finished 70 years captivity, by the prophets foretold. For the accomplishing whereof, he gave order to his treasurers to furnish them with all things necessary and wanting. He also restored unto them 5469 vessels of gold and silver, whereof *Nabuchodonosor*, the grandfather of *Balthasar*, had formerly robbed the temple.

The number of the *Jews* which returned out of *Chaldea* under their leader *Zorobabel*, the son of *Salathiel*, and nephew to king *Jeconias*, and *Jesús* or *Josua* the son of *Josadak*, were about 50000; where, as soon as they arrived, they built an altar to the living God, and sacrificed thereon, accord-

^a Vug. prim. part. Bib. ^b Ctes. l. 15. hist. part. ^c Strab. l. 15. ^d Xen. pæd. 8. ^e Zon. l. 1 c. 20 ^f 1 Efd. 2 2 Efd. 7 Phil. in bre

ing to their own law, and afterwards bethought themselves how to prepare materials for the rebuilding of the temple.

But no sooner did the *Jews* begin to lay any one stone, than the *Samaritans* and other idolatrous nations adjoining, gave all the impediment they could. So did the governours of those provinces under *Cyrus* altogether countenance the disturbers, and in no sort favoured the *Jews*, nor the labours nor purposes they had in hand. And not only those which were but provincial lieutenants, and other officers of less place, but *Cambyfes* himself; who having the charge of the whole empire, while *Cyrus* was busied otherwise, countermanded the building begun. And whereas some authors make doubt, that whatsoever *Cambyfes* did when himself had obtained the empire, yet during the life of *Cyrus* there was no such impediment or prohibition: they may herein resolve themselves out of *Esdra*s, that by the conspiracies of the neighbouring nations, the building was hindred all the time of king *Cyrus*'s life, &c. And therefore it is true, what the *Jews* themselves affirm, as it is written in the 2d of *John*, that the temple was 46 years in setting up, having received so many hinderances from the first foundation to the second of *Darius*.

And if we seek the natural and politick courses which moved *Cambyfes* to withstand his father's decree, as well while he governed under him, as when himself became sole and sovereign monarch, we shall find them in that epistle remembred by *Esdra*s, written by *Belemus*, *Mithridates*, and the rest, presidents and counsellors in *Phenicia*, wherein they complain that the *Jews* were evermore rebellious and troublers of kings; that their city being once built, they would then refuse to pay tribute, and fall from the obedience of the empire, as they had formerly done in the times of other kings.

But that which for that present seemed the most forcible impediment, was, that *Cambyfes* having it in his resolution to invade *Egypt*, and that it was a common opinion, that the *Jews* were descended of those nations, because they issued thence under *Moses*, when they conquered *Judea*; their city being once repaired and fortified, they might return to their old vomit, and give the same disturbance to *Cambyfes*'s conquest, which they did to *Sennacherib*, *Nabuchodonosor*, and other kings of *Babylon*. For, as it is written in *Ezekiel*, ^b *Egypt was the confidence of the house of Israel*.

But it is to be understood, as *Codoman* and others have observed, that *Artaxerxes*, to whom the counsellors and governors of *Phenicia* complained against the *Jews*, did not precede, but succeed *Darius Hystaspes*, as in the 6th and 7th chapters of *Esdra*s, it is made plain: and also that those governours (whose epistle sheweth as much) did not withstand the building of the temple, but the fortifying and enclosing of the city, as by the reasons given in the said epistle, and by the king's answer, it is evident.

Also in the 6th of *Ezra*, the 14th verse, the kings are named in order as they governed, and *Artaxerxes* written after *Darius*; as: *And they built and finished it* (to wit the temple) *by the appointment of the God of Israel, and by the commandment of Cyrus and Darius, and Artahshaste kings of*

Persia. Lastly in the 7th of *Ezra* it is written, *Now after these things, in the reign of Artahshaste king of Persia*: which was as much as to say, after the finishing of the temple in *David*'s time. And therefore *Artaxerxes* in the 2d of *Esdra*s is there named by anticipation, not in his own time and place.

And thus much concerning the re-building of the city and temple of *Jerusalem*. Which action, tho' prospered by the hand of God, was very slowly pursued by the men whom it most concerned, but first set on foot by *Cyrus*. The other ordinances of *Cyrus*, with his form and manner of government, are to be found in *Xenophon*. At his death, he bequeathed the empire unto his eldest son *Cambyfes*, appointing *Smerdis* or *Tanaoxares* his younger son to be satrapa, or lieutenant of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Cadusia*; and then died, after he had reigned (saith *Hierodotus*) thirty-one years, or (according to *Justin*) but thirty.

S E C T. VIII.

Of Cyrus's issue: and whether Atossa were his daughter, or (as some think) were the same with queen Esther.

CYRUS had issue two sons, *Cambyfes* and *Smerdis*, with three daughters, *Atossa*, *Meroe*, and *Artystona*: *Ctesias* addeth to these, *Amytis*. *Atossa* and *Meroe* their brother *Cambyfes* married; *Artystona*, *Darius Hystaspes* obtained; so did he *Atossa*, *Cambyfes* being dead: who (as some writers have supposed) inflamed both her husbands, *Darius* and *Xerxes* after him, to invade *Greece*, to be avenged of the whole nation for the cruel intent that *Aman* (whom the old translation calleth a *Macedonian*) had against the *Jews*, tho' the opinion of *Josephus* be more probable, who finds *Aman* to be an *Amalekite*. But it is hard to be understood how *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, should have been *Esther*, whose history seems rather to appertain to the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, than of *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes* or *Xerxes*. The desire of *Atossa* to have *Greece* brought under the yoke of *Persia*, was partly grounded upon the honour which thereby she thought her husband might obtain, partly upon a feminine humour of getting many brave dames, *Corinthians*, *Athenians*, and others of that nation to be her bond-women. Wherefore I cannot give assent to the opinion of *Codoman*, who upon the near sound of the two names, *Atossa* and *Hudassia* (by the latter of which *Esther* was also called) makes them to have been one person. For tho' it be true that *Esther* concerning her parentage, a while might be taken for a great lady; yet *Codoman*'s inference is nothing probable, that she should therefore, and for the great affliction which the king bare unto her, be thought the daughter of *Cyrus*. Certain it is, that *Esther* did at length discover her kindred and nation; whereby, if histories could be kept free from this error, yet the people, and especially the nobility, must needs have understood the truth: who nevertheless did so well know the parentage of *Atossa*, that for her sake, as being daughter of *Cyrus*, her son *Xerxes* was preferred to the kingdom before his elder brother, against whom also he could have pretended a very weak claim. But of these things more hereafter in fitter place.

^a *Esd.* 3. 1. ^b *Esd.* 5. ^c *Esd.* 4. & 5. ^d *Jos.* 1. *Ant.* 11. ^e *Esd.* 2. 16. ^f *Esd.* 2. 16. ^g *Esd.* 5. 13. ^h *Esd.* 4. 5. ⁱ *Esd.* 4.

C H A P. IV.

The estate of things from the death of Cyrus to the reign of Darius.

S E C T. I.

Of the number and names of the Persian kings.

OF the successors of *Cyrus*, and the continuance of the *Persian* empire, there are many opinions; as that of *Metaſthenes*, who hath numbered the *Persian* kings and their times as followeth.

<i>Darius Medus</i> , and <i>Cyrus</i> jointly	2 years.
<i>Cyrus</i> alone	22
<i>Prifcus Artaxerxes</i>	20
<i>Darius Longimanus</i>	37
<i>Darius Nothus</i>	19
<i>Artaxerxes Mnemon</i>	55
<i>Artaxerxes Ochus</i>	26
<i>Arſes</i> , or <i>Arſames</i>	4
<i>Darius</i> , the laſt, conquered by <i>Alexander</i>	6

To which *Philo* agreeth; which number of years added, make in all 191. But in this catalogue *Metaſthenes* hath left out *Cambyſes* and *Xerxes*, and names *Artaxerxes Aſſuerus*, for the immediate ſucceſſor of *Cyrus*; in place (ſaith *Melancthon*) of *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*: for *Metaſthenes*, as *Melancthon* conjectureth, doth not account *Cambyſes* in the catalogue, becauſe his reign was confounded with that of *Cyrus*.

There is a 2d opinion, tho' ridiculous, of *Sedar Olam*, who finds but four *Persian* kings from the beginning to the end of that empire.

Genebrard, *Schubert*, and *Beroaldus*, have alſo a differing account from the *Greeks*; whom nevertheless *Eusebius*, and moſt of the *Latins* follow, and ſo doth * *Krentzheim*, who hath fully answered, and as I take it, refuted all the former authors varying from that account. For in this ſort do the *Greeks* marshal the *Persian* kings with the times of their reigns.

^b <i>Cyrus</i> in all	30 years.
<i>Cambyſes</i> with the <i>Magi</i>	8
<i>Darius Hyſtaſpes</i>	36
^c <i>Xerxes</i>	21
<i>Artaxerxes Longimanus</i>	40
<i>Darius Nothus</i>	19
^d <i>Artaxerxes Mnemon</i>	43
^e <i>Artaxerxes Ochus</i>	23
<i>Arſames</i>	3
^f <i>Darius</i> the laſt	6

Which numbers put together, make in all two hundred and thirty.

This account (as I have ſaid) the moſt chronologers and the beſt learned approve. Theſe *Persian* princes, being all warranted by the authority of the ſcriptures, as *Peuce* in his hiſtorical animadverſions, hath gathered the places; finding firſt *Cyrus* in 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 22, 23. *Ezra* i. 1. and often elſewhere.

Secondly, *Cambyſes* in the 11th of *Daniel*, who may indeed be well eſteemed for one of thoſe three kings in the 2d verſe named, and ſo the marginal commentator upon the *Geneva* underſtands that

place; but under correſtion, miſtakes the matter greatly, when he ſaith in the ſame note, that *Darius Hyſtaſpes* was an enemy to the people of God, and ſtood againſt them: his great favour and liberality to the *Jews* being elſewhere proved.

Thirdly, Is *Darius Hyſtaſpes* found in 1 *Ezra* iv. 5. who in the 6th verſe is alſo named *Abaffuerus*.

Fourthly, In the 11th of *Daniel*, verſe the 2d, *Xerxes* is plainly foretold and deſcribed, and the great war which he ſhould make againſt the *Greeks* by *Daniel* remembred.

Fifthly, *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in *Ezra* ch. iv. verſe 7. who is alſo called *Arthabaſta*, c. 4. l. 1. *Ezra* 7. and vii. 7.

Sixthly, *Darius Nothus*, *Ezra* iv. 24. and v. 6. *Nebem.* xii. 22.

Seventhly, *Artaxerxes Mnemon* in *Nebem.* ii. 1. who was father to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and *Arſames*: for *Darius* the laſt, he was of another family, the line of *Cyrus* the great ending in *Ochus*, who deſcended from *Xerxes* the ſon of *Atoſſa*, *Cyrus*'s daughter; and the iſſue-male of *Cyrus* failing with his own ſons.

But to proceed, *Eusebius*, with the *Latins*, following the *Greeks*, apply the beginnings and ends of every *Persian* king with their acts, to ſome certain *Olympiad*; as the war of *Aſtyages* (*Cyrus*'s maternal grandfather) and *Alyattes* (*Crefus*'s father) to the 49th *Olympiad*; the beginning of *Cyrus*'s reign, to the beginning of the 55th *Olympiad*; the taking of *Sardis* by *Cyrus*, to the 58th *Olympiad*; the invaſion of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes*, to the 3d year of the 63d *Olympiad*; and ſo of the reſt. Which reference with good agreement between ſeveral forms of computation, add the more credit unto both.

Again, this hiſtorical demonſtration is confirmed by the aſtronomical computation of ^b *Ptolemy*, who refers the death of *Alexander* the great, who died the 12th of *November*, in the beginning of the 140th *Olympiad*, to the 424th year after *Nabonaſſar*. And the *Aera* of *Nabonaſſar* began on the 26th of *February*: which, conſidered with the *Olympiad*, was in the 9th month of the 1ſt year of the 8th *Olympiad*; ſo that whether we follow the accounts of the *Olympiads*, as do the *Greek* hiſtorians, or that of *Nabonaſſar* with *Ptolemy*, we ſhall find every memorable accident to fall out right with each computation.

For *Ptolemy* reckons the time anſwerable to 224 *Julian* years, and 140 days from *Nabonaſſar* to the 16th of *July*, in the 7th year of *Cambyſes*.

The *Greeks*, and namely *Diodorus Siculus*, place the taking of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes* in the 2d or 3d year of the 63d *Olympiad*, and the beginning of *Cambyſes*'s 7th year, in the 1ſt of the 64th *Olympiad*: which 1ſt of the 64th *Olympiad* runs along with part of the 22d of *Nabonaſſar*. The like agreement is conſequently found about the beginning and end of *Cyrus*.

Likewiſe the 20th of *Darius*, who ſucceeded *Cambyſes*, is according to *Ptolemy* the 246th of *Nabonaſſar*, which (obſerving the differences of *Nabonaſſar*'s *Aera* and the *Olympiad*, viz. 28 years) agrees with the 3d of the 69th *Olympiad*, wherein it is placed by the *Greeks*. In this *Joſephus* agrees with

* *Chro. Kien. fol. 135.* ^b *Melanct. gives Cyrus but 22.*
^c *Melanct. 4.* ^d *Alm. l. 3 c. 6.*

^e *Melanct. but 20.* ^f *Melanct. but 40.* ^g *Melanct. 26.*

the *Greeks* throughout, saving that he joineth *Darius Medus*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, with *Cyrus* in the destruction of *Babylon*; which is true, and not contrary to the *Greek* computation, but may very well stand with it.

Lastly, The disagreements and confused accounts of those that follow the other catalogue of the *Persian* kings formerly rehearsed, doth give the greater credit to this of the *Greeks*, which being constant in it self, accordeth also with the computation of other historians, and astronmers, and likewise with the holy scriptures.

S E C T. II.

Of *Cambyfes*, and the conquering of *Egypt* by him.

WE will therefore, according to the truth, give the empire of *Persia* to *Cambyfes*, the son of *Cyrus*, though degenerate in all things, saving the desire to encrease the greatness of his empire; whereof he was possess'd in his father's time, while *Cyrus* made war in the north. *Ctesias* with others give him a longer reign than agreeth with the *Grecian* account before received.

In the fifth year of his sole reign, and in the third year of the threescore and third *Olympiad*, according to *Diodore* and *Eusebius*, he invaded *Egypt*, and having overthrown the king thereof, *Psammeniticus*, he not only caused him to be slain, but also did put to death all his kindred and dependents, with the most of his children.

Herodotus and *Ctesias* give for cause of this war (being no other indeed than the ambition of *Cambyfes*) that when he sent to *Amasis* king of *Egypt*, to have his daughter in marriage, *Amasis* presented him with *Nitetis* the daughter of *Apries*, his predecessor, which *Cambyfes* disdained.

Howsoever it were; true it is, that *Cambyfes* gathered an army fit for such an enterprize and caused the same to march. But before they enter'd *Egypt*, *Amasis* died, and left *Psammeniticus*, whom *Ctesias* called *Amyrteus*, his successor; who enjoyed *Egypt* after his father (according to the best copies of *Herodotus*) but six months, though other chronologers give him six years.

But how long soever he held the crown, in one battle he lost it, and was himself taken prisoner.

It is said that *Cambyfes*, following therein the example of *Cyrus*, did not only spare life to the conquered king, but that he also trusted him with the government of *Egypt*, and that upon some revolt, or suspicion thereof, he caused him to be slaughter'd.

But the race of this king was not so extirpated, if we may believe *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, but that he left a son called *Inarus*, who caused the *Egyptians* to revolt both from *Xerxes* and *Artaxerxes*.

That *Psammeniticus*, was at the first entreated gently by *Cambyfes*, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is also written of him, That he so much hated *Amasis* the king of *Egypt*, who died before his arrival, that he caused his body to be drawn out of the grave, and after divers indignities used, commanded the same to be burnt, contrary to the custom both of the *Egyptians* and *Persians*. For the *Egyptians* used to powder their dead bodies with salt and other drugs, to the end the worms might not devour them. The *Persians* durst not consume them with fire, which they esteemed as a God, and therefore used to feed it with carrion.

S E C T. III.

The rest of *Cambyfes's* acts.

AFTER this victory obtained in *Egypt*, *Cambyfes* sent an army into *Cyprus*, and constrained *Evelthon* king thereof to acknowledge him who before held that island of the *Egyptians*.

While *Cambyfes* yet busied himself in *Egypt*, he so much detested the idolatry of that nation, as he caused the images themselves, with the temples wherein they were worshipped, to be torn down and defaced. This done, he directed a part of his army into *Libya* to overturn the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*; but the devil, in defence of his oratory, raised such a tempest of Sand, wherewith the greatest part of the country is covered, as the *Persians* were therewith choaked and overwhelmed.

Notwithstanding which misadventure, *Herodotus* and *Seneca* report, that disclaiming to be resisted, he prepared the rest of his army, which himself meant to conduct into those parts, but that finding a beginning of those incommodities, which his first-sent troops had try'd, he chang'd his purpose. For tho' conquering kings have power over men, yet the elements do not obey them; according to that old *English* proverb: *Go, saith the king; stay, saith the tide.*

After his return from the attempt of *Ethiopia*, he caused *Apis*, the *Egyptian* bull, worshipped by that nation as God, to be slain: a deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeal, and been executed as in service of him that only is, and liveth. But soon afterwards, when in a dream it seemed unto him that *Smerdis* did sit in the royal throne of *Persia* (which apparition was verified in *Smerdis* the *Magus*) he gave it in charge to his favourite *Praxaspes*, to murder *Smerdis* his brother. And having married his own sisters, contrary to the *Persian* laws, he committed a most causeless and most detestable murder upon the one of them called *Meroe*, then by himself with child, because she bewailed the death of her brother *Smerdis*. I find it written of this *Cambyfes*, That because his predecessors observed religiously the ordinances of the empire, he assembled his judges and enquired of them, whether there were any law among the *Persians* that did permit the brother to marry his own sister; it being his own intent so to do: the judges (who had always either laws or distinctions in store to satisfy kings and times) made answer, That there was not any thing written allowing any such conjunction, but they notwithstanding found it in their customs, that it was always left to the will of the *Persian* kings, to do what best pleased themselves; and so, as *Naclerus* terms it, *invenerunt occasionem*: that is as much as to say, The judges found a shift to please the king, and to secure themselves. And yet, where it concerned not the king's private satisfaction, he caused *Sisammus*, one of his judges, and perchance one of those which favoured his incestuous match, to be slay'd alive, for an unjust judgment given, and his hide to be hung up over the judgment-seat. After which, bestowing the father's office on his son, he willed him to remember that the same partiality deserved the same punishment.

Among other his cruelties, that which he exercised against the son of his beloved *Praxaspes*, was very strange and ungrateful. For when he desired to be truly informed by him what the *Persians*

^a Tab. 2. c. 3. Her. l. 3. p. 83, 84, 85. ^b Neither did the Romans ever consume their dead to ashes, till the time of *Sylla* dictator, who caused his own to be devoured by that element, fearing the law called *Talio*, or like for like, because himself had punished the son of *Cato* *Marius* after his death. Her. l. 3. Plin. l. 6. c. 54. ^c *Strabo* & *Jul. Capitolinus* c. 83. Her. l. 3. Sen. l. 7. c. Her. p. 89, 90.

thought of his conditions, *Praxaspes* answer'd, That his virtues were followed with abundant praise from all men, only it was by many observ'd, that he took more than usual delight in the taste of wine: with which taxation inflamed, he used this replication: And are the *Persians* double-tongu'd, who also tell me, that I have in all things excelled my father *Cyrus*? Thou *Praxaspes* shalt then witness, whether in this report they have done me right: for if at the first shot I pierce thy son's heart with an arrow, then is it false that hath been spoken; but if I miss the mark, I am then pleased that the same be accounted true, and my subjects believed. This being spoken, he immediately directed an arrow towards the innocent child, who falling down dead with the stroke, *Cambyfes* commanded his body to be opened, and his heart being broached on the arrow, this monstrous tyrant greatly rejoicing, shew'd it to the father, with this saying instead of an epitaph: Now *Praxaspes* thou may'st resolve thy self, that I have not lost my wits with wine, but the *Persians* theirs, who make such report.

Many other barbarous cruelties he exercised, till at the last, according to the phrase of our law, he became *felon de soy*. For when he was inform'd, that *Patizites*, and *Smerdis* the *Magi* (*Cedrenus* writeth them *Sphendanis* and *Cimerdius*) ministers of his domestical affairs, taking advantage of the great resemblance between *Smerdis* the king's brother, and *Smerdis* the *Magus*, possess'd themselves of the empire, he made all haste towards *Persia*; and in mounting hastily on horse-back, his sword dis-sheathing, pierced his own thigh, wherewith deadly wounded, falling into an over-late and remediless repentance of the slaughter which he had executed upon his own brother, he soon after gave up his wicked ghost, when he had reigned 8 years, accounting therein those 7 months in which the *Magi* govern'd while he was absent.

In *Cambyfes* the male-line of *Cyrus* failed. For he had no issue either by *Atossa* or *Meroe*: yet *Zonaras* out of *Jerome* gives him a daughter called *Pantaptes*, and a son called *Orontes*; who being drowned in the river *Ophites* by *Antioch*, the same was afterwards in memory of the princes death, called *Orontes*.

He built the city of *Babylon* in *Egypt*, in the place where *Iatopolis* was formerly seated, and that of *Meroe* in the Island of *Nilus*, calling it by the name of his sister *Meroe*.

S E C T. IV.

Of the Inter-regnum between *Cambyfes* and *Darius*.

CYRUS and his two sons being now dead, and the kingdom in the possession of one of the *Magi*, the counterleit of *Smerdis*, the princes, or satrapa's, or provincial governours of the empire, (to wit *Otanes*, *Intaphernes*, *Gobrias*, *Megabyfus*, *Asphatines*, *Idarnes*, and *Darius*, who were all descended from *Achemenes* the first *Persian* king) having discovered the fraud of this imposture, joined their forces together, surprized and rooted out the conspirator with his companions and assistants. In

which action (saith *Justin*) *Intaphernes*, and *Asphatines* were slain; but *Herodotus* otherwise, that they were only wounded; for he avoweth, that all the seven princes were present at the election following.

For the empire being now without a governour, these princes grew into consultation how the same might be ordered from thenceforth. *Otanes* (one of the seven) did not fancy any election of kings, but that the nobility and cities should confederate, and by just laws defend their liberty in equality, giving divers reasons for his opinion, being, as it seemed, greatly terrified by the cruelties of *Cambyfes*: As first, that it was not safe to give all power to any one, seeing greatness it self, even in good men, doth often infect the mind with many vices, and that liberty and freedom in all things is most apt to insult, and to commit all manner of wicked outrage. Again, that tyrants do commonly use the service of wicked men, and favour them most; they usurp upon the laws of their country, take other men's wives by force, and destroy whom they please, without judgment.

Megabyfus was of another opinion, affirming that the tyranny of a multitude was thrice more intolerable than that of one. For the multitude do all things without judgment, run into business and affairs with precipitation, like raging and over-bearing floods.

He therefore thought it safest to make election of a few, and those of the best, wisest, and most virtuous, because it is ever found that excellent counsels are ever had from excellent men.

Darius gave the third judgment, who perswaded the creation of a king, because even among few diuturnity of concord is seldom found, and in great empires it doth ever happen, that the discord of many rulers hath enforced the election of one supreme. It were therefore, saith *Darius*, far safer to observe the laws of our country, by which kingly government hath been ordained.

The other four princes adhered to *Darius* and agreed to continue the same imperial government, by God established and made prosperous. And to avoid partiality, it was accorded that the morning following, these seven princes should mount on horse-back, and on him the kingdom should be conferr'd, whose horse, after the sun rising, should first neigh or bray. ^b In the evening after this appointment was made, it is said, that *Darius* consulted with the master of his horse *Oebarus*, who, in the suburbs of the city, where the election was resolv'd of, caused the same horse, whereon in the morning *Darius* was mounted, to cover a mare, who, as soon as he came into the same place, was the first horse that brayed. Whereupon the other six princes descended from their horses, and acknowledged *Darius* for their lord and king.

Plato, in the third of his laws, affirmeth, that in memory of the seven princes, whereof *Darius* himself was one, that deliver'd the empire from the usurpation of the *Magi*, he divided the whole into seven governments; *Herodotus* saith, into twenty satrapies.

^a Zon. Com. 2. p. 117.

^b Her. 3. p. 100, 101

C H A P. V.

Of DARIUS, the son of Hyftafpes.

S E C T. I.

Of Darius's lineage.

DARIUS was descended of the ancient *Persian* kings, to wit, of the *Achæmenidæ*, of which *Cyrus* the great was the lineal successor. For in this sort *Herodotus* deriveth him, as before :

Cyrus the first, who had
Theispus, who begat
Ariaramnes, who was father of
Arfames, the father of
Hyftafpes, the father of
Darius, firnamed *Celus*, the father of *Xerxes*.

^a*Hyftafpes* accompanied *Cyrus* the great in the wars against the *Scythians*; at which time *Cyrus* being made jealous of *Darius* by a dream of his own, caused him to be sent into *Persia*; others say, to be imprisoned, from whence by the death of *Cyrus* he was deliver'd, and made governour of the *Persian Magi*. He afterwards followed *Cambyfes* into *Egypt*; he then join'd with the rest of the princes against the *Magi*, and either by the^b neighing of his horse, or, as others affirm, by strong hand, he obtained the empire, which he the more assured to himself, by taking two of *Cyrus's* daughters, and as many of his nieces for his wives.

Hyftafpes, according to ^c*Herodotus*, had, besides *Darius*, these three sons, who were great commanders in the war which *Darius* made in *Asia* the less, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*; *Atarnes*, *Artaphernes*, and *Artabanus*, who dissuaded *Xerxes* from the second *Grecian* war. *Hyftafpes* had also a daughter married to *Gobrias*, the father of *Mardonius*, who commanded the army of *Darius* in *Macedon*, and married the daughter of *Darius Artofstre*, his cousin-german.

Reineccius gives to *Hyftafpes* five sons, *Darius* who succeeded *Cambyfes*, *Artabanus*, *Artaphernes*, *Otanes*, and *Atarnes*, with two daughters.

S E C T. II.

Of Darius's government, and suppressing the rebellion of Babylon.

DARIUS devised equal laws whereby his subjects might be governed, the same being formerly promised by *Cyrus*. He gave access to all his subjects, and behaved himself so mildly to all men, that many nations desired and offered themselves to become his vassals: Only he laid divers payments and taxes on the people, which had not been accustomed in *Cyrus's* time, to the value of fourteen thousand five hundred and threescore talents, saith *Herodotus*.

The war which *Cambyfes* made afar off in *Egypt*, and the contention between the *Magi* and the princes of *Persia* for the empire, gave heart to the *Babylonians* to recover their liberty, and to shake off the *Persian* yoke; whereof *Darius* being advertised, he prepared an army to recover that city and state re-

volted. But finding the same a difficult work, he used the service of *Zopyrus*, who for the love he bare *Darius*, did cut off his own ears and nose, and with other wounds yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to fly to the *Babylonians* for succour, to whom he accused the cruelty of *Darius*; who, for having given him advice to give over the siege of their city, had in this sort dismember'd and deform'd him; whereupon the *Babylonians* gave him that credit, as they trusted him with the disposition and commandment of their greatest forces: which when *Zopyrus* had obtained, after some small colourable overthrows given to the *Persians* upon sallies, he^d delivered the city into *Darius's* hands, who had lain before it twenty months.

S E C T. III.

Of Darius's favour to the Jews, in building the temple.

IN the second year of *Darius*, he gave order that the building of the temple at *Jerusalem* should go on, and commanded that the same should be finished at his own charge, and out of the revenues of the crown. And whereas the governours of those provinces, which are situate between *Euphrates* and the *Phenician* and mid-land sea (whom ^e*Ezra* calleth the captains beyond the river) had hinder'd the work in *Cambyfes's* time, *Darius* gave commandment, that they should not thenceforth come near unto *Jerusalem*, to give any impediment to the building; but that they should withdraw themselves, and get them far off, till all were finish'd and at an end. In the old *Latin* it is written, *Procul recedite ab illis, Withdraw yourselves far from them*; in our *English*, *Be ye far from thence*, to wit, from the city and temple now in building.

He also made a decree which concern'd his own subjects, that ^f*Whosoever should thenceforth hinder the setting up of the temple of God, that his house should be torn down, and the disturber hanged on the gallows made of the timber thereof*. He also in the same decree maketh invocation to God; ^g*That hath caused his name to dwell there, (to) destroy all kings and people that put their hands to alter and to destroy this house of God which is in Jerusalem, &c.* In four years after which decree (the *Jews* being really furnish'd with money and all things necessary from *Darius*) the temple was in all finish'd, to wit, in the beginning of the spring, in the sixth year of *Darius Hyftafpes*, and in the two and fortieth after their first return.

S E C T. IV.

Of Darius's Scythian war.

AFTER the recovery of *Babylon* he invaded the *Scythians*, whose king ^h*Justin* calleth *Lathinus*, and saith, that *Darius* undertook this war against him, because he refused him his daughter in marriage. The better to convoy his army into *Scythia*, he built a bridge of small vessels over the river *Ister* or *Danubius*, and gave the custody

^a Curt. l. 4. ^b Her. l. 1, 3. ^c Herodot. p. 154. p. 130. p. 101. and 202. p. 108, 109. Her. l. 6. p. 180. p. 186, 190. p. 179. p. 200, 204, and 213, 285, 286, p. 214, 254. De Reg. Persiar. fol. 32. ^d Her. l. 3. ^e Ezra c. 6. ^f lb. 6. 11. ^g lb. 6. 12. ^h Her. l. 4. Just. l. 2.

of the same in charge (among others of *Asia* the less) to the *Ionians* and *Eolians*, among whom was *Miltiades*, who persuaded the *Asian Grecians* to break down the bridge, to the end *Darius* might not return thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficulty; but the same was resisted by *Histiæus* prince of *Milet*, a city of *Ionia*, which nation, being a colony of the *Greeks*,^a *Diodorus* call-eth traitors to their country, because they joined themselves to *Darius*. But the *Scythians* more elegantly termed them good slaves, forasmuch as they would not run away from their master, but were more mindful of doing their duties, than of shaking off their bondage, when they were presented with as fair an occasion of liberty as could have been desired. For the great army of *Darius* entering the desert country call'd *Bessarabia*, found in it neither people to resist them, nor any sustenance to relieve them. For the *Scythians* were then, as are the *Chrim Tartars*, their posterity, at this day, all horse-men, using the bow and sword. They were not ploughmen, but graziers, driving their herds from one place to another, as opportunity of pasture led them. Standing towns they had none, but used for houses the waggons wherein they carried their wives and children. These waggons they place at every station in very good order, making streets and lanes in the manner of a great town, removeable at their pleasure. Neither hath the emperor himself, call'd now the great *Chrim*, any other city than such as *Agora* (as they name it) or town of carts. When as therefore *Darius* had wearied himself, and wasted his provision in those desolate regions, wherein he found neither ways to direct him, victuals to refresh him, nor any houses, fruitful trees or living creatures, nor any thing at all, which either he himself might make use of, or by destroying it might grieve his enemies, he began to perceive his own folly, and the danger into which he had brought himself. Yet setting a good face upon a bad game, he sent brave messages to the *Scythian*, bidding him to cease his flight, and either to make trial of his valour and fortune in plain battle; or, if he acknowledged himself the weaker, then to yield by fair means, and become his subject, giving him earth and water, which the *Persians* used to demand as a sign that all was yielded unto them. To this challenge the *Scythian* returned an hieroglyphical answer; sending a bird, a frog, a mouse, and five arrows: which dumb shew *Darius* interpreting by his own wish, thought that he did yield all the elements wherein those creatures live, and his weapons withal into his hands. But *Gobryas*, one of the seven princes, who had slain the *Magi*, construed their meaning aright, which was thus: *O ye Persians, get ye wings like birds, or drive under the water or creep into holes in the earth, for else ye shall not escape our arrows*. And this interpretation was soon verified by the *Scythians* themselves, who assailed the *Persian* camp, drove the horse-men into the trenches, and vexed the army with continual alarms day and night; were so fearless of this great monarch, and so little regarded him, that within his hearing, and even in his sight, they did not forbear the pastime of coursing a hare, which they had started by chance. By this boldness of theirs, *Darius* was so discouraged, that he forsook his camp by night, making many fires, and leaving all that were sick, and weak behind him, and so with all speed marched away towards the river *Ister*. He was pursued hardly by the *Scythians*, who mis'd him; yet arriving at the bridge before him, persuaded the

Ionians to depart, assuring them that the *Persian* king should never more be able to do them either good or harm. Which words had certainly been proved true, had not *Histiæus* the *Milesian* prevailed with his people, to attend the coming of *Darius*, whom the *Scythians* did likewise fail to meet, when they returned from *Ister* to seek him out.

S E C T. V.

Some actions of the Persians in Europe, after the Scythian war.

DARIUS having thus escaped out of *Scythia*, determined the invasion of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, in which war he employed *Megabazus*, who master'd the *Peonians*, and transplanted them, and possess'd *Perinthus*, *Chalcedon*, *Byzantium*, and other places, being also soon after subjected, and added to the *Persian* empire by *Otanes* the son of *Sysamnes*, whom *Cambyzes* had excoriated for false judgement. So were the cities of ^b *Selybria*, and ^c *Cardia* likewise taken in from the *Persian*, who having now reduced under his obedience, the best part of *Thrace*, did send his ambassadors to *Amintas* king of *Macedon* adjoining, demanding of him by the earth and water, the sovereignty over that kingdom. *Amintas* doubting his own strength, entertain'd the ambassadors with gentle words, and afterwards invited them to a solemn and magnificent feast; the *Persians* greatly desired that the *Macedonian* ladies might be present: which being granted, the ambassadors, who were well filled with wine, and presumed upon their greatness and many victories, began to use such embracings, and other lascivious behaviour, towards those noble ladies, as *Alexander* the king's son, great grandfather to *Alexander* the Great, disdaining the *Persians* barbarous presumption, besought his father to withdraw himself from the assembly, continuing notwithstanding all honourable respect towards the ambassadors, whom withal he entreated that the ladies might refresh themselves for a while; promising their speedy return. This being obtained, *Alexander* caused the like number of well-favoured young men to cloath themselves in the same garments, and to use the same attires which the ladies had worn at the feast, giving them in charge, that when the *Persians* offered to abuse them, they should forthwith transpierce them with their long knives, of which they were provided for that purpose, which was accordingly perform'd. Charge was soon after given by *Darius* for a severe revenge of this murder: But *Alexander* somewhat before the death of *Amintas*, gave his sister *Gygea* in marriage to *Bubaris*, a principal commander of *Darius's* forces on that side, who persuaded her husband how helpful the alliance of *Macedon* would prove for the invasion of *Attica* intended, so prevail'd, as *Alexander* escaped that tempest, which threaten'd to fall upon him very suddenly; the war of *Asia* the less, called *Ionic*, falling out at the same time.

S E C T. VI.

The first occasion of the war which Darius made upon Greece, with a rehearsal of the government in Athens, whence the quarrel grew.

NOW the better to understand the reason and motives of that great war, which followed soon after, between the *Persians* and *Grecians*, it is necessary to make a short repetition of the state of *Athens*, which city endured the hardest and worst

^a Diod. l. 11. ^b Her. l. 5. ^c A maritime city of *Thrace* of the south of Constantinople a *Cardia*, a city upon the Chersonesus of *Thrace*, afterwards *Tyrimachia*. Pto. Paul.

brunt of *Darius's* invasion on that side the sea, with admirable success. Neither do I hold it any impertinence to be large in unfolding every circumstance of so great a business as gave fire to those wars which never could be thoroughly quenched, until in the ruin of this great *Persian* monarchy, *Persepolis* the capital city of the empire, was at the request of an *Athenian* harlot consumed with a flame, as dreadful, as, in the pride of their greatness, the *Persians* had raised in *Athens*.

Now therefore as out of the former books it may be gathered how *Athens*, and other parts of *Greece*, were anciently governed, the same being already set down, tho' scatteringly, and in several times among other the contemporary occurrences of the eastern emperors, and the kings of *Judea*; so I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember again the two last changes in the state of *Athens*. As for the *Lacedemonians*, they maintained still their ancient polity under kings, tho' these also after some fifteen descents were bridled by the *Ephori*.

Codrus king of the *Athenians*, in the former books remember'd, who willingly died for the safety of his people, was therefore so honoured by them, as (thinking none worthy to succeed him) they changed their former government from monarchical to princes, for term of life, of which *Medon* the son of *Codrus* was the first, after whom they were called *Medontidae*; and of these were twelve generations besides *Medon*, to wit,

Agestus

Archippus, in whose times the *Greeks* transported themselves into *Ionia*, after *Troy* an hundred and fourscore years, according to *Eusebius*: which migration all other chronologers (such as follow *Eusebius* herein excepted) find in the year after *Troy* fallen one hundred and forty.

Thersippas

Phorbas

Mezades

Diogenetus, in whose time *Lycurgus* gave laws to the *Spartans*.

Pheredus

Ariphron

Theispius, in whose time the *Assyrian* empire was overthrown by *Belochus* and *Arbaces*

Agamnestor

Eschylus, in whose time the *Ephori* (according to *Eusebius*) were erected in *Lacedemon*.

Alcamenon, the last prince for life, after whose death the *Athenians* elected decennial governours: the former princes for life having continued in all three hundred and sixteen years. The first of those that governed for ten years, or the first *Archon* was

Charops, then

Eisymedes

Elydicus

Hippomenes

Leocrates

Abfander

Erixias was the last *Archon* of the decennial governours, which, from continuing threescore and ten years, was then changed into annual magistrates, mayors, and burg-masters, of which *Theseus* was the first, according to *Pausanias*: others find *Leostratus*; and then

Anthothenes

Archimedes

Miltiades

Damifias

Draco

Megacles

Solon, and others who are the less to be regarded, by reason of the yearly change.

This *Solon* being a man of excellent wisdom, gave laws to the *Athenians*, which were published, according to *Gellius*, in the three and thirtieth year of *Tarquinius Priscus*, and were in after-ages derived unto the *Romans*, and by the *Decemviri* (magistrates in *Rome* created for that purpose) reduced into twelve tables, which were the ground of the *Roman* laws. But these goodly ordinances of *Solon* were in his own days violated, and for a while almost quite extinguished. For whereas they were framed unto the practice and maintenance of a popular government, the state of *Athens* was very soon changed into a monarchy by *Pisistratus* the son of *Hippocrates*; who finding the citizens distracted into two factions, whereof *Megacles* and *Lycurgus*, two citizens of noble families, were become the heads, took occasion by their contention and insolency to raise a third faction more powerful than the other two, and more plausible, for that he seemed a protector of the citizens in general. Having by this means obtained love and credit, he wounded himself, and feigned that by malice of his enemies he had like to have been slain for his love to the good citizens; he procured a guard for his defence, and with that band of men surprising the state-house, or citadel of *Athens*, he made himself lord of the town, *Hegesistratus* being then governor. But the citizens, who in every change of government had sought to remove themselves further and further from the form of a monarchy, could so ill brook this usurpation of *Pisistratus*, that he was driven, for lack of help, to fly the town, as soon as *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* (joining their forces) attempted his expulsion. Yet, as the building of his tyranny, founded upon the dissension of the citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; so was it soon after well re-edified by the new breaking out of the old factions. For when *Megacles* found the power of *Lycurgus* to grow greater than his own, he did (as is the usual practice of the weaker side) call in the common enemy *Pisistratus*, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage; by which alliance the family of the *Alcmaeonidae*, whereof *Megacles* was chief, became very powerful, yet so, that *Pisistratus* by their power was made master both of them and all the rest. But this agreement held not long; the *Alcmaeonidae*, and especially *Megacles*, being incensed against *Pisistratus* for his misdemeanour towards his wife. Wherefore they practised with the soldiers of the town, proceeding in their treason so secretly, and so far, that *Pisistratus* (upon the first discovery of their intent) perceived no other remedy for his affairs, than to withdraw himself from *Eretria*, where he remained eleven years. Which time being expired, having hired soldiers out of many parts of *Greece*, he again recovered the principality of *Athens*, after which third obtaining his estate, he governed *Athens* seventeen years, according to *Aristotle*, and reigned in all thirty and three years, saith *Elanus*, but as *Justin* hath it, four and thirty; accounting the time belike as well before as after his several expulsions. *Herodotus* gives the father and the son six and thirty years; *Aristotle* five and thirty. But *Thucydides* affirmeth, that he died very old, leaving for his successors his two sons, *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, who governed the *Athenians* with such moderation,

^a Pauf. pag. 159. Dyonif. l. 3. Pauf. p. 169. Pauf. 170. pag. 331. ^b Her. l. 12. Eretria a city of Eubœa, by others called Melœe, by Stephana. Eubœia. Pol. 5. Heraclid. apud Elian. pag. 262. Just. p. 28. Her. l. 6. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 10.

as they rather seem'd the lineal successors of a natural prince than of a tyrant. But in the end, and some three years before *Hippias* was expell'd out of *Athens*, his brother *Hipparchus* was murder'd by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. The cause why, and the manner how perform'd, *Thucydides* hath written at large. And, tho' *Hipparchus* was charged with unnatural lust after *Harmodius*, yet *Plato*, in his dialogue entitl'd *Hipparchus*, doth greatly magnify him, affirming that he was a prince of as many eminent virtues as that age had any, altogether condemning the murderers, and authors of that scandal. *Hippias* fearing that this enterprize upon his brother had more and deeper roots than were apparent, first sought to discover the further intents of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, by a harlot of theirs call'd *Lemnia*; who because she would not reveal her companions, did cut out her own tongue. Then did *Hippias*, the better to strengthen himself, enter into a strait amity with *Æantides*, tyrant of the city ^a *Lampsacus*, whom he knew to be greatly favour'd by *Darius*, to whose son *Hypoclus* he gave one of his daughters in marriage. But some three years after the death of his brother, doubting I know not what strong practice against himself, he began to use the citizens with great severity, which neither *Pisistratus* the father, nor *Hippias* himself had ever exercised, during their usurpation, till this time. And therefore the *Athenians*, fearing that this disease might rather increase than diminish in *Hippias*, they stirred up *Clistines*, one of the noblest and best able of their city, to practise their delivery: who, calling to his assistance the banish'd *Alcmenidæ*, together with an army of the *Lacedemonians*, led by *Cleomenes* their king, so affrighted *Hippias*, as by composition he gave over his estate, and the possession of *Athens*, and from thence embarking himself, took land at ^b *Sigeum*, whence he went to *Lampsacus* in *Mysia*, govern'd by *Æantides*, who presented him to *Darius*. He was deprived of his estate, as *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* agree, twenty years before the battle of *Marathon*: all which time he continued, partly with *Æantides*, at other times with *Artaphernes*, lieutenant for *Darius* in *Sardis*, the metropolis of *Lydia*; persuading and practising the enterprize upon *Athens*, which *Darius* in the end to his great dishonour undertook, twenty years after *Hippias* had resign'd his estate.

Thus far I have digressed from *Darius*, to the end the reader may conceive the better the causes and motives of this war: whereof the hope that *Hippias* had to be restored to *Athens* by the help of *Darius*, which made him solicit and persuade the *Persians* to conquer *Greece*, was one, but not the most urgent.

SECT. VII.

Of the Ionian rebellion, which was the principal cause of the wars ensuing between Greece and Persia.

ANother, and a strong motive to this expedition was the *Ionian* war, breaking out into *Asia* about the same time. The colonies transported out of *Greece* into *Asia*, which occupied the greatest part of the sea-coast, having enjoyed their liberty about 500 years, even from the *Ionian* migration, to the time of *Cresus*, were by this *Lydian* king made tributaries, and afterwards as parcel of his dominions were taken in by *Cyrus*, and left as hereditary servants to the crown of *Persia*.

But as it is the custom of nations half-conquer'd (witness *Ireland*) to rebel again upon every advantage and opportunity; so did the *Ionians*, and other *Grecians*, both in *Cyrus's* life, and after him, seek by all means possible to free themselves.

At this time they found such men ready to spur them into rebellion, as had by the *Persian* been given unto them for bridles to hold them in subjection. Every one of those towns had a lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the government of one man) called their tyrants. These lords were very true to the *Persian*, by whose only might they held the people in subjection. And this their dutiful affection they had well declared, when *Darius*, being in great extremity, they used all means to deliver him and his army (that otherwise had been lost) out of the *Scythians* hand. Of this great piece of service *Histiæus*, the tyrant of *Miletus*, expected the chief thanks, as having been chief author of their expecting *Darius*, when the rest, either persuaded by the *Scythians*, or carried away with their own desires, were ready to have abandon'd him. But it came so to pass, that *Darius* being more fearful of the harm that *Histiæus* (being powerful and crafty) might do to him in the future, than mindful of the good which he had already received at his hand, found means to carry him along to *Susa*, where he detain'd him with all kind usage of a friend, yet kept such good espial upon him, as an enemy, he could not start away. *Histiæus* had subtilty enough to discover the king's purpose, which ill agreed with his own desires. For he thought it more pleasant, and more honourable, to rule as a prince in one fair city, having a small territory, than to sit and feast at the great king's table, and hear the counsels by which a large empire was managed; being himself an idle beholder, and enjoying with much restraint of liberty, none other pleasures than a private man might bestow upon himself.

Wherefore he bethought himself of raising of some tumults in the lower *Asia*, to pacify which if he might be sent, as one that had great experience and authority in those quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to stay at home, and either satisfy the king with excuses, or deal as occasion should require. Resolving upon this course, he sent very secret instructions to *Aristagoras* his kinsman, whom he had left his deputy at *Miletus*, advising him to stir up some rebellion. These directions came seasonably to *Aristagoras*, who having fail'd in an enterprize upon the isle of *Naxos*, through the false dealing of a *Persian*, his associate, stood in fear of disgrace, if not of some further ill that might befall him, as one that had wasted the king's treasures to no good purpose.

Therefore he readily embraced the counsel: and the better to draw the whole country of *Ionian* into the same course which he determined to run, he abandon'd his tyranny, and set *Miletus* at liberty. This plausible beginning won unto him the hearts of the *Milesians*; and his proceeding with other *Ionian* tyrants (of whom some he took, and sold as slaves to their citizens, others he chased away) caused the whole nation to be at his command. The *Persian* fleet, whereof he lately had been admiral, in the enterprize of *Naxos*, he had surpris'd in his first breaking out, together with the principal officers and captains; so that now he thought himself able to deal with the great king's forces, lying thereabout either by land or sea. But likely it was that the power of all *Asia* would shortly be upon

^a *Lampsacus*, a city of *Mysia*, upon the *Hellepont*. Her. l. 5. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 1. ^b *Sigeum*, a promontory opposite to the isle of *Tenedos*, which *Arist.* in 5. *Animal.* calls *Idæ promontorium*.

his neck, and crush both him and his assistants to pieces, unless he were able to raise an army that might hold the field, which the *Ionians* alone were insufficient to perform. Therefore he took a journey to *Sparta*, where having assayed in vain with many arguments, and the offer of fifty talents, to win to his party *Cleomenes*, king of the *Lacedemonians*; he went from thence to *Athens*, and with better success besought the people to lend him their assistance. The *Athenian* ambassadors, which had been sent to the *Persian* king's lieutenants in the lower *Asia*, desiring them not to give countenance to *Hippias*, now a banish'd man, and lately their tyrant, were a while before this return'd with ill answers, having found very churlish entertainment. So that the evil which they were to expect in all likelihood from the *Persian*, made them willing to begin with him. To which purpose, their consanguinity with the *Ionians*, and the persuasions of *Aristagoras*, drew them on apace, if perhaps his treasure were not helping. Twenty ships the *Athenians* furnished for this voyage; to which the *Eretrians* furnish'd five more, in regard of the ancient kindness that had passed between the *Ionians* and them. With these and their own forces join'd, the *Ionians* enter'd the river *Caïstrus*, which falleth into the sea by *Ephesus*: by which advantage they surpris'd *Sardis*, when no enemy was heard of, or suspected; inasmuch as *Artaphernes*, who ruled as vice-roy in those parts, had no other hope of safety, than by retreating himself into the castle, which the *Grecians* could not force: from whence he beheld the slaughter of the citizens, and the city flaming.

The *Persians* at length, mix'd with the burgers, began to encourage them to defence, and recover'd the market-place, strengthen'd by the river *Pactolus*, which ran through it; and borrowing courage from desperation, they both defended themselves, and charged their enemies; who well advising themselves, made all the haste they could towards the sea-side. But *Artaphernes*, having gather'd all the strength he could, pursued the *Grecians*, and found them near *Ephesus*; where setting resolutely upon them, he slaughter'd a great part of their army, the rest saving themselves in *Ephesus*. In this fight *E-valcides*, captain of the *Eretrians*, perish'd; but his fame and memory was by that excellent poet *Simonides* preserv'd. After this overthrow, the *Athenians*, which were before sent unto *Aristagoras*, and to the *Ionians*, could by no arguments of theirs, no not by their tears, be persuaded to make any second trial of their fortunes on that side the sea.

Yet the burning of *Sardis* made a greater noise in the world, than the late good success which the *Persians* had in one or two skirmishes, could raise. Wherefore the *Ionians* bravely proceeding, won a great part of *Caria*; and sending their fleet into the *Hellepont*, got *Bizantium* and other towns into their hands. Yea, the *Cyprians*, lately subdued by *Cambyſes*, began hereupon to take heart; and entering into confederacy with the *Ionians*, who were able to give them aid by sea, rebelled against the *Persians*.

These news coming to the ear of *Darius*, filled him with great indignation, and with an extreme hatred of the *Athenians*, upon whom he vowed to take sharp revenge. As for the *Ionians*, his contempt of them, and their knowledge of his power, made him to think, that they would not have dared to attempt such things, but by the infligation of those

to whom the ignorance of his great might had afforded the courage to provoke him. This was the main ground of the war commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes*, against *Athens*: To which the sollicitation of *Hippias*, before remeinber'd, gave only some form and assistance; the business, when once it was thus far on foot, being like enough to have proceeded, tho' he had perish'd ere it were advanced any further.

Some other occurrences in this *Ionian* commotion extended the quarrel of *Darius* against many of the islanders, if not against the whole nation of the *Greeks*; for all of them gave to his rebels free harbour: the islanders moreover did help to furnish out a navy of three hundred and sixty sail against him. These provocations did rather breed in him a desire to abate their pride, than any fear of harm that they were like to do him. For what they had done at *Sardis* was but by surprise. In every fight they were beaten by the *Persians*, who had not yet lost the fruits of their discipline wherein *Cyrus* had trained them, nor all their ancient captains. In one sea-fight by the isle of *Cyprus*, the *Ionians* indeed had the upper-hand; but they were *Phenicians*, *Egyptians*, and *Cilicians*, whom they vanquish'd: neither was that victory of any use to them; the *Cyprians*, in whose aid they came, being utterly beaten by the *Persian* army at land, and reduced into their old subjection. So had the *Persians* likewise by open war and fair force overthrow the *Carians* in two battles, and reclaim'd that nation; as also they had recover'd the towns upon *Hellepont*, with some *Eolian* and *Ionian* cities, when *Aristagoras* with his friends quitting *Miletus*, fled into *Thrace*, desirous to set himself in *Amphipolis*, a colony of the *Athenians*. But the *Edonians*, on whose territory belike he landed, overthrew him, and cut his troops in pieces.

About the same time *Histiæus*, the first mover of this insurrection, came down into those quarters; who having undertaken the performance of great matters to *Darius*, was glad to flee from his lieutenants, by whom his double-dealing was detected.

But this evasion preserv'd him not long. For after many vain attempts that he made, he was taken in fight by the *Persians*, and hastily beheaded, lest the king should pardon him, upon remembrance of old good-turns; as it seems that he would have done, by the burial which he commanded to be given to his dead body that was crucified, and by his heavy taking of his death.

Histiæus had sought to put himself into *Miletus*; but the citizens, doubting his conditions, chose rather to keep him out, and make shift for themselves, without his help. The strength of their city by land, which had in old time withstood the *Lydian* kings, and their good fleet, which promised unto them the liberty of an open sea, embolden'd them to try the uttermost, when very few friends were left upon that continent to take their part. But their navy was broken as much by threatnings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels forsaking them upon hope of pardon, and many being daunted with the causeless flight of those that should have assisted them. Neither was it long before the town itself, being assauld both by land and sea, was taken by force, the citizens slain, their wives and children made slaves, and their goods a booty to the *Persians*, whom for six years space they had put to so much trouble.

SECT. VIII.

The war which Darius made upon Greece, with the battle of Marathon, and Darius's death.

THIS war with good success finish'd by the *Persians*, and some attempts made on *Europe* side with variable success; *Darius*, obstinate in the enterprise and conquest of *Greece* (tho' at first he pretended to make the war but against the *Athenians* and *Eretrians*, who jointly assisted the *Ionians* against him, and burnt *Sardis* in *Lydia*) did now by his ambassadors demand an acknowledgment from them all: among whom, some of them not so well resolv'd as the rest, submitted themselves; as the *Æginets*, and others. Against these the *Athenians* being inflamed (by the assistance of the *Lacedemonians*) after divers encounters forced them to give pledges, and to relinquish the party of the *Persians*. *Cleomenes* led the *Lacedemonians* in this war, and caus'd his companion king *Demantus* to be depos'd: who thereupon fled to *Darius*, far the more confident of victory, by reason of these discords, alienations and civil wars among the *Greeks*. He therefore gave order to *Hippagoras* to prepare a fleet of ships, fit to transport his army over the *Hellepont*; the same consisting of an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. The charge in chief of his army he committed to *Datis*, accompanied and assisted by *Hippias*, the son of *Pisistratus*, expell'd out of *Athens* twenty years before, and by *Artaphernes* his brother, governour of *Sardis*, and the sea-coast of *Asia* the less. These commanders having their companies brought down to the sea-side, embark'd themselves in six hundred galleys and other vessels; and first of all attempted the islands, call'd *Cyclades*, which lay in the mid-way between *Asia* the less and *Greece*. For (obtaining those places) the *Persians* had then nothing to hinder the transportation of their forces over the *Ægean* sea; but on the contrary, they might always both relieve themselves in their passage, and shroud themselves from all sudden tempests and outrage.

To this end, they first possess'd themselves of *Samos*; secondly, they attempted *Naxos*; which island the inhabitants, despairing of their own forces, abandon'd. So did the people of *Delos*, of which *Apollo* was native: which island *Darius* did not only forbear to sack, but recalling the inhabitants, he gave order to beautify the places and altars of sacrifice to *Apollo* erected. And having recover'd these and other islands, the *Persians* directed their course for *Eretria* in *Eubœa*, for^b that city (as already hath been shew'd) had assisted the *Ionians* at the taking and firing of *Sardis*. In this island the *Persians* took ground, and besieged *Eretria* very straitly; and after six days assault, partly by force, and in part by the treason of *Euphabus* and *Philagius*, they took it, sack'd it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus far the winds of prosperous fortune fill'd their sails. From *Eubœa* the *Persians* pass'd their army into *Attica*, conducted and guided by *Hippias*, late prince of *Athens*, and marching towards it, they encamp'd at *Marathon*, in the way from the sea, where they landed, towards *Athens*.

The *Athenians*, finding the time arriv'd wherein they were to dispute with their own virtues against fortune, and to cast lots for their liberty, for their wives, their children, and their lives, put themselves in the best order they could to make resistance, and

withal sent away with speed to the *Lacedemonians* for succour, employing in that negotiation one *Phidippides*; who passing through *Arcadia*, encounter'd in the way a familiar devil, which he suppos'd to be *Pan*, who will'd him to assure the *Athenians* of victory, promising that some one of the gods should be present at the battle, to assist them and defend them against the multitude of their enemies. *Phidippides* at his return, seeing he could not bring with him any present succours from *Sparta*, yet he thought it greatly availing to bring news from the gods, and promise of assistance from heaven, which no doubt (tho' the device was somewhat likely to be his own, yet) it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages have been more stir'd up with fond prophecies, and other like superstitious fooleries, than by any just cause or solid reason.

The *Athenians* being now left to themselves, with one thousand only of the *Plateans* (who having been formerly defended by the *Athenians* against the *Thebans*, did in this extremity witness their thankfulness and grateful disposition) began to dispute, whether it were most for their advantage to defend the walls of *Athens*, or to put themselves into the field with such forces as they had, the same consisting of ten thousand *Athenians*, and one thousand of the *Plateans*. In the end, and after great diversity of opinions, *Miltiades*, who persuaded the trial by battle, prevail'd.

The armies being now in view, and within a mile of each other, the *Athenians* dispos'd themselves into three troops; two wings or horns, as they term them, and the body of a battle. The *Persians*, when they perceiv'd so small a troop advancing towards them, thought the *Athenians* rather dispos'd of their understandings, than possess'd with the resolution whereof they made shew. So invincible and resistless the *Persians* esteem'd their own numbers to be, and that small troop of their enemies then in view, rather to be despis'd than to be fought withal. But in conclusion, the victory being doubtfully balanced for a while, sometimes the virtue of the *Grecians*, and sometimes the numbers of the *Persians* prevail'd; the *Grecians* fighting for all that they had, the *Persians* for that they needed not: these great forces of *Darius* were disorder'd, and put to rout, the *Athenians* following their victory even to the sea-shore; where the *Persians*, so many of them as lost not their wits with their courage, sav'd themselves in their ships.

The *Persian* army consisted of an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse; of which there were slain in the place six thousand three hundred, and of the *Grecians* an hundred fourscore and twelve. For howsoever it came to pass, either by strange visions, which were afterwards call'd *Panmiti terrores*, or by some other affright, it seemeth that the invading army, after the first encounter, fought with their backs towards their enemy, and lost that number, by *Herodotus* set down, in their disorderly retreat, or rather in their flat running away. As for *Justin's* report, That two hundred thousand of the *Persian* army were slain, the same hath no appearance nor possibility of truth. In this sight *Hippias*, the persuader of the enterprise, was slain, saith *Justin* and *Cicero*; but *Suidas* tells, that he escaped, and died most miserably in *Lemnos*.

The greatest honour of this victory was cast upon *Miltiades*, who both persuaded the trial by battle,

^a Herod. l. 6. *Whether this city or people were of Peloponnesus in Sicily, or of Apyra between Thessalia and Macedon, I do not know; but those borderers, and next the enemy, were more likely to compound than the rest far off. There is also a river, call'd Aegium, not far from Aegon, Liv. 32, 33, &c.* ^b In Herod. ^c Ad Att.

and behaved himself therein answerably to the counsel which he gave. *Themistocles* had his first reputation in this fight, being but young and of the first beard. Those of the *Grecians*, of mark and commendment, that fell in the first encounter, were *Calimachus* and *Stesileus*. It is also said, That *Cynegyris* following the *Persians* to their embarking, laid hands on one of their gallies, to have held it from putting off the shore; and having his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arrest it with his left, of which also being deprived, he took hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the first year of the threescore and twelfth *Olympiad*, about the time of the war made by *Coriolanus* against his fellow *Romans*: *Alexander* the son of *Amintas* being then king of *Macedon*, and *Phanippus* then governour of *Athens*, according to ^a*Plutarch*, or *Hybilides*, after *Halicarnassensis*.

This great fray thus parted, and the *Persians* returned back into the lesser *Asia*, *Miltiades* sought and obtained an employment against the islanders of *Paros*, one of the *Cyclades*, and passing over his companies in threescore and ten gallies, after six and twenty days assault, he broke his thigh, in seeking to enter it by the temple of *Ceres*, wherewith himself being made unable, and his companies discouraged, he return'd to *Athens*: where those ungrateful citizens forgetting all his services past, and that of all other the most renowned at the battel of *Marathon*, did, by the perswasion of *Xantippus*, the father of *Pericles* (who envied his fame) cast him into prison, and set on him a fine of fifty talents; where his weak and wounded body being not able

to endure the one, nor his estate to pay the other, he after a few days ended his life.

Which envy of the better sort to each other, with their private factions, assisted by the unthankful and witless people, brought them, not many years after, from a victorious and famous nation, to base subjection and slavery. *Miltiades* left behind him one son called *Cymon*, begotten on *Hegeſipila*, daughter of *Olorus* king of *Thrace*, who (saith *Plutarch*) was neither inferior to his father in valour, nor to *Themistocles* in understanding, but exceeded them both in justice and good government.

Now *Darius* taking greater care how to recover his honour, than sorrow for the loss he received in *Greece*, gave order for new levies of men, and all other warlike provisions. But the *Egyptians* revolting from his obedience (a kingdom of great strength and revenue) greatly distracted his resolution for the re-invasion of *Greece*. The dissension also among his sons, of whom the younger being born after he was king, and by so great a mother as *Atossa*, disdained to give place to his elder brother, born before *Darius* obtained the empire, greatly vexed him. And lastly, death, who hath no respect of any man's affairs, gave end to all his consultations and enterprises, and joined him to the earth of his ancestors, about a year after the battel of *Marathon*, and after that he had reigned six and thirty years. He left behind him five sons, namely, *Artabanes*, born before he obtain'd the kingdom; *Xerxes*, who succeeded him; *Achemenes*, governour of *Egypt*; *Masistes* and *Ariabignes*.

^a In vita Arist.

CHAP. VI.

Of XERXES.

SECT. I.

The preparations of Xerxes against Greece.

XERXES received from his father, as hereditary, a double war, one to be made against the *Egyptians*, which he finished so speedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the same was performed: the other against the *Grecians*, of which it is hard to judge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the success ridiculous. In the consultation for the prosecution of this war, which was chiefly bent against the *Athenians*, the princes of *Persia* were divided in opinion. *Mardonius*, who had formerly commanded in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, under *Darius*, and had also *Hyſtaſpes* for his grandfather, as *Xerxes* had, and married *Xerxes's* sister *Artazostres*, perswaded by many arguments the *European* war. But *Artabanus*, brother to the late *Darius*, and uncle to *Xerxes*, maintained the contrary counsel, laying before *Xerxes* the lamentable and ridiculous success of the two late invasions which *Darius* had made contrary to his counsel: the one in person upon the *Scythians*, the other by his lieutenants upon the *Greeks*; in each of which *Darius* left to his enemies both his army and his honour.

He therefore besought *Xerxes* to be right well advised before he did too far embark himself in

this business. For whatsoever undertaking hath deliberate and sound counsel for conductor, tho' the success do not always answer the probability, yet hath fortune nothing else thereof to vaunt, than the variableness of her own nature, which only the divine Providence, and not any human power, can constrain.

But so obstinate was the resolution of *Xerxes* in prosecution of his former intent, that *Artabanus*, whether terrified by visions (as it is written of him) or fearing the king's hatred, which he made known to all those that opposed his desire to this war (changing opinion and counsel) assisted the *Grecian* expedition with all the power he had.

After the war of *Egypt* was ended, four years were consumed in describing and gathering an army for this invasion: which being compounded of all nations subject to the *Persian* empire, consisted of seventeen hundred thousand foot, and eighty thousand horsemen, besides chariots, camels, and other beasts for carriage, if we may believe *Herodotus*: for of this multitude, *Trogus* finds the number less by seven hundred thousand foot men.

The commanders of the several nations were the princes of the blood of *Persia*, either by marriage in the king's house or otherwise; for to these were all commandments of this nature given, some few people excepted, who had of their own leaders.

^b Her. l. 1.

The charge of the whole army was bestowed on *Mardonius*, the son of *Gobrias*, by a sister of *Darius*, to whom were joined some others of *Xerxes*'s nearest kindred, as generals over all; saving that the charge of ten thousand select *Persians*, called the immortal regiment (because if any one of the whole number died or were slain, there was another presently chosen in his stead) was given to *Hydarnes*; the eighty thousand horsemen were led by the sons of *Datis*, who commanded the late army of *Darius* in *Greece*.

The fleet of gallies were two thousand two hundred and eight, furnished by the *Phenicians*, who had commanders of their own nation, and by the *Cypriotes*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphilians*, *Lycians*, *Dorians*, *Carians*, *Ionians*, *Eolians*, and *Hellepontines*; who were trusted with the furnishing of their own vessels, tho' commanded by the princes of *Persia*, as by *Ariabignes*, the son of *Darius* and others. The rest of the vessels for transportation were three thousand. There were also certain gallies furnished by *Artemesia*, the daughter of *Lygdames*, princess of *Halicarnassus* and the islands adjoining, which her self commanded. Those gallies by her prepared and furnished, exceeded all the rest of the fleet, excepting those of *Zidon*, in which *Xerxes* himself was embarked.

S E C T. II.

Xerxes's army entertained by Pythius: his cutting off mount Athos from the continent: his bridge of boats over the Hellespont: and the discourse between him and Artabanus upon the view of the army.

WHEN this world of an army was thoroughly furnished, he caused all the nations, of which it was compounded, to make their rendezvous, and repair at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. And when he had assembled to the number of seventeen hundred thousand foot, as he enter'd the border of *Celenas*, he was by one *Pythius* a *Lydian* entertained, who out of his flocks and herds of cattel gave food to *Xerxes* and his whole army. The feast ended, he also presented him with two thousand talents of silver, and in gold four millions, wanting seven thousand of the *Persian Darici*; which make so many of our marks.

The king, overcome with the exceeding liberality of *Pythius*, did not only refuse his treasure offered, but commanded that seven thousand *Darici* should be given him to make up his four millions, of which so many thousands were wanting when he made the present. But soon after, when *Pythius* besought him to spare one of his five sons from his attendance into *Greece* (because himself was old and had none whom he could so well trust as his own son) *Xerxes* most barbarously caused the young man, for whom his father sought exemption, to be sundered into two parts, commanding that the one half of his carcase should be laid on the right, and the other half on the left hand of the common way by which the army marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the sea-side. The one was a passage for gallies to be cut behind mount *Athos*, making the same (with the half-island or head-land, whereon it stood) to be an entire island, sundering thereby from the continent of *Thrace* five cities, besides the mountain and the *Chersonesus*, or neck of land it self; a work of more ostentation, than of use, and yet an enterprize of no great wonder, the valley which held it to the continent having but twelve furlongs (which make about a mile and a half) to

cut through, and the ditch being broad enough only for two gallies to pass in front. The cities so severed from the main, were *Dion*, *Olophyxus*, *Acrothoon*, *Thysus* and *Cleonæ*.

He also gave order, that a bridge upon boats should be made over the *Hellespont* between *Abidus* and *Sestos*, the sea there having a mile of breadth, wanting an eighth part; which after the finishing, was by a tempest torn asunder and dissevered; wherewith *Xerxes* being more enraged than discouraged, commanded those to be slain that were masters of the work, and caused six hundred threescore and fourteen gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new bridge; which, by the art and industry of the *Phenicians*, was so well anchored to resist both winds blowing into and from the *Euxine* sea, as the same being well boarded and railed, the whole army of seventeen hundred thousand foot, and fourscore thousand horse, with all the mules and carriages, pass'd over it into *Europe* in seven days and seven nights, without intermission. This transportation of armies did *Cesar* afterwards use. And *Caligula*, that mad emperor, in imitation of *Xerxes*'s bridge, did build the like.

The bridge finished, and the army brought near to the sea-side, *Xerxes* took a view of all his troops, assembled in the plains of *Abidus*, being carried up, and seated on a place over-topping the land round about it, and the sea adjoining: and after he had gloried in his own happiness, to behold and command so many nations and so powerful an army and fleet, he suddenly (notwithstanding) burst out into tears, moved with this contemplation, that in one hundred years there should not any one survive of that marvellous multitude: the cause of which sudden change of passion when he uttered to *Artabanus* his uncle, *Artabanus* spake to the king to this effect: That which is more lamentable than the dissolution of this great troop within that number of years remember'd by the king, is, that the life it self which we enjoy is yet more miserable than the end thereof: for in those few days given us in the world, there is no man among all these, or elsewhere, that ever found himself so accompanied with happiness, but that he oftentimes pleased himself better with the desire and hope of death, than of living; the incident calamities, diseases and sorrows whereto mankind is subject, being so many and inevitable, that the shortest life doth oftentimes appear unto us over-long; to avoid all which, there is neither refuge nor rest, but in desired death alone.

With this melancholy discourse *Xerxes* being not much pleased, prayed *Artabanus* not to overcast those joys which they had now in pursuit, with sad remembrances. And holding still a doubtful conceit, that *Artabanus* utterly condemned the invasion of *Greece*, against which he had formerly given many strong reasons, desired him to deal freely with him, whether he were return'd to his first resolution, that the enterprize of *Greece* could not be prosperous; or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late vision, he was confident of good success? *Artabanus*, notwithstanding that he assured himself of the king's resolution to go on, and dared not by any new arguments to batter the great purpose it self, yet he told the king, that there were two things which marvellously affrighted him, and which the king should find, as he feared, to be most adverse; to wit, the sea and the land: the sea, because it had no-where in that part of the world any port capable of so great a fleet; inso-much, as if any tempest should arise, all the continent of *Greece* could hardly receive them, nor all the havens thereof afford them any safety: and therefore

fore when any such shelter shall be wanting unto them, he prayed him to understand, that in such a case of extremity, men are left to the will and disposition of fortune, and not fortune to the will and disposition of men. The land, besides other incommodities, will be found by so much the more an enemy, by how much the unfatiate desire of man to obtain more and more thereof, doth lead him forward: for were there no man found to give resistance, yet the want of means to feed such an army, and the famine which cannot be prevented, will, without any other violence offered, disenable and consume it. By these arguments *Artabanus* hoped to have diverted *Xerxes*, not daring perchance to utter what indeed he most feared, to wit, the overthrow of the army it self, both by sea and land, which soon after followed. These cautions were exceeding weighty, if *Xerxes's* obstinacy had not misprised them. For to invade by sea upon a perilous coast, being neither in possession of any port, nor succoured by any party, may better fit a prince presuming on his fortune, than enriched with understanding. Such was the enterprise of *Philip* the second upon *England* in the year 1588, who had belike never heard of this counsel of *Artabanus* to *Xerxes*, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the second point; it is very likely that *Xerxes's* army, which could not have in it less than two millions of souls, besides his beasts for service and carriage, should after a few days suffer famine; and using *Machiavel's* words, *Mourir sans coustee; die without a knife*. For it was impossible for *Greece*, being a ragged, strait, and mountainous country, to yield food (besides what served themselves) for twenty hundred thousand strangers whom they never meant to entertain, but with the sharpened points of their weapons, destroying withal whatsoever they could not well inclose and defend. Nay, if we may believe *Herodotus*, the army of *Xerxes*, being reviewed at *Thermopylae*, consisted of five millions, two hundred eighty-three thousand, two hundred and twenty men, besides landresses, harlots and horses, and was therefore likely to endure a speedy famine.

The effect of *Xerxes's* answer, was, that it was impossible to provide for all things; and that whosoever should enterprise any great matter, if he gave the hearing to all that could be objected of accidental inconveniencies, he should never pursue the same farther than the dispute and consultation: which if his predecessors, the *Persian* kings, had done, they had never grown to that greatness, or possess'd so many kingdoms and nations, as they now did; and therefore concluded, that great enterprises were never undertaken without great peril. Which resolution of *Xerxes* was not to be condemned, if any necessity had inforced him to that war. But seeing the many nations newly conquered, which he already commanded, were more than could be constrained to obedience any longer than the powerful prosperity of the *Persians* endured, and that *Greece* were separated by the sea from the rest of *Xerxes's* dominions (of whose resolution his father *Darius* had made a dear experience) the fruit of this war was answerable to the plantation, and the success and end agreeable to the weak counsel whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, those millions of men which he transported, and yet in his own judgment not sufficient (for he gathered, in marching on, all the strength of *Thrace* and *Macedon*) were an argument, that he rather hoped to fright the *Greeks* by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and resolution whom he conducted. For it is wisely said of those unaccountable multitudes: *Non vires habent, sed pondus*; &

impedimenta potius sunt, quam auxilium; They are great in bulk, but weak in forces, and rather a luggage than an aid.

Besides, as it was impossible to marshal such a world of men in one army, so the divers nations, speaking divers languages, bred the same confusion among the *Persian* commanders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of *Babel*, when they came to work. Whereas, if *Xerxes* had of his five millions compounded ten armies of fifty thousand chosen soldiers in each, and sent them yearly into *Greece* well victualled and furnished, he had either prevailed by the sword, or forced them to forsake their territory, or brought them into obedience by necessity and famine, which cannot be resisted. But while *Xerxes* resolved to cut down the banks of *Greece* and to let in a sea of men upon them, he was deceived both of his own hopes, and in their hearts whom he employed, and beaten by the *Greeks* both by land and sea; yea, he himself, conducted by his fear, fled shamefully into *Asia*. A great part of his army was buried in *Greece*: the remainder whereof, which winter'd in *Thessaly*, and led by *Marodonius* who perswaded the enterprise, was in the summer following utterly defeated, and himself slain.

S E C T. III.

Of the fights at Thermopylae and Artemisium.

AFTER such time as *Xerxes* had transported the army over the *Hellespont*, and landed in *Thrace* (leaving the description of his passage along that coast, and how the river of *Lissus* was drunk dry by his multitudes, and the lake near to *Pissyrus* by his cattle, with other accidents in his marches towards *Greece*) I will speak of the encounters he had, and the shameful and incredible overthrows which he receiv'd. As first at *Thermopylae*, a narrow passage of half an acre of ground, lying between the mountains, which divide *Thessaly* from *Greece*, where sometime the *Phocians* had raised a wall with gates which was then for the most part ruined. At this entrance *Leonidas*, one of the kings of *Sparta*, with three hundred *Lacedemonians*, assisted with one thousand *Tegeate* and *Mantineans*, one thousand *Arcadians*, and other *Peloponnesians*, to the number of three thousand one hundred in the whole, besides one thousand *Phocians*, four hundred *Thebans*, seven hundred *Thessians*, and all the forces (such as they were) of the bordering *Locrians*, defended the passage two whole days together, against that huge army of the *Persians*. The valour of the *Greeks* appeared so excellent in this defence, that in the first day's fight, *Xerxes* is said to have three times leaped out of his throne, fearing the destruction of his army by one handful of those men, whom not long before he had utterly despised; and when the second day's attempt upon the *Greeks* had proved in vain, he was altogether ignorant how to proceed further: and so might have continued, had not a runagate *Grecian* taught him a secret way, by which part of his army might ascend the ledge of mountains, and set upon the backs of those who kept the straits. But when the most valiant of the *Persian* army had almost enclosed the small forces of the *Greeks*, then did *Leonidas*, king of the *Lacedemonians*, with his three hundred, and seven hundred *Thessians*, which were all that abode by him, refuse to quit the place which they had undertaken to make good, and with admirable courage not only resist that world of men which charged them on all sides; but issuing out of their strength, made so great a slaughter of their enemies, that they might well be called vanquishers, tho' all of them were slain upon the place. *Xerxes*, having

having lost in this last fight, together with twenty thousand other soldiers and captains, two of his own brethren, began to doubt what inconvenience might befall him by the virtue of such as had not been present at these battels, with whom he knew that he shortly was to deal. Especially of the *Spartans* he stood in great fear, whose manhood had appeared singular in this trial, which caused him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring into the field. It is reported of *Dieneces* the *Spartan*, that when one thought to have terrified him by saying, that the flight of the *Persian* arrows was so thick as would hide the sun, he answered thus: *It is very good news, for then shall we fight in the cool shade.*

Such notable resolution having as freely been expressed in deeds, as it was uttered in words, caused the *Persian* to stand in great doubt, when he heard that the city of *Sparta* could arm well-nigh eight thousand men of the like temper, and that the other *Lacedemonians*, tho' inferior to those, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counsel of *Demaratus*, a banished king of the *Spartans*, who had always well advised and instructed him in the things of *Greece*, what course was fittest to be taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of *Demaratus* was, that all the land-forces should assemble together to defend *Isthmus*, that straight neck of ground which joineth *Peloponnesus* to the continent. For which cause he advised, that three hundred ships well manned, should be sent unto the coasts of *Laconia*, to spoil the country, and to hold the *Lacedemonians* and their neighbours busied at home; whilst *Xerxes*, at his leisure having subdued the rest, might afterwards bring his whole power upon them, who remaining destitute of succour, would be too weak alone to make resistance. To this purpose also the same *Demaratus* further advised; that the said fleet of three hundred ships should seize upon the island then call'd *Cythera*, now *Cerigo*, which lying near to the coast of *Laconia*, might serve as a fit place of rendezvous upon all occasions, either of their own defence, or endamaging the enemy: whereby that ancient speech of *Cbilon* the *Lacedemonian* should be verified, that it were better for his countrymen to have that isle drowned in the sea, than stand so inconveniently for them as it did. What effect this counsel might have taken, had it been followed, it is not easy to guess. But a contrary opinion of *Achemenes*, brother to king *Xerxes*, was preferred as the safer. For the *Persian* fleet had been sorely vexed with a grievous tempest, which continued three whole days together, wherein were lost upon the coast of *Magnesia*, four hundred ships of war, besides other vessels innumerable, accordingly as *Arctabanus* had foreseen, that if any such calamity should overtake them, there would not be found any harbour wide enough to give them succour. Therefore *Achemenes* persuaded his brother not to disperse his fleet; for if (said he) after the loss of four hundred ships we shall send away other three hundred to seek adventures, then will the *Greeks* be strong enough by sea to encounter the rest of the navy, which, holding all together, is invincible. To this counsel *Xerxes* yielded, hoping that his land-army and fleet, should each of them stand the other in good stead, whilst both held one course, and lay not far asunder. But herein he was far deceived; for about the same time that his army had felt the valour of the *Greeks* by land, his navy likewise made a sorrowful proof of their skill and courage at sea. The *Grecian* fleet lay at that time at *Artemisium*, in the straits of *Eubœa*, where the *Persians* thinking to encompass them, sent two hundred sail about the island to fall upon them behind, using a like stratagem to that which

their king did practise against *Leonidas*, in a case not unlike, but with far different success. For that narrow channel of the sea, which divideth *Eubœa* from the main, was in the same sort held by a navy of two hundred and seventy-one sail against the huge *Persian* armada, as the straits of *Thermopylae* had formerly been maintained by *Leonidas*, till he was circumvented, as this navy might have been, but was not. The departure of those two hundred ships, that were sent about the island, and the cause of their voyage, was too well known in the *Persian* fleet, and soon enough disclosed to the *Greeks*, who setting sail by night, met them with a counter-surprise, taking and sinking thirty vessels, enforcing the rest to take the sea; where, being overtaken with foul weather, they were driven upon the rocks, and cast all away. Contrariwise, the navy of the *Greeks* were increased by the arrival of fifty-three *Athenian* ships, and one *Lemnian*, which came to their party in the last fight. As these new forces encouraged the one side, so the fear of *Xerxes's* displeasure stirr'd up the other to redeem their loss with some notable exploit. Wherefore setting aside their unfortunate policy, they resolved in plain fight to repair their honour, and calling themselves into the form of a crescent, thought so to inclose the *Greeks*, who readily did present them battel at *Artemisium*.

The fight endured from noon till night, and ended with equal loss to both parties. For, tho' more of the *Persians* ships were sunk and taken, yet the lesser loss fell altogether as heavy upon the *Grecian* fleet, which being small, could worse bear it. Herein only the *Barbarians* may seem to have had the worse, that they forsook the place of fight, leaving the wrack and spoils to the enemy, who nevertheless were fain to abandon presently even the passage which they had undertaken to defend; both for that many of their ships were sorely crush'd in the battel, and especially because they had received advertisement of the death of *Leonidas* at *Thermopylae*. Before they weigh'd anchors, *Themistocles*, general of the *Athenians*, engrav'd upon a stone at the watering-place an exhortation to the *Ionians*, that either they should revolt unto the *Greeks* or stand neutral; which persuasion, he hoped, would either take some place with them, or at the least make them suspected by the *Persians*.

S E C T. IV.

The attempt of Xerxes upon Apollo's temple: and his taking of Athens.

WHEN *Xerxes* had pass'd the straits of *Thermopylae*, he wasted the country of the *Phocians*, and the regions adjoining: as for the inhabitants, they chose rather to fly, and reserve themselves to a day of battel, than to adventure their lives into his hands, upon hope of saving their wealth, by making proffer unto him of their service. Part of his army he sent to spoil the temple of *Delphi*, which was exceeding rich by means of many offerings that had been made by divers kings and great personages; of all which riches it was thought that *Xerxes* had a better inventory than of the goods left in his own palace. To make relation of a great astonishment that fell upon the companies which arrived at the temple to have sack'd it, and of two rocks that breaking from the mount *Parnassus*, overwhelmed many of the *Barbarians*, it were peradventure somewhat superstitious. Yet *Herodotus*, who lived not long after, saith, that the broken rocks remained even to his memory in the temple of *Minerva*, whither they rolled in their fall. And surely this attempt

attempt of *Xerxes* was impious; for seeing he believ'd that *Apollo* was a god, he should not have dared to entertain a covetous desire of enriching himself by committing sacrilege upon his temple. Wherefore it may possibly be true, that licence to chastise his impiety, in such manner as is reported, was granted unto the devil, by that holy one, who saith, ^a *Will a man spoil his gods?* and elsewhere, ^b *Hath any nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods? Go to the isles of Kittim, and behold, and send to Kedar, and take diligent heed, and see whether there be any such things.* Now this impiety of *Xerxes* was the more inexcusable, for that the *Persians* alledg'd the burning of *Cybele's* temple by the *Athenians*, when they set fire on the city of *Sardis* in *Asia*, to be the ground and cause of the waste which they made in burning of cities and temples in *Greece*. Whereas indeed, in the enterprise against *Delphos*, this vizzor of holy and zealous revenge falling off, discover'd the face of covetousness so much the more ugly, by how much the more themselves had professed a detestation of the offence which the *Athenians* had committed in that kind by mere mischance.

The remainder of that which *Xerxes* did may be expressed briefly thus: *He came to Athens, which finding forsaken, he took and burnt the citadel and temple which was therein.* The citadel indeed was defended a while by some of more courage than wisdom, who literally interpreting *Apollo's* oracle, *That Athens should be safe in wooden walls*, had fortify'd that place with boards and palissadoes; too weak to hold out long, tho' by their desperate valour so well maintain'd at the first assault, that they might have yielded it upon tolerable conditions, had they not vainly relied upon the prophecy; whereof (being somewhat obscure) it was wisely done of *Themistocles*, to make discretion the interpreter, applying rather the words to the present need, than fashioning the business to words.

S E C T. V.

How Themistocles the Athenian drew the Greeks to fight at Salamis.

THE *Athenians* had, before the coming of *Xerxes*, remov'd their wives and children into *Træzene*, *Aigina*, and *Salamis*, not so highly prizing their houses and lands, as their freedom, and the common liberty of *Greece*. Nevertheless this great zeal, which the *Athenians* did shew for the general good of their country, was ill requited by the other *Greeks*, who with much labour were hardly intreated to stay for them at *Salamis*, whilst they remov'd their wives and children out of the city. But when the city of *Athens* was taken, it was presently resolv'd upon, that they should forsake the isle of *Salamis*, and withdraw the fleet to *Isthmus*; which neck of land they did purpose to fortify against the *Persians*, and so to defend *Peloponnesus* by land and sea, leaving the rest of *Greece* as indefensible to the fury of the enemy. So should the islands of *Salamis* and *Aigina* have been abandon'd, and the families of the *Athenians* (which were there bestow'd as in places of security) have been given over into merciless bondage. Against this resolution, *Themistocles*, admiral of the *Athenian* fleet, very strongly made opposition, but in vain. For the *Peloponnesians* were so possess'd with fear of losing their own, which they would not hazard, that no persuasions could obtain of them, to regard the estate of their distressed friends and allies. Ma-

ny remonstrances *Themistocles* made unto them, to allure them to abide the enemy at *Salamis*; as first in private unto *Eurybiades* the *Lacedemonian*, admiral of the whole fleet, That the self-same fear, which made them forsake those coasts of *Greece*, upon which they then anchor'd, would afterwards (if it found no check at the first) cause them also to disperse the fleet, and every one of the confederates to withdraw himself to the defence of his own city and estate; then to the council of war, which *Eurybiades* upon this motion did call together (forbearing to object what want of courage might work in them hereafter) he shew'd that the fight at *Isthmus* would be in an open sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, having the fewer ships, to determine the matter in the straits; and that, besides the safeguard of *Aigina*, *Megara*, and *Salamis*, they should, by abiding where they then were, sufficiently defend *Isthmus*, which the *Barbarians* should not so much as once look upon, if the *Greeks* obtain'd victory by sea: which they could not so well hope for elsewhere, as in that present place which gave them so good advantage. All this would not serve to retain the *Peloponnesians*, of whom one, unworthy of memory, upbraided *Themistocles* with the loss of *Athens*, blaming *Eurybiades* for suffering one to speak in the council, that had no country of his own to inhabit. A base and shameful objection it was, to lay as a reproach that loss, which being voluntarily sustain'd for the common good, was in true estimation by so much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignity did exasperate *Themistocles*, and put into his mouth a reply so sharp, as avail'd more than all his former persuasions. He told them all plainly, That the *Athenians* wanted not a fairer city, than any nation of *Greece* could boast of; having well-near two hundred good ships of war, the better part of the *Grecian* fleet, with which it was easy for them to transport their families and substance into any part of the world, and settle themselves in a more secure habitation, leaving those to shift as well as they might, who in their extremity had refused to stand by them. Herewithal he mention'd a town in *Italy*, belonging of old to the state of *Athens*, of which town he said an oracle had foretold, That the *Athenians* in process of time should build it anew, and there (quoth he) will we plant ourselves, leaving unto you a sorrowful remembrance of my words, and of your own unthankfulness. The *Peloponnesians*, hearing thus much, began to enter into better consideration of the *Athenians*, whose affairs depended not, as they well perceiv'd, upon so weak terms, that they should be driven to crouch to others; but rather were such, as might enforce the rest to yield to them, and condescend even to the uttermost of their own demands.

For the *Athenians*, when they first embraced that heroic resolution of leaving their grounds and houses to fire and ruin, if necessity should enforce them so far, for the preservation of their liberty; did employ the most of their private wealth, and all the common treasure, in building a great navy. By these means they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no such calamity should befall them by land, as might not well be counterpois'd by great advantages at sea: knowing well, that a strong fleet would either procure victory at home, or a secure passage to any other country. The other states of *Greece* held it sufficient, if building a few new ships they did somewhat amend their navy.

^a Malac. 3. 8.^b Jerem. 2. 9, 10.

Whereby it came to pass, that, had they been vanquish'd, they could not have expected any other fortune, than either present death, or perpetual slavery; neither could they hope to be victorious without the assistance of the *Athenians*, whose forces by sea did equal all theirs together; the whole consisting of more than three hundred and fourscore bottoms. Wherefore these *Peloponnesians*, beginning to suspect their own condition, which would have stood upon desperate points, if the fleet of *Athens* had forsaken them, were soon persuaded, by the greater fear of such a bad event, to forget the lesser, which they had conceiv'd of the *Persians*; and laying aside their insolent bravery, they yielded to that most profitable counsel of abiding at *Salamis*.

S E C T. VI.

How the Persians consulted about giving battle; and how Themistocles by policy held the Greeks to their resolution; with the victory at Salamis thereupon ensuing.

IN the mean season the *Persians* had enter'd into consultation, whether it were convenient to offer battle to the *Greeks*, or no. The rest of the captains giving such advice as they thought would best please the king their master, had soon agreed upon the fight; but *Artemisia*, queen of *Ilalicarnassus*, who follow'd *Xerxes* to this war in person, was of a contrary opinion. Her counsel was, that the king himself directly should march towards *Peloponnesus*, whereby it would come to pass, that the *Greek* navy (unable otherwise to continue long at *Salamis* for want of provision) should presently be diserver'd; and every one seeking to preserve his own city and goods, they should, being divided, prove unable to resist him, who had won so far upon them when they held together. And as the profit will be great in forbearing to give battle, so on the other side the danger will be more (said she) which we shall undergo, than any need requireth us to adventure upon; and the loss, in case it fall upon us, greater than the profit of the victory which we desire. For if we compel the enemies to fly, it is no more than they would have done, we sitting still; but if they, as better seamen than ours, put us to the worst, the journey to *Peloponnesus* is utterly dash'd, and many that now declare for us will soon revolt unto the *Greeks*. *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had sent for that purpose to the fleet, related unto his master the common consent of the other captains, and withal, this disagreeing opinion of *Artemisia*. The king was well pleased with her advice, yet resolved upon following the more general, but far worse counsel of the rest; which would questionless have been the same which *Artemisia* gave, had not fear and flattery made all the captains utter that as out of their own judgment, which they thought most conformable to their prince's determination. So it was indeed that *Xerxes* had entertained a vain persuasion of much good, that his own presence upon the shore, to behold the conflict, would work among the soldiers. Therefore he incamped upon the sea-side, pitching his own tent upon the mount *Egaleus*, which is opposite unto the isle of *Salamis*, whence at ease he might safely view all which might happen in that action, having scribes about him to write down the acts and behaviour of every captain. The near approach of the *Barbarians*, together with the news of that timorous diligence, which their countrymen shewed in fortifying *Isthmus*, and of a *Persian* army marching apace thither, did now again so terrify and amaze the *Peloponnesians*, that no in-

treaty nor contestation would suffice to hold them together. For they thought it mere madness to fight for a country already lost, when they rather should endeavour to save that which remained unconquered; propounding chiefly to themselves what misery would befall them, if losing the victory, they should be driven into *Salamis*, there to be shut up, and besieged round in a poor desolate island.

Hereupon they resolved forthwith to set sail for *Isthmus*: which had presently been done, if the wisdom of *Themistocles* had not prevented it. For he perceiving what a violent fear had stop'd up their ears against all good counsel, did practise another course, and forthwith labour to prevent the execution of this unwholsome decree; not suffering the very hour of performance to find him busy in wrangling altercation. As soon as the council broke up, he dispatched secretly a trusty gentleman to the *Persian* captains, informing them truly of the intended flight, and exhorting them to send part of their navy about the island, which encompassing the *Greeks*, might prevent their escape; giving them withal a false hope of his assistance. The *Persians* no sooner heard than believed these good news, well knowing that the victory was their own assured, if the *Athenian* fleet joined with them, which they might easily hope, considering what ability their matter had to recompense, for so doing, both the captains with rich rewards, and the people with restitution of their city and territories. By these means it fell out, that when the *Greeks* very early in the morning were about to weigh anchor, they found themselves inclosed round with *Persians*, who had laboured hard all night, sending many of their ships about the isle of *Salamis*, to charge the enemy in rear, and landing many of their men in the isle of *Psyttalea*, which lieth over-against *Salamis*, to save such of their own, and kill such of the *Grecian* party, as by any misfortune should be cast upon the shore. Thus did mere necessity enforce the *Grecians* to undertake the battle in the straits of *Salamis*, where they obtained a memorable victory, stemming the foremost of their enemies, and chasing the rest, who falling foul one upon another, could neither conveniently fight nor fly. I do not find any particular occurrences in this great battle to be much remarkable. Sure it is, that the scribes of *Xerxes* had a wearisome task of writing down many disasters that befell the *Persian* fleet, which ill acquitted itself that day, doing no one piece of service worthy the presence of their king, or the registering of his notaries. As for the *Greeks*, they might well seem to have wrought out that victory with equal courage, were it not that the principal honour of that day was ascribed to those of *Aigina*, and to the *Athenians*, of whom it is recorded, That when the *Barbarians* did fly towards *Phalerus*, where the land-army of *Xerxes* lay, the ships of *Aigina* having possess'd the straits, did sink or take them, whilst the *Athenians* did valiantly give charge upon those that kept the sea, and made any countenance of resisting.

S E C T. VII.

Of things following after the battle of Salamis; and of the flight of Xerxes.

AFTER this victory, the *Greeks* intending, by way of security, to determine which of the captains had best merited of them, in all this great service; every captain, being ambitious of that honour, did in the first place write down his own name, but in the second place, as best deserving

next

next unto himself, almost every suffrage did concur upon *Themistocles*: Thus private affection yielded unto virtue, as soon as her own turn was served. The *Persian* king, as not amazed with this calamity, began to make new preparation for continuance of war; but in such fashion, that they, which were best acquainted with his temper, might easily discern his faint heart, through his painted looks. Especially *Mardonius*, author of the war, began to cast a wary eye upon his master, fearing lest his counsel should be rewarded according to the event. Wherefore, purposing rather to adventure his life in pursuit of the victory, than to cast it away by undergoing his prince's indignation, he advised the king to leave unto him three hundred thousand men; with which forces he promised to reduce all *Greece* under the subjection of the *Persian* scepter. Herewithal he forgot not to sooth *Xerxes* with many fair words, telling him, that the cowardise of those *Egyptians*, *Phenicians*, and *Cilicians*, with others of the like metal, nothing better than slaves, who had so ill behaved themselves in the late sea-service, did not concern his honour, who had always been victorious, and had already subdued the better part of *Greece*, yea, taken *Athens* itself, against which the war was principally intended. These words found very good acceptance in the king's ear, who presently betook himself to his journey homewards, making the more haste, for that he understood, how the *Greeks* had a purpose to sail to *Hellepont*, and there to break down his bridge, and intercept his passage. True it was, that the *Greeks* had no such intent, but rather wished his hasty departure, knowing that he would leave his army not so strong, as it should have been had he in person remained with it. And for this cause did *Eurybiades* give counsel, that by no means they should attempt the breaking of that bridge, lest necessity should inforce the *Persians* to take more courage, and rather to fight like men, than die like beasts. Wherefore *Themistocles* did, under pretence of friendship, send a false advertisement to this timorous prince, advising him to convey himself into *Asia* with all speed, before his bridge were dissolved: which counsel *Xerxes* took very kindly, and hastily followed, as before is shewed. Whether it were so that he found the bridge whole, and thereby repassed into *Asia*; or whether it were torn in sunder by tempests, and he thereby driven to embark himself in some obscure vessel, it is not greatly material; though the *Greeks* did most willingly embrace the latter of these reports. Howsoever it were, this flight of his did well ease the country, that was thereby disburdened of that huge throng of people, which, as locusts, had before overwhelmed it.

SECT. VIII.

The negotiations between Mardonius and the Athenians, as also between the Athenians and Lacedemonians, after the flight of Xerxes.

MARDONIUS, with his three hundred thousand, had withdrawn himself into *Thessaly*, whence he sent *Alexander*, the son of *Amintas* king of *Macedon*, as ambassador to the *Athenians*, with promise of large amends for all their losses received, and of extending their territories as far as their own desires; allowing them to retain their liberty and laws, if they would make peace with *Xerxes*, and assist him in that war.

The *Athenians* had now re-enter'd their city, but not as yet brought back their wives and children;

forasmuch as they well perceived that the place could not be secure till the army of *Mardonius* were broken and defeated. Wherefore the *Lacedemonians*, understanding what fair conditions this ambassador would propound, were perplexed with very great fear, lest he should find good and ready acceptance. Hereupon they likewise very speedily dispatched their ambassadors for *Athens*, who arriving before the *Macedonian* had audience, used the best of their persuasion to retain the *Athenians* firm. They alleged that neither *Xerxes* nor *Darius* had any pretence of war against the rest of *Greece*, but had only threatened the subversion of *Athens*, till they and all their confederates, arming themselves in defence of that city, were drawn into the quarrel, wherein the *Athenians*, without much cruelty of injustice, could not leave them. We know, say they, that ye have endured great calamities, losing the fruit of the grounds, and being driven to forsake the town, the houses whereof be ruined, and unfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, we undertake to maintain, as our own, your wives and children amongst us, as long as the war shall continue, hoping that ye, who have always procured liberty to others, will not now go about to bring all *Greece* into slavery and bondage. As for the *Barbarians*; their promises are large, but their words and oaths are of no assurance. It was needless to use many arguments to the *Athenians*, who gave answer to *Alexander* in presence of the *Spartan* ambassadors: that whilst the sun continued his course they would be enemies to *Xerxes*, regarding neither gold nor any riches, with which he might seek to make purchase of their liberty. Concerning the maintenance of their wives and children, it was a burden which they promised to sustain themselves, only desiring the *Lacedemonians*, that with all speed they would cause their army to march; forasmuch as it was not likely, that *Mardonius* would long sit still in *Thessaly*, having once received such a peremptory answer. In this their opinion of *Mardonius*'s readiness to invade *Attica*, they found themselves nothing deceived. For he, as soon as *Alexander* had returned their obstinate purpose of resistance, did forthwith lead his army towards them and their city; they having now the second time quitted it, and conveyed themselves into places of more security abroad in the country, where they expected the arrival of their confederates.

From *Athens* he sent his agent unto them with instructions, not only to persuade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with great promises to allure the principal of them to his party. His hope was, that either the people wearied with forsaking their houses so often, would be desirous to preserve them from fire, and to have those which were already laid waste, re-edified at the king's charges: or, if this affection took no place with them, but that needs they would rely upon their old confederates, whose succours did very slowly advance forwards; yet perhaps the leaders might be won with great rewards, to draw them to his purpose: all which projects if they should fail, the destruction of *Athens* would be a good means to please his master king *Xerxes*, who must thereby needs understand, that *Mardonius* kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of *Greece*, in the strongest part of their own country. But his expectation was beguiled in all these. For the *Athenians* so little regarded his offers, that when one *Lycidas*, or (as *Demosthenes* calls him) *Cyrcilus* advised the senate to accept the conditions, and propound them to the people; all the senators, and as many as abiding without the council-house

cil-house heard what he had said, immediately set upon him and stoned him to death; not examining whether it were fear or money, that had moved him to utter such a vile sentence. Yea, the women of *Athens*, in the isle of *Salamis*, hearing of his bad counsel, and bad end, assembling together, did enter his house there, and put his wife and children to the like execution. All this bravery notwithstanding, when they perceived the slackness of the *Peloponnesians* in giving them aid, they were fain to betake themselves to *Salamis* again, the old place of their security. Remaining there, and seeing little forwardness in those whom it most concerned to assist them, they sent very severe messages to *Sparta*, complaining of their slackness, and threatening withal to take such course as might stand best with their own good, seeing that the common estate of all was so little regarded. These messengers were at the first entertained with dilatory answers, which every day grew colder, when as the *Peloponnesian* wall, built athwart the *Isthmus*, was almost finished. But as the *Lacedemonians* waxed careless and dull, so the *Athenians* hotly pressed them to a quick resolution, giving them plainly to understand, that if they should hold on in those dilatory courses, it would not be long ere the city of *Athens* took a new course, that should little please them. All this while the *Persian* fleet lay upon the coast of *Asia*, not daring to draw nearer unto *Greece*, as being now too weak at sea. Likewise the *Grecian* navy contained it self within the harbours upon *Europe* side; both to do service where need should require at home, and withal to shun the danger which might have befallen any part of it, that being distracted from the rest had adventured over-far. So mutual fear preserved in quiet the islands lying in the midst of the *Egean* seas. But it was well and seasonably observed by a counsellor of *Sparta*, that the wall upon *Isthmus* would serve to little purpose for the defence of *Peloponnesus*, if once the *Athenians* gave ear to *Mardonius*: considering that any doors would be opened into that demi island, as soon as the enemy should, by winning the friendship of *Athens*, become the master of the seas about it. The *Lacedemonians* upon this admonition, making better perusal of their own dangers, were very careful to give satisfaction to the *Athenian* ambassadors, who not brooking their delays, were upon point of taking leave, yea, as it seemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherefore, dispatching away five thousand *Spartans* in the evening, under conduct of *Pausanias*, they gave audience the next day to the ambassadors, whose complaint they answered with vehement protestations of their readiness; deeply swearing, that the army of *Sparta* was already far upon the journey; and giving them leave to take up other five thousand *Lacedemonians* out of the region adjoining, to follow after them.

The *Athenians*, though distasting such want of gravity, in a matter so important, were nevertheless contented with the final conclusion; and levying the number appointed of *Lacedemonian* soldiers, made what haste they could to encamp in *Attica*. The other *Grecians* were nothing slack in sending forth companies, whose near approach caused *Mardonius* to forsake *Attica* as a rough country, and therefore of much disadvantage to horse, wherein consisted the best of his power. Before his departure he burnt the city of *Athens*, beating down the walls of it, and ruining all that had formerly escaped the fury of war.

S E C T. IX.

The great battel of Plateæ.

IT were too long a rehearsal to shew all that happened in many skirmishes between the *Greeks* and him, in the country of *Boeotia*, which *Mardonius* had chosen to be the seat of that war. Much time was spent before the quarrel was decided by the tryal of one main battel: for both parties did stand upon their guard, each expecting when the other should assail them.

The army of *Mardonius* contained about three hundred thousand, which were by him chosen out of *Xerxes's* army; to whom were adjoined the forces of *Thebes*, *Macedon*, *Theffaly*, and other parts of *Greece*, that now siding with the *Persian*, furnished his camp with fifty thousand men. Against these the *Lacedemonians*, *Athenians*, and their confederates, had levied an army of one hundred and ten thousand, of which forty thousand were weightily armed, the rest were only assistants to these forty thousand, being armed more slightly, as rather to make excursions, and give chase, than to sustain any strong charges.

These two armies, having eleven days confronted one the other, without performing any memorable piece of service; *Mardonius*, whose victuals began to fail, resolved to begin the fray. The *Greeks* were promised the victory by an oracle, if they fought in the land of the *Athenians*, and in the plain of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, making prayers unto certain gods, demi-gods, and nymphs. But it was hard to find the certain place which the oracle designed. For the plain of *Ceres* was indeed in the territory of *Athens*; but there was also an old temple of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, near unto the place where they lay at that time encamped, as likewise the memorials of those nymphs, and demi-gods, were in the same place, upon mount *Citheron*, and the ground served well for foot-men against horse; only the land belonged unto the *Plateans*, and not unto the *Athenians*.

Whilst the *Greeks* were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtful oracle, the *Plateans*, to make all clear, did freely bestow their land on that side the town upon the *Athenians*.

This magnificence of the *Plateans* caused *Alexander* the Great, many ages after, to re-edify their city, which was ruined in the *Peloponnesian* wars.

All things being ready for battel; the *Lacedemonian* general thought it most meet, that the *Athenians* should stand opposite that day to the *Medes* and *Persians*, whom they had formerly vanquished at *Marathon*; and that he, with his *Spartans*, should entertain the *Thebans* and other *Greeks* which followed *Mardonius*, as better acquainted with their fight, and having beaten them oftentimes before. This being agreed upon, the *Athenians* changed place with the *Lacedemonians*; which *Mardonius* understanding (whether fearing the *Athenians*, of whose valour the *Medes* and *Persians* had felt heavy proof, or desiring to encounter the *Spartans*, as thinking them the bravest soldiers in *Greece*) he did also change the order of his battel, and oppose himself to *Pausanias*. All the *Greeks* might well perceive how the enemy did shift his wings, and *Pausanias* thereupon returned to his former station; which *Mardonius* noting, did also the like. So one whole day was spent in changing to and fro. Some attempt the *Persians* made that day with their archers on horseback, who did so molest the *Greeks* at their watering-place, that they were fain to enter into consultation of retiring; because they could not, without much loss to themselves, and none to the enemy,

lie near to that fountain which did serve all the camp. Having therefore concluded among themselves to dislodge, and part of the army being sent away before day-light, *Mardonius* perceived their departure in the morning, and thereupon being encouraged by their flight (which to him seemed to proceed out of meer cowardise) he charged them in the rear with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valour, that the *Lacedemonians* being overtaken by the enemy's horse, and overwhelmed with great flights of arrows, did quietly sit still, not making any resistance or defence, till the sacrifices for victory were happily ended, tho' many of them were hurt and slain, and some of special mark lost, before any sign of good success appeared in the entrails.

But, as soon as *Pausanias* had found in the sacrifice those tokens, which the superstition of that age and country accounted fortunate, he gave the signal of battel: and thereupon the soldiers, who till then did sit upon the ground, as was their manner, arose altogether, and with excellent courage received the charge of the *Barbarians*, that came thronging upon them without any fear of such notable resistance. The rest of the *Greek* army that was in march, being revoked by *Pausanias*, came in apace to succour the *Lacedemonians*: only that part of the army, which was led by the *Athenians*, could not arrive unto the place of the great battel, because the *Thebans*, and other *Greeks* confederated with the *Persians*, gave them check by the way. Nevertheless, the *Spartans*, with other their assistants, did so well acquit themselves, that the *Persians* were vanquished, and *Mardonius*, with many thousands more, slain in the field; the rest fled into the camp, which they had fortified with wooden walls, and there defended themselves with such courage as desperate necessity enforced them unto, holding out the longer, because the *Lacedemonians* were not acquainted with the manner of assaulting fortresses, and walls. In the mean time the *Athenians*, having found strong opposition of the *Thebans* and *Thessalians*, did with much labour and courage obtain victory, which having not long pursued, they came to help the *Lacedemonians*, whom they found wearily busied in assaulting the camp, with more valour than skill. Wherefore they themselves undertook it, and in short space forced a passage thro' the wall, at which breach first, and then on all sides, the *Greeks* entred, with such fury, and just desire of vengeance, that of three hundred thousand they are said not to have left three thousand alive, excepting those who fled away with *Artabazus*, when the *Persian* army first fell to rout.

If the execution were so great, as is reported, an especial cause of it was the foolish retreat, or rather flight into the camp. For tho' it were so, that the place was well fortified, and the number of those who cast themselves into it, greater than any of the assailants; yet they being of several nations and languages, and, having lost their general with other principal commanders, it was impossible that they in such a terror and astonishment should make good that piece of ground, lying in the heart of an enemy's country, against an army of men far more valiant than themselves, and inflamed with present victory. Therefore the same wall, which for a few hours had preserv'd their lives, by holding out the enemy, did now impale them, and leave them to the slaughtering fury of unspirited victors. *Artabazus* fled into *Thrace*, telling the people of *Theffaly* and other countries in his way, that he was sent by *Mardonius* upon some piece of service: for he well knew, that had they understood any thing of that

great discomfiture, all places would have been hostile unto him, and fought with his ruin to purchase favour of the vanquishers. Therefore making so large marches, that many of his soldiers being feeble were left behind and lost, he came to *Byzantium*, whence he shipped his men over into *Asia*. Such was the end of the vain-glorious expedition, undertaken by *Xerxes* against the *Greeks*, upon hope of honour and great conquest; tho' fortifying otherwise, accordingly as *Artabazus* had foreseen, and rather worse; forasmuch as it began the quarrel, which never ended, before the ruin of the *Persian* empire was effected, by that nation of the *Greeks* despised and fought to have been brought into slavery. Hereby it may seem, that the vision appearing to *Xerxes*, was from God himself, who had formerly disposed of those things, ordaining the subversion of the *Persian* monarchy by the *Greeks*, who thus provoked, enter'd into greater consideration of their own strength, and the weakness of their enemies.

S E C T. X.

The battel of Mycale, with a strange accident that fell out in the beginning of it: and examples of the like.

THE same day, on which the battel was fought at *Plataea*, there was another battel fought at *Mycale*, a promontory, or head-land, in *Asia*, where the *Persian* fleet rode.

Leutychides the *Spartan*, with *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, admirals of the *Greek* navy, at the request of some islanders and *Ionians*, did sail into those parts, to deliver the *Samians*, and procure the *Ionians* to revolt from the *Persian*. *Xerxes* himself at this time lay at *Sardis*, a city in *Lydia*, not far from the sea side, having left threescore thousand under the command of *Tigranes*, for defence of *Ionia* and the sea-coast. Therefore, when *Artayntes* and *Ibrahimites*, admirals of the *Persian* fleet, understood that the *Greeks* bent their course towards them; they did forthwith draw their ships a-ground, fortifying with palissadoes and otherwise, as much ground as was needful for the encamping of all their land and sea-forces. *Leutychides*, at his arrival, perceiving that they meant to keep within their strength, and resolving to force them out of it, rowed with his gally close aboard the shore, and called upon the *Ionians* (who more for fear than good-will were encamped among the *Persians*) exhorting them in the *Greek* tongue to remember liberty, and use the fair occasion which they now had to recover it. Herein he did imitate *Themistocles*, who had done the like at *Eubœa*; trusting that either these persuasions would prevail; or, if the *Persians* did happen to understand them, that it would breed some jealousy in them, causing them to fight in fear of their own companions. It need not seem strange, that this very same stratagem, which little or nothing availed *Themistocles*, did now very happily succeed. For *Xerxes* being in his full strength, it was a matter of much difficulty, to persuade those inhabitants of *Asia* to revolt; who now, in his declining estate, gave a willing ear to the sweet sound of liberty. The *Persians* likewise, who in their former bravery little regarded, and less feared, any treason to be contrived by their subjects, were now so wary, that from the *Samians*, which were amongst them, they took away their arms; the *Milesians*, whom they did suspect, but would not seem to mistrust, they placed far from them, as it were for defence of the straight passages of *Mycale*; pretending that these *Milesians* did best of all

all others know those places. But these devices little availed them. For the *Samians*, perceiving that they were held as traitors, took courage in the heat of the fight, and, laying hold upon such weapons as came to hand, assailed the *Persians* manfully within the camp; which example the *Ionians* presently followed, being very glad to have found some that durst begin. It is said, that whilst the *Greeks* were yet in march towards the enemy's camp, a rumour suddenly ran in the army that *Mardonius* was overthrown in *Greece*, which (tho' perhaps it was given out by the captains to encourage the soldiers) was very true. For the battel of *Plataeæ* was fought in the morning, and this of *Mycale* in the evening of the same day.

The like report, of that great battel, wherein *Paulus Æmilius* overthrew *Perseus* the last king of *Macedon*, was brought to *Rome* in four days, as *Livy* with others do record. And *Plutarch* hath many other examples of this kind. As that of the battel by the river *Sagra* in *Italy*, which was heard of the same day in *Peloponnesus*: that of the battel against the *Tarquinius* and the *Latins*, presently noised at *Rome*: and (which is most remarkable) the victory obtained against *Lucius Antonius*, who was rebel to *Domitian* the emperor. This *Lucius Antonius*, being lieutenant of the higher *Germany*, had corrupted his army with gifts and promises, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himself emperor; which news much troubling the city of *Rome*, with fear of a dangerous war, it was suddenly reported that *Antonius* was slain, and his army defeated.

Hereupon many did offer sacrifice to the gods, and shew all manner of publick joy, as in such cases was accustomed. But when better inquiry was made, and the author of these tidings could not be found, the emperor *Domitian* betook himself to his journey against the rebel; and, being now with his army in march, he received advertisement by post, of the victory obtained, and the death of *Antonius*: whereupon remembring the rumour noised before in *Rome*, of the self-same victory, he found that the report and victory were born upon one day, tho' 20000 furlongs (which make about 2500 miles) asunder. It is truly said of *Plutarch*, that this last example gives credit unto many the like. And indeed it were very strange, if among so many rumours, begotten by forgery or mistakings, and fostered by credulous imagination, there should not be found (as happens in dreams among many thousand vain and frivolous) a few precisely true. Howbeit we may find, that God himself doth sometimes use to terrify those who presume upon their own strength, by these light means of tumultuous noises; as he raised the siege of *Samaria*, by causing a sound of horses and chariots to affright the *Aramites*; and as he threaten'd *Sennacherib*, saying: 'Behold, I will send a blast upon him, and he shall hear a noise, and return to his own land.' Wherefore it may well have been true, that God was pleased by such means as this, to animate the *Greeks*; who (as *Herodotus* notes) went towards the enemies with heavy hearts, being in great fear, lest their own adventure should by no means fall out well; considering in what danger they had left their own country of *Greece*, which was ready to be subdued by *Mardonius*, whilst they went wandering to seek out enemies afar off, upon the coast of *Asia*. But the fame of the battel fought at *Plataeæ* being noised among them; every man desired that his own valour, in the present fight, might be some help to work out the full deliverance

of *Greece*. In this alacrity of spirit, they divided themselves into two battalions, whereof the *Athenians* led the one, by the way of the plain, directly towards the enemy's camp; the *Lacedemonians* conducted the other, by the mountains and straight passages, to win the higher ground. The *Athenians* did first set upon the camp (ere the *Lacedemonians* could arrive on the other part) and being desirous to get all the honour of the day to themselves, did so forcibly assault it, that they brake way through the palissadoes and gabions, and made themselves masters of the place, slaying all that could not save themselves by flight. In this fight the *Samians* did good service, as is formerly mentioned.

But the *Milesians*, who, upon the like jealousy, were placed by the *Persians* on the tops of *Mycale*, to defend the passages; did now (as if they had been set on purpose to keep them from running away) put as many to the sword as fell into their hands, letting none escape, except a very few, that fled thro' by-paths. The *Lacedemonians* that day did little service, for the business was dispatched ere they came in: only they broke such companies as retired in whole troops; making them fly dispersed in very much disorder, whereby the *Milesians* were enabled to do the greater execution upon them. This was the last fight of that huge army levied against *Greece*, which was now utterly broken, and had no means left to make offensive war.

SECT. XI.

Of the barbarous qualities of Xerxes: with a transition from the Persian affairs, to matters of Greece, which from this time grew more worthy of regard.

Xerxes lay at *Sardis*, not far from the place of this battel; but little mind had he to revenge either this or other his great losses, being wholly given over to the love of his brother's wife: with whom, when he could not prevail by intreaty, nor would obtain his desire by force, because he respected much his brother her husband, he thought it best to make a match between his own son *Darius* and the daughter of this woman; hoping by that means to find occasion of such familiarity, as might work out his desire. But whether it were so, that the chastity of the mother did still reject him, or the beauty of her daughter allure him; he soon after fell in love with his own son's wife, being a vicious prince, and as ill able to govern himself in peace, as to guide his army in war. This young lady having once desired the king to give her the garment which he then wore, being wrought by his own wife; it caused the queen thereby to perceive her husband's conversation with her, which she imputed not so much to the beauty of her daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of the mother, against whom thereupon she conceiv'd extream hatred. Therefore at a royal feast, wherein the custom was that the king should grant every request, she crav'd that the wife of *Masistes*, her husband's brother, the young lady's mother, might be given into her disposition. The barbarous king, who might either have reform'd the abuse of such a custom, or have deluded the importunate cruelty of his wife, by threatening her self with the like to whatsoever she should inflict upon the innocent lady, granted the request, and sending for his brother, persuaded him to put away the wife which he had, and take one of his daughters in her stead. Hereby it seems, that he understood how villanously that poor lady should be intreated, whom he knew to be virtuous,

and whom himself had loved. *Masistes* refused to put her away; alledging his own love, her deserving, and their common children, one of which was married to the king's son, as reasons important to move him to keep her. But in most wicked manner *Xerxes* reviled him, saying, *That he now should neither keep the wife which he had, nor have his daughter whom he had promised unto him.* *Masistes* was much griev'd with these words; but much more, when he returned home, he found his wife most butcherly mangled by the queen *Amestris*, who had caused her nose, lips, ears, and tongue to be cut off, and her breasts in like manner, which were cast unto dogs. *Masistes*, enraged with this villany, took his way with his children, and some friends, towards *Bactria*, of which province he was governor, intending to rebel and avenge himself. But *Xerxes* understanding his purpose, caused an army to be levied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his company to the sword. Such was the tyrannical condition of the *Persian* government; and such are generally the effects of luxury, when it is joined with absolute power.

Yet of *Xerxes* it is noted, that he was a prince of much virtue. And therefore *Alexander* the great, finding an image of his overthrown, and lying upon the ground, said, that he doubted, whether, in regard of his virtue, he should again erect it, or, for the mischief done by him to *Greece*, should let it lie. But surely whatsoever his other good qualities were, he was foolish, and was a coward, and consequently merciless.

Therefore we may firmly believe, that the virtue of *Cyrus* was very great, upon which the foundation of the *Persian* empire was so surely laid, that all the wickedness and vanities of *Xerxes*, and other worse princes, could not overthrow it, until it was broken by a virtue almost equal to that which did establish it. In wars against the *Egyptians*, the fortune of *Xerxes* did continue, as at the first it had

been, very good; but against the general estate of *Greece*, neither he, nor any of his posterity, did ever make offensive war, but received many losses in *Asia*, to which the last at *Mycale* serv'd but as an introduction; teaching the *Greeks*, and especially the *Athenians*, that the *Persian* was no better soldier at his own doors, than in a foreign country: whereof good trial was made forthwith, and much better proof as soon as the affairs of *Athens* were quietly settled and assured.

From this time forward I will therefore pursue the history of *Greece*, taking in the matters of *Persia*, as also the estate of other countries, collaterally, when the order of time shall present them. True it is, that the *Persian* estate continued in her greatness many ages following, in such wise, that the known parts of the world had no other kingdom representing the majesty of a great empire.

But this greatness depended only upon the riches and power that had formerly been acquired, yielding few actions or none that were worthy of remembrance, excepting some tragedies of the court, and examples of that excessive luxury, wherewith both it, and all, or the most of empires that ever were, have been enervated, made unweildy, and (as it were) fatten'd for the hungry swords of poor and hardy enemies. Hereby it came to pass, that *Xerxes* and his successors were fain to defend their crowns with money and base policies; very seldom or never (unless it were with great advantage) daring to adventure the trial of plain battel with that little nation of *Greece*, which would soon have ruined the foundations laid by *Cyrus*, had not private malice and jealousy urged every city to envy the height of her neighbours walls, and thereby diverted the swords of the *Greeks* into their own bowels, which after the departure of *Xerxes* began very well, and might better have continued to hew out the way of conquest on the side of *Asia*.

C H A P. VII.

Of things that passed in Greece from the end of the Persian war to the beginning of the Peloponnesian.

S E C T. I.

How Athens was rebuilt and fortified.

AFTER that the *Medes* and *Persians* had received their last blow, and were utterly beaten at *Mycale*: *Leotychides*, who then commanded the *Grecian* army, leaving the pursuit of the war to the *Athenians*, assisted by the revolted *Ionians*, returned with the *Lacedemonians* and other *Peloponnesians* to *Sparta*, and other places, out of which they had been levied. The *Athenians* in the mean while besieged *Sestos*, a city on the straight of the *Hellepont*, between which and *Abydos*, *Xerxes* had lately fallen'd his bridge of boats: where the inhabitants, desperate of succour, did not long dispute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the *Greeks*, who entertained themselves the winter following on that side the *Hellepont*. In the spring they drew homeward, and having left their wives and children, since the invasion of *Attica*, and the abandoning of *Athens*, in divers islands, and at *Troezen*,

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they now found them out, and returned with them to their own places.

And tho' the most part of all their houses in *Athens* were burnt and broken down, and the walls of the city overturn'd, yet they resolv'd first on their common defence, and to fortify their city, before they cared to cover themselves, their wives and children, with any private buildings: whereof the *Lacedemonians* being advertised, and misliking the fortifying of *Athens*, both in respect that their own city of *Sparta* was unwalled, as also because the *Athenians* were grown more powerful by sea, than either themselves or any other state of *Greece*, they dispatched messengers to the *Athenians* to dissuade them; not acknowledging any private dislike or jealousy, but pretending, that if the *Persians* should return to invade *Greece* a third time, the *Athenians* being in no better state to defend themselves than heretofore, the same would serve to receive their enemies, and to be made a seat of war, as *Thebes* had lately been. To this the *Athenians* promised

to give them satisfaction by their own ambassadors very speedily. But being resolved to go on with their works by the advice of *Themistocles*, they held the *Lacedemonians* in hope of the contrary, till they had raised their walls to that height, as they cared not for their mislikes, nor doubted their disturbance; and therefore (to gain time) they dispatched *Themistocles* towards *Lacedemon*, giving him for excuse, that he could not deliver the *Athenians* resolutions, till the arrival of his fellow-commissioners, who were of purpose retarded. But after a while, the *Lacedemonians* expectation being converted into jealousy (for by the arrival of divers persons out of *Attica*, they were told for certain, that the walls of *Athens* were speedily grown up beyond expectation) *Themistocles* prayed them not to believe reports and vain rumours, but that they would be pleased to send some of their own trusty citizens to *Athens*, from whose relation they might resolve themselves, and determine accordingly. Which request being granted, and commissioners sent, *Themistocles* dispatched one of his own, by whom he advised the *Athenians*, first to entertain the *Lacedemonians* with some such discourse as might retain them a few days, and in conclusion to hold them among them till himself and the other *Athenian* ambassadors, then at *Sparta*, had their liberty also to return. Which done, and being also assured by his associates and *Aristides*, that *Athens* was already defensible on all parts, *Themistocles* demanding audience, made the *Lacedemonians* know, that it was true, that the walls of *Athens* were now raised to that height, as the *Athenians* doubted not the defence of their city; praying the *Lacedemonians* to believe, that whensoever it pleased them to treat with the *Athenians*, they would know them for such, as right well understood what appertained to a common-wealth and their own safety, without direction and advice from any other: That they had in the war of *Xerxes* abandoned their city, and committed themselves to the wooden walls of their ships, from the resolution of their own counsels and courage, and not there-to taught or perswaded by others: and finally, in all that perilous war against the *Persians*, they found their own judgments, and the execution thereof in nothing inferior, or less fortunate, than that of any other nation, state, or common-wealth among the *Greeks*; and therefore concluded, that they determined to be masters and judges of their own affairs, and thought it good reason that either all the cities confederated within *Greece* should be left open, or else that the walls of *Athens* should be finished and maintained.

The *Lacedemonians* finding the time unfit for quarrel, dissembled their mislike, both of the fortifying of *Athens*, and of the division, and so suffered the *Athenians* to depart, and received back from them their own ambassadors.

The walls of *Athens* finished, they also fortified the port *Pyreus*, by which they might under covert embark themselves upon all occasions.

S E C T. II.

The beginning of the Athenian greatness and prosperous wars made by that state upon the Persian.

THE *Athenians* having settled things in good order at home, prepared thirty galleys for the pursuit of the war against the *Persians*, to which the *Lacedemonians* added other twenty; and with this fleet, strengthened by the rest of the cities of *Greece* confederated, they set sail for *Cyprus*, under the conduct of *Pausanias* the *Lacedemonian*; where, after their landing, having possess'd themselves of

many principal places, they embarked the army again, and took land in *Thrace*, recovering from the *Persians* by force the city *Bizantium*, now *Constantinople*: from whence, *Pausanias* behaving himself more like a tyrant than a captain, especially towards the *Ionians* lately revolted from *Xerxes*, was called back by the council of *Lacedemon*, and not only accused of many insolent behaviours, but of intelligence with the *Medes*, and treason against his country. In his stead they employed *Docres*, who either gave the same cause of offence, or else the *Athenians*, who affected the first commandment in that war, practised the soldiers to complain; though indeed the wise and virtuous behaviour of *Aristides*, general of the *Athenian* forces, a man of rare and incomparable sincerity, had been able to make a good commander seem ill in comparison of himself; and therefore was much more available in rendering those detested, whose vices afforded little matter of excuse. Howsoever it were, the *Lacedemonians*, being no less wearied of the war than the *Athenians* were eager to pursue it, the one obtained their ease, and the other the execution and honour, which they desired: for all the *Greeks* (those of *Peloponnesus* excepted) willingly subjected themselves to the commandment of the *Athenians*, which was both the beginning of their greatness in that present age, and of their ruin the next succeeding. For the charge of the war being now committed unto them, they began to rate the confederated cities, they appointed receivers and treasurers, and began to levy money according to their discretion, for the maintenance of the general defence of *Greece*, and for the recovering of those places on *Europe* side in *Asia* the less, and the islands, from the *Persians*. This tribute (the first that was ever paid by the *Greeks*) amounted to four hundred and threescore talents, which was raised easily by the honest care of that just man *Aristides*, to whose discretion all the confederates referred themselves, and no man found occasion to complain of him. But as the virtue of *Aristides*, and other worthy citizens, brought unto the *Athenians* great commodity; so the desire which they conceived of encreasing their commodity, corrupted their virtue, and robbing them of the general love which had made them powerful, abandoned their city to the defence of her treasure, which with her in the next age perished. For it was not long ere these four hundred and threescore talents were raised to six hundred, nor long after that, ere their covetous tyranny had converted their followers into slaves, and extorted from them yearly thirteen hundred talents. The isle of *Delos* was at the first appointed for the treasure-house wherein these sums were laid up; and where, at the general assembly, the captains of those forces, sent by the confederates, were for form sake called to consultation. But the *Athenians*, who were stronger by sea than all *Greece* besides, had lock'd up the common treasure in an island under their own protection, from whence they might transport it at their pleasure, as afterwards they did.

The general commander of this war, was *Cimon* the son of *Miltiades*, who first took *Eion*, upon the river *Strimon*; then the isle of *Sciros*, inhabited by the *Dolopes*: they mastered the *Caristii*, and brought into servitude the *Naxii*, contrary to the form of the confederacy: so did they other the inhabitants of *Greece*, if at any time they failed of their contribution, or disobeyed their commandments; taking upon them and usurping a kind of sovereign authority over the rest: which they exercised the more assuredly, because they were now become lords of the sea, and could not be resisted.

For

For many of the confederated cities and nations, weary of the war in their own persons, and given up altogether to their ease, made choice rather to pay their parts in money, than either in men of war, or in ships; leaving the provision of both to the *Athenians*. Hereby the one grew weak in all their sea-defences, and in the exercise of the wars; the other greatly strengthened their navy and their experiences, being always armed and employed in honourable services, at the cost of those who having lifted them into their saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the tribute-money, levied upon these their confederates, employed so well by the *Athenians* at the first (as ill proceedings are often founded upon good beginnings) that no great cause of repining was given. For they rigged out a great fleet of gallies, very well mann'd, wherewith *Cimon* the admiral scouring the *Asiatick* seas; took in the city of *Phaselis*; which having formerly pretended neutrality, and refused to relieve, or any way assist the *Greeks*, were enforced to pay ten talents for a fine, and so to become followers of the *Athenians*, paying yearly contribution.

From thence he set sail for the river *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia*, where the *Persian* fleet rode; being of six hundred sail, or (according to the most sparing report) three hundred and fifty; and having a great land-army, encamped upon the shoar: All which forces having been provided for advancing the king's affairs in *Greece*, were utterly defeated in one day, and two hundred ships taken by the *Athenians*, the rest being broken to pieces, or sunk ere ever they had swam in the *Grecian* seas. *Cimon* having in one day obtained two great victories, the one by sea, and the other by land, was very soon presented with a third. For fourscore sail of *Phenicians* (who were the best of all sea-men, under the *Persian* command) thinking to have joined themselves with the fleet before destroyed, arrived upon the same coast, ignorant of what had passed, and fearing nothing less than what ensued. Upon the first notice of their approach *Cimon* weighed anchor, and meeting them at an head-land called *Hydra*, did so amaze them, that they only sought to run themselves on ground; by which means preserving few of their men, they lost all their ships. These losses did so break the courage of the *Persian*, that, omitting all hope of prevailing upon *Greece*, he condescended to whatsoever articles it pleased the *Athenians* to propound, granting liberty unto all the *Greeks* inhabiting *Asia*; and further covenanting, that none of his ships of war should sail to the westward of the isles, called *Cyanea* and *Chelidoniae*.

This was the most honourable peace that ever the *Greeks* made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any war, that redounded to the profit or glory of the whole nation, till such time as under *Alexander*, they overthrew the empire of *Persia*; in which war few, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great command, but served altogether under the *Macedonians*.

S E C T. III.

The death of Xerxes by the treason of Artabanus.

BESIDES these losses, which could not easily have been repaired, the troubles of the empire were at this time such, as gave just cause to the *Persian* of seeking peace upon any terms not altogether intolerable. For *Artabanus*, the uncle of *Xerxes*, perceiving that the king his master did easily take small occasions to shed the blood of such, as in kin-

dred or place were near unto him, began to repose less hope of safety in remaining faithful, than of obtaining the sovereignty, by destroying a prince that was so hated for his cruelty, and despised for his cowardise and misfortunes. Having conceived this treason, he found means to execute it by *Mithridates* an eunuch, in such close manner, that (as if he himself had been innocent) he accused *Darius* the son of *Xerxes*, and caused him to suffer death as a parricide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickedness he got the kingdom, and held it seven months; or whether intending the like evil to *Artaxerxes* the son of *Xerxes*, he was by him prevented and surprized, it were hard to affirm any certainty. But all writers agree upon this, that taken he was, and with his whole family put to death by extreme torments, according to the sentence, whereof the truth is more ancient than the verse.

*Raro antecedentem scelestum
Deferuit pede pœna claudo.*

Seldom the villain, though much haste he make,
Lame-footed vengeance fails to overtake.

S E C T. IV.

The banishment of Themistocles: His flight to Artaxerxes newly reigning in Persia; and his death.

AR TAXERXES being established in his kingdom, and having so compounded with the *Athenians*, as the present necessity of his affairs required, began to conceive new hopes of better fortune against the *Greeks*, than he or his predecessors had ever hitherto found. For the people of *Athen*, when the *Persians* were chased out of *Greece*, did so highly value their own merits in that service, that they not only thought it fit for themselves to become the commanders over many towns, and islands of the *Greeks*, but even within their own walls they would admit none other form of government than merely democratical. Herein they were so insolent, that no integrity nor good desert was able to preserve the estate of any such as had borne great office, longer than, by flattering the rascally multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deeds to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanor much offended *Themistocles*; who, though in former times he had laid the foundations of his greatness upon popularity, yet now presuming upon his good services done to the state, he thought that with great reason they might grant him the liberty to check their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwise, they were so highly offended with his often rehearsing the benefits which they had received from him, that they laid upon him the punishment of *Ostracism*, whereby he was banished for ten years, as a man overburthened to the common-wealth.

Before the time of his return was half expired, a new accusation was brought against him by the *Lacedemonians*, who charged him of consulting with *Pausanias*, about betraying the whole country of *Greece* unto *Xerxes*. Hereupon *Themistocles*, finding no place of security against the malice of two such mighty cities, was driven, after many troublesome flights, and dangerous removings, to adventure himself into *Persia*; where he found *Artaxerxes* newly settled, and was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which *Artaxerxes* had conceived of advancing his affairs by the counsel and assistance of *Themistocles*, proved altogether fruitless. For when the *Athenians*, in favour of *Inarus* the *Libyan* (who infested *Egypt*, causing it to rebel

against the *Persian*) had sent a fleet to sea, landing an army in *Egypt*, and scouring those eastern seas, to the great hindrance of *Artaxerxes*, and (for ought that I can understand) to the manifest breach of that peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with *Xerxes*; then did the king send his letters to *Themistocles*, requiring him to make good the hopes which he had given, of assuring the *Persian* estate against the *Greeks*.

But whether *Themistocles* perceived much unlikelihood of good success, in leading a great army of dastardly *Persians* against the warlike people of *Greece*; or else (as in favour of his virtue it is more commonly reported) the love of his country would not permit him to seek honour by the ruin of it: sure it is, that being appointed by *Artaxerxes* to undertake the conduct of great forces against the *Athenians*, he decided the great conflict between thankfulness to his well-deserving prince, and natural affection to his own ill-deserving people, by finishing his life with a cup of poison.

SECT. V.

How the Athenians, breaking the peace, which to their great honour they had made with the Persian, were shamefully beaten in Egypt.

THEN was *Artaxerxes* driven to use the service of his own captains in the *Egyptian* war, wherein it appeared well, That a just cause is a good defence against a strong enemy. An *Athenian* fleet of two hundred sail strong was sent forth under *Gimon*, to take in the isle of *Cyprus*: which conquest seemed easy both to make, and to maintain, the *Persian* being utterly broken at sea, and thereby unable to relieve the island. Now although it were so, that a peace had been concluded, which was likely to have been kept sincerely by the *Persian*, who had made so good proof of the *Grecian* valour, that he was nothing desirous to build any ships of war (without which the *Greeks* could receive no harm from him) whereof if any one should be found sailing towards *Greece*, the peace was immediately broken, and if not, his whole estate; yet all the sea-coast (no small part of his dominions) exposed to the waste of an enemy too far over-matching him. Yet whether the *Athenians* were in doubt, lest the league, which in his own worse fortunes he had made with them, he would break in theirs; and therefore sought to get such assurance into their hands, as might utterly disable him from attempting ought against them; or whether the increase of their revenues and power, by adding that rich and great island to their empire, caused them to measure honour by profit; they thought it the wisest way, to take whilst they might, whatsoever they were able to get and hold, and he unable to defend.

The isle of *Cyprus*, lying in the bottom of the straits between *Cilicia*, *Syria* and *Egypt*, is very fitly seated for any prince of state, that being mighty at sea, doth either seek to enrich himself by trade with those countries, or to infect one or more of them when they are his enemies. And this being the purpose of the *Athenians*, their ambition, which had already devoured, in conceit, this island, was on the sudden well-nigh choaked with a greater morsel, to snatch at which, they let *Cyprus* alone, which they might easily have swallowed and digested. For *Iuarius*, king of the *Libyans*, confining *Egypt*, having found how greatly the country was exhausted by the late wars, and how weakly defended by very slender *Persian* garrisons, conceived rightly, that if such small forces as the satrapa or viceroy

could make on the sudden of his own guards, or levy out of the ordinary garrisons, were by him defeated, the naturals of the country, not long since oppressed by *Cambyses*, and after a revolt very lately subdued by *Xerxes*, would soon break faith with him who had no other title to that kingdom than a good sword. Further, he persuaded himself that the people, unable to defend themselves against the *Persian* without his assistance, would easily be drawn to accept him the author of their deliverance, for king. Neither did this hope deceive him: for having taken and cruelly slain *Acbemenes* the viceroy, divers cities forthwith declared themselves for him, and proclaiming him king, shewed the most of their endeavour for prosecution of the war. But he considering his own weakness, and that the means of the *Egyptians* his adherents were not answerable to their desires, perceived well, that to resist the power of *Artaxerxes*, far greater forces than his and theirs were to be procured, at what price soever he obtained them. Therefore hearing of the great *Athenian* fleet, and knowing well the virtue of the soldiers therein embark'd; he invited the commanders to share with him the kingdom of *Egypt* as a far greater reward of their adventure, than such an addition as that of *Cyprus* could be to their estate. Whether he or they (if things had wholly sorted according to their expectation) would have been contented with an equal share, and not have fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a divination unnecessary. He was possessed of the people's love; they were of most power. But the issue of those affairs was such as left them nothing to communicate but misfortunes, which they shared somewhat equally. Yet had the beginnings of their enterprise very good and hopeful success: for they enter'd the land as far as to *Memphis*, the principal city; and of the city it self they took two parts: to the third part, which was called the *White Wall*, they laid such hard siege, that neither those forces of the *Persians*, which then were in *Egypt*, were strong enough to remove them; neither could *Artaxerxes* well devise what means to use for the recovery of that which was lost, or for the preservation of the remainder. The best of his hope was by setting the *Lacedemonians* upon *Athens*, to enforce the *Athenians* to look homewards to their own defence. This was the first time that the *Persian* sought to procure the assistance of the *Greeks* one against the other, by stirring them up with gold to the entertainment of private quarrels, for the good of their common enemy. To this purpose he sent *Magabazus* to *Sparta* with much treasure; who, after great expence, finding that the *Lacedemonians* were nothing forward in employing their whole force against the *Athenians*, whom in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, notwithstanding the absence of their army in *Egypt*; he thought it his wisest way to employ the rest of his money and means to their relief, who had now the space of six years defended his master's right in *Egypt*. Therefore he hastily dispatched another of his name, the son of *Zopyrus*, who arriving in *Egypt*, was first encounter'd by the revolted people; over whom he obtained victory, which made him master of the country, whilst the *Athenians* lay busied about *Memphis* the great city. It cannot be doubted, but that long abode in a strange air, and want of supply, had much enfeebled the *Athenians*: sure it is, that when *Magabazus*, having reduced the country to obedience, attempted the city it self, whether his former success had amended the courage of the *Persians*, or want of necessities made the *Athenians* inferior to themselves, he

he chased them out of *Memphis*, and pursued them so near, as they were forced to fortify themselves in the isle of *Protopites*, where *Magabazus*, after eighteen months siege turning away one part of the river by divers trenches, assaulted the *Athenians* without impediment of waters, took their gallies, and put all to the sword, save a few that saved themselves by flight into *Libya*; the same entertainment had fifty other gallies, which they sent to the succour of the first two hundred. For those *Athenians* having heard nothing that their fleet and army was consumed, enter'd by the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendesium*, and fell unawares among the *Phenician* gallies and the *Persian* army; so as the *Persians* recovered all *Egypt*, but that part held by *Amyrteus*, and *Inarus* the king of *Libya*, being by them taken and hanged. This was the end of the *Athenians* six years war in *Egypt*, and the reward of their vanity and indiscretion to undertake many enterprizes at once.

S E C T. VI.

Of other wars made by the Athenians for the most part with good success, about the same time.

Notwithstanding these overthrows in *Egypt*, yet the *Athenians* in their home-wars waded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their forces against the *Lacedemonians*, *Corinthians*, and others, rather to their advantage than otherwise. For as they were beaten near unto *Italia* by the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*, so they obtained two great victories soon after; the one over the *Peloponnesians*, near unto *Cecryphalia*; the other over the *Aeginets*, near unto *Agina*; where they sunk and carried away threescore and ten gallies of their enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the sudden, and besieged *Agina*, from whence they could not be moved, notwithstanding that the *Corinthians*, to divert them, invaded *Megara*; where, after a great fight, with equal loss, the *Corinthians*, when they returned again to set up their trophy, as victors in the former battel, were utterly broken and slaughtered by the *Athenian* garrisons, and *Megarians*, to their great loss and dishonour.

Again, as the *Athenians* were discomfited near to *Tanagra* by the *Lacedemonians*, who returned from the succour of the *Dorians* against the *Phocians* (at which time the *Thessalian* horsemen turned from their allies, the *Athenians*, and fought against them) so about threescore days after, the *Athenians* enter'd *Boeotia* under the conduct of *Myronides*, where beating that nation, they won *Phocis* on the gulf *Oeteus*, and evened the walls of *Tanagra* to the ground. Finally, they enforced *Agina* to render upon most base conditions; as to beat down the walls of their city, and to give them hostages for tribute; the siege whereof they had continued, notwithstanding all their other brabbles and attempts elsewhere. Besides these victories, they sack'd and spoil'd many places upon the sea-coast of *Peloponnesus*, belonging to the *Lacedemonians*; won upon the *Corinthians*, and overthrew the *Sicyonians* that came to their succour. These were the undertakings of the *Athenians*, and their allies, during the time of those six years that a part of their forces made war in *Egypt*. In the end whereof they attempted *Thebais*, persuaded thereunto by *Orestes*, but were resisted by the king *Pharalus*, who had chased *Orestes* out of his dominions. They also landed in

Sicyonia, and had victory over those that resisted; after which, they made truce with the *Peloponnesians* for five years, and sent *Cimon* into *Cyprus* with two hundred ships, but they were again allured by *Amyrteus*, one of the race of their former kings, who held the marsh and woody parts of *Egypt* from the *Persians*, to whom they sent sixty of their ships. The rest of their army failing in their enterprize of *Cyprus*, and their fortunate and victorious leader *Cimon* dying there, as they coasted the island, encounter'd a fleet of the *Phenicians* and *Cilicians*, over both which nations they returned victorious into *Greece*; as also those returned safe which were sent into *Egypt*.

S E C T. VII.

Of Artaxerxes Longimanus, that he was Ahasuerus, the husband of queen Esther.

TH E S E *Egyptian* troubles being ended, the reign of *Artaxerxes* continued peaceable; whereof the length is by some restrained into twenty years, but the more and better authors give him forty, some allow him four and forty. He was a prince of much humanity, and noted for many examples of gentleness. His favour was exceeding great to the *Jews*, as appeareth by the histories of *Esdra*s and *Nehemias*, which fell in his time.

To prove that this was the king who gave countenance and aid to that great work of building the temple, it were a needless travail; considering that all the late divines have taken very much pains to shew, that those two prophets were licenced by him, and succoured in that building, in such sort as appears in their writings.

This was likewise that king *Abasuerus* who married *Esther*. Whereof if it be needful to give proof, it may suffice; that *Abasuerus* lived in *Susa*, reigning from *India* to *Ethiopia*, and therefore must have been a *Persian*; that he lived in peace, as appears by the circumstances of the history, and used the counsel of the seven princes, the authority of which princes began under *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*; wherefore he could be neither *Cyrus* nor *Cambyses*.

The continual wars which exercised king *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, together with the certainty of his marriages with sundry wives, from none of whom he was divorced, but left his first wife *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, alive in great honour, she being mother to *Xerxes* the succeeding king; do manifestly prove that *Esther* was not his. Whereunto is added by *Philo* the *Jew*, that at the persuasion of *Mardocheus*, *Joiakim* the high priest, the son of *Jesua*, caused the feast of *Purim* to be instituted in memory of that deliverance. Now the time of *Joiakim* was in the reign of *Artaxerxes*, at the coming of *Esdra*s and *Nehemias*; *Jesua* his father dying about the end of *Darius*.¹

The same continuance of wars, with other his furious and tragical loves, wherewith *Xerxes* did consume such little time as he had free from war, are enough to prove that the story of *Esther* pertained not unto the time of *Xerxes*, who lived but one and twenty years, whereas the two and thirtieth of *Abasuerus* or *Artaxerxes* is expressed by *Nehemias*. Again, it is well known, that *Ahasuerus* in the seventh year of his reign (wherein this marriage must have been celebrated) came not near to *Susa*. Of the princes that succeeded *Artaxerxes Longima-*

¹ *Protopites*, an island between the rivers of *Taly* and *Pharmutiacus*, two of the out-lets of *Nilus*, towards *Alexandria*. ² *Mendesium* is an island in the mouth of *Nilus*, between the out-let called *Bulriticus* and *Uroloos*. But the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendesium* runneth into the sea by the city *Panaphylus*.

mus, to prove that none of them could be *Abashuerus*, it is enough to say, that *Mardocheus*, having been carried from *Jerusalem* captive with *Jeconia*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, was unlikely to have lived unto their times.

But of this *Artaxerxes* it is true, that he lived in *Susa*, reigned from *India* to *Ethiopia*, lived in peace, was contemporary with *Joiachim* the high priest: and further, he had happily by his lieutenants reclaimed the rebellious *Egyptians* in that seventh year of his reign; which good fortune might well give occasion to such a royal feast as is described in the beginning of the book of *Esther*. This is the sum of the arguments, brought to prove the age of *Esther's* story by the learned and diligent *Krentzhemius*, who adds the authorities of *Josephus*, affirming the same, and of *Philo*, giving to *Mardocheus* eighteen years more than *Isaac* the patriarch lived; namely, one hundred fourscore and eighteen years in all, which expire in the five and thirtieth year of this *Artaxerxes*, if we suppose him to have been carried away captive, being a boy of ten years old.

SECT. VIII.

Of the troubles in Greece, foregoing the Peloponnesian war.

BUT it is fit that we now return to the affairs of the *Greeks*, who from this time forward, more vehemently prosecuting their civil wars, suffered the *Persians* for many ages to rest in peace, this *Egyptian* expedition being come to nought. Soon after this, the *Lacedemonians* undertook the war, called sacred, recovered the temple and isle of *Delphos*, and delivered both to the inhabitants; but the *Athenians* regained the same, and gave it in charge to the *Phocians*. In the mean while the banished *Beotians* re-enter'd their own land, and mastered two of their own towns, possess'd by the *Athenians*, which they soon recovered again from them; but in their return towards *Athens*, the *Beotians*, *Eubeans*, and *Locrians* (nations oppress'd by

the *Athenians*) set upon them with such resolution, as the *Athenians* were in that fight all slain or taken, whereby the *Beotians* recovered their former liberty, restoring to the *Athenians* their prisoners. The islanders of *Eubœa* took such courage upon this, that they revolted wholly from the *Athenians*, whom when *Pericles* intended to reconquer, he was advertised that the *Megarians* (who first left the *Lacedemonians*, and submitted themselves to *Athens*) being now weary of their yoke, had slain the *Athenian* garrisons, and joined themselves with the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, and *Epidaurians*. These news hastened *Pericles* homeward with all possible speed; but ere he could recover *Attica*, the *Peloponnesians*, led by *Plistoanax*, the son of *Pausanias*, had invaded it, pillaged, and burnt many parts thereof; after whose return, *Pericles* went on with his first intent, and recovered *Eubœa*. Finally, the *Athenians* began to treat of peace with the *Peloponnesians*, and yielded to deliver up all the places which they held in the country of *Peloponnesus*; and this truce was made for thirty years. After six of these years were expired, the *Athenians* (favouring the *Milesians* against the *Samians*) invaded *Samos* by *Pericles*, and after many repulses, and some great losses, both by sea and land, the citizens were forc'd to yield themselves upon most lamentable conditions; namely, to deliver up all their ships, to break down their own walls, to pay the charge of the war, and to restore whatsoever had been taken by themselves, or by their practice from the *Athenians*. In the neck of which followed that long and cruel *Peloponnesian* war, whereof I have gathered this brief following; the same contention taking beginning fifty years after the flight of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*. But because there was no city thereof, which either in the beginning of this war, or in the continuance of it, was not drawn into the quarrel, I hold it convenient now at the first to shew briefly the estate of the country at that time, and especially the condition of those two great cities, *Athens* and *Sparta*, upon which all the rest had most dependance.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Peloponnesian war.

SECT. I.

Upon what terms the two principal cities of Greece, Athens and Sparta, stood, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.

GREECE was never united under the government of any one prince or estate, until *Philip* of *Macedon*, and after him *Alexander* brought them rather to a union and league against the *Persian*, whereof they were captains, than into any absolute subjection. For every estate held their own, and were governed by laws far different and by their own magistrates, notwithstanding the power of the *Macedonians*, to whom they did yield obedience no otherwise than as to such, who were (perforce) their leaders in the *Persian* war (deemed the general quarrel of *Greece*) and took the profit and honour of the victory to their own use and increase of greatness. But the kings which afterwards reigned in *Macedonia*, did so far enlarge their authority, that all *Greece* was by them brought under such obedience, as differed little from servitude; very few

excepted, who could hardly, sometimes with arms, and sometimes with gifts, preserve their liberty; of whom the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians* were chief: which two people deserved best the plague of tyranny, having first given occasion thereunto by their great ambition, which wearied and weakened all the country by perpetual war. For, until these two cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* distracted all *Greece*, drawing every state into the quarrel, on the one or other side, and so gave beginning to the *Peloponnesian* war (the effects whereof in true estimation ceased not, before the time that *Philip* had over-master'd all, so far as every conclusion of one war afforded henceforth matter to some new distraction of the whole country) the wars, commenced between one city of *Greece* and another, were neither great nor of long continuance. All controversies were soon decided, either by the authority of the *Amphictiones*, who were the general council of *Greece*; or by the power of the *Lacedemonians*, whose aid was commonly held as good as the assurance of victory.

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These *Lacedemonians* had lived about 400 years under one form of government, when the *Peloponnesian* war began. Their education was only to practise feats of arms; wherein they so excelled, that a very few of them were thought equal to very great numbers of any other people. They were poor, and cared not much for wealth; every one had an equal portion of the common field, which sufficed to maintain him in such a manner of life as they used. For bravery they had none, and curious building or apparel they regarded not. Their diet was simple, their feasts and ordinary meals being in common halls, where all fared alike. They used money of iron, whereof they could not be covetous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they liv'd *Utopian*-like, save that they used no other occupation than war, placing all their felicity in the glory of their valour. Hereby it came to pass, that in all enterprises, whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all *Greece* followed their conduct. But the *Athenians* were in all points contrary to this: for they fought wealth, and measured the honours of their victories by the profit; they used mercenary soldiers in their wars, and exacted great tribute of their subjects, which were for the most part islanders, compelled to obey them, because the *Athenian* fleet was great.

As in form of policy, and in course of life, so in conditions natural, the difference between these two people was very much. The *Athenians* were eager and violent, sudden in their conclusions, and as hasty in the execution: the *Lacedemonians* very slow in their deliberations, full of gravity, but very resolute, and such as would in cold blood perform what the *Athenians* did usually in flagrant. Whereby it came to pass that the *Lacedemonians* had all the estates of *Greece* depending upon them, as on men firm and assured, that fought honour and not riches; whereas the *Athenians* were followed by such as obey'd them perforce, being held in straight subjection. But the seignory of the *Athenians* was nothing large, until such time as the *Persian Xerxes* had invaded *Greece*, pretending only a quarrel to *Athens*. For then the citizens perceiving well, that the town of *Athens* could not be defended against his great army of 1700000 men, bestowed all their wealth upon a navy, and (assisted by the other *Grecians*) overthrew the fleet of *Xerxes*, whose land-forces were soon after discomfited by them, and the *Greeks*, who all served under conduct of the *Spartans*. After these victories, the *Athenians* being now very mighty in fleet, reduced all the islands of the *Grecian* seas under their obedience; imposing upon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of war against the *Persian*; tho' indeed they employ'd their forces chiefly to the conquest of such islands, and haven towns, of their own countrymen, as stood out against them. All which was easily suffered by the *Lacedemonians*, who were in-landers, and men that delighted not in expeditions to be made far from home. But afterwards perceiving the power of the *Athenians* to grow great, they held them in much jealousy, and were very apt to quarrel with them; but much more willing to breed contention between them and other estates. Wherefore at such time as the *Thebans* would have oppress'd the *Plateans*, when they of *Plateæ* repaired to *Sparta* for succour, they found there no other aid, than this advice, that they should seek help at *Athens*. Hereby it was thought, that the *Athenians* should be entangled in a long and tedious war with their neighbours of *Thebes*. But it prov'd otherwise; for their force was now so great,

that all such occasions did only serve to increase their honour and puissance.

SECT. II.

How Sparta and Athens entered into a war.

NEvertheless many estates of *Greece* were very ill affected to *Athens*, because that city grew very insolent upon sudden prosperity, and maintaining the weaker towns against the stronger, incroached apace upon their neighbours, taking their dependants from them. Especially the *Corinthians* were much enraged, because the people of the island *Corcyra*, their colony, which had rebelled against them, and given them a great overthrow by sea, was by the *Athenians* (who desired to increase their fleet by adjoining that of *Corcyra* unto it) taken into protection, and the *Corinthians* thereby impeached of that revenge which else they would have taken. Now, howsoever it were so, that these dealings of the *Athenians* were not directly against the conditions of peace agreed upon among the *Greeks*, yet were the complaints made at *Sparta* so vehement, that (tho' with much ado) they concluded to redress by war the injuries done to their allies.

First therefore seeking religious pretences, they required the *Athenians* to expiate certain offences committed against the gods; whereunto having for answer, that they themselves should expiate other the like offences, committed in *Sparta*; they began to deal plainly, and required that the people of some towns, oppress'd by the estate of *Athens*, should be set at liberty; and that a decree made against those of *Megara*, whereby they were forbidden to enter any port of the *Athenians*, should be reversed. This last point they so earnestly pressed, that if they might obtain it, they promised to abstain from their purpose of making war.

This they desir'd, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle) but only that by seeming to have obtain'd somewhat, they might preserve their reputation without entering into a war, which threatned them with greater difficulties apparent, than they were very willing to undergo.

But the *Athenians* would yield to nothing; for it was their whole desire that all *Greece* should take notice, how far they were from fear of any other city. Hereupon they prepared on both sides very strongly, all that was needful to the war; wherein the *Lacedemonians* were superiour, both in number and quality, being assisted by most of the cities in *Greece*; and having the general favour, as men that pretended to set at liberty such as were oppress'd: but the *Athenians* did as far exceed them in all provisions, of money, shipping, engines, and absolute power of command among their subjects; which they held, and afterwards found, of greater use in such need, than the willing readiness of friends, who soon grow weary, and are not easily assembled.

SECT. III.

The beginning of the Peloponnesian war.

THE first and second years expedition was very grievous to the city of *Athens*. For the fields were wasted; the trees cut down; the country people driven to flee, with their wives, children, and cattle into the town; whereby a most furious pestilence grew in the city, such as before they had never felt, nor heard of. Hereunto was added the revolt of the *Mytilenians*, in the isle of *Lesbos*, and the siege of *Plateæ* their confederated city, which they durst not adventure to raise, be-

sides

sides some small overthrows received. The *Lacedemonians* assembling as great forces as they could raise out of *Peloponnesus*, did in the beginning of summer enter the country of *Attica*, and therein abide, until victuals began to fail, wasting and destroying all things round about: the governours of the *Athenians* would not suffer the people to issue into the field against them; for they knew the valour of their enemies; but used to send a fleet into *Peloponnesus*, which wasted as fast all the sea-coast of their enemies, whilst they were making war in *Attica*. So the *Peloponnesians* being the stronger by land, won the town of *Plataeæ*, which wanted rescue; the *Athenians* likewise being more mighty by sea, did subdue *Mytilene*, which had rebelled, but could not be succoured from *Sparta*. By these proceedings in that war, the *Lacedemonians* began to perceive how unfit they were to deal with such enemies. For, after that *Attica* was thoroughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to do any offence equal to such harm as they themselves might, and did receive. Their confederates began to set forward very slowly in their expeditions into *Attica*; perceiving well, that *Athens* was plentifully relieved with all necessaries, which came by sea from the islands that were subject unto that estate; and therefore these invaders took but small pleasure in beholding the walls of that mighty city, or in wasting a forsaken field, which was to them a pattern of the calamities, with which their own territory was the while afflicted. Wherefore they began to set their care to build a strong navy, wherein they had little good success, being easily vanquished by the *Athenians*, who both had more and better ships; and were so skilful in sea-fights, that a few vessels of theirs durst undertake a great number of the *Peloponnesians*.

S E C T. IV.

Of the great loss which the Spartans received at Pylus.

AMONG other losses which the *Spartans* had felt by sea, they received at *Pylus* a very sore blow, that compelled them to sue for peace. A fleet of *Athenian* ships, bound for *Corcyra*, wasting in that passage, as their manner was, the coast of *Laconia*, and all the half-isle of *Peloponnesus*, was by contrary winds detained at *Pylus*, which is a ragged promontory, joining to the main, by a straight neck of land. Before it, there lies a small barren island of less than two miles compass, and within that a creek, which is a good harbour for ships, the force of weather being borne off by the head-land and isle. This promontory the *Athenians* fortified, as well as in haste they might; and what was wanting in their artificial fortification, was supplied by the natural strength and site of the place. By holding this piece of ground and haven, they reasonably expected many advantages against their enemies. For the country adjoining was inhabited by the *Messenians*, who in ancient times had held very strong and cruel war with *Sparta*; and, tho' quite subdu'd, they were held in straight subjection; yet was not the old hatred so extinguished, that by the near neighbourhood and assistance of the *Athenians*, it might not be revived. Furthermore, it was thought, that many ill-willers to the *Lacedemonians*, and as many of their bond-slaves as could escape from them, would repair to *Pylus*, and from thence make daily excursions into *Laconia*, which was not far off: or, if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this haven, lying almost in the midway between them and *Corcyra*, make them able to surround all *Peloponnesus*, and

waste it at their pleasure. The news of these doings at *Pylus*, drew the *Peloponnesians* thither in all haste out of *Attica*, which they had entered a few days before with their whole army: but now they brought not only their land-forces, but all their navy, to recover this piece, which how bad a neighbour it might prove in time, they well foresaw, little fearing the grievous loss at hand, which they there in a few days received. For when they in vain made a general assault on all sides, both by sea and land, finding that small garrison which the *Athenians* had left, very resolute in the defence; they occupied the haven, placing 420 choice men, all of them citizens of *Sparta*, in the island beforementioned; at each end whereof is a channel, that leads into the port, but so narrow, that only two ships in front could enter between the isle and *Pylus*; likewise but 7 or 8 ships could enter at once by the further channel, between the island and the main. Having thus taken order to shut up this new town by sea, they sent part of their fleet to fetch wood, and other stuff, wherewith to fortify round about, and block up the piece on all sides. But in the mean season, the *Athenian* fleet, hearing of their danger that were left at *Pylus*, return'd thither, and with great courage entering the haven, did break and sink many of their enemies vessels; took five, and enforced the residue to run themselves a-ground.

Now was the town secure, and the *Spartans* abiding in the island as good as lost: wherefore the magistrates were sent from *Sparta* to the camp (as was their custom in great dangers) to advise what were best for the publick safety; who, when they did perceive that there was no other way to rescue their citizens out of the isle, than by composition with their enemies; they agreed to intreat with the *Athenians* about peace, taking truce in the mean while with the captains at *Pylus*. The conditions of the truce were, That the *Lacedemonians* should deliver up all the ships which were in the coast, and that they should attempt nothing against the town, nor the *Athenians* against the camp: That a certain quantity of bread, wine, and flesh, should be daily carried into the isle, but that no ships should pass into the island secretly: That the *Athenians* should carry the *Lacedemonian* ambassadors to *Athens*, there to treat of peace; and should bring them back, at whose return the the truce should end; which, if in the mean time it were broken in any one point, should be held utterly void in all: That when the truce was expired, the *Athenians* should restore the *Peloponnesian* ships, in as good case as they receiv'd them. The ambassadors coming to *Athens*, were of opinion, that as they themselves had begun the war, so might they end it when they pleased: wherefore they told the *Athenians* how great an honour it was that the *Lacedemonians* did sue to them for peace; advising them to make an end of the war, whilst with such reputation they might. But they found all contrary to their expectation: for instead of concluding upon even terms, or desiring of meet recompence for loss sustained, the *Athenians* demanded certain cities to be restored to them, which had been taken from them by the *Lacedemonians* long before this war began; refusing likewise to continue the treaty of peace, unless the *Spartans*, which were in the isle, were first rendred unto them as prisoners. Thus were the ambassadors return'd without effect, at which time the truce being ended, it was desired of the *Athenian* captains, that they should, according to their covenant, restore the ships, which had been put into their hands. Whereto answer was made, that the condition of the

the truce was, That if any one article were broken, all should be held void ; now (said the *Athenians*) ye have assaulted our garrisons, and thereby are we acquitted of our promise to restore the ships. This and the like frivolous allegations which they made, were but meer shifts ; yet profit so far over-weighed honour, that better answer none could be got. Then were the *Lacedemonians* driven to use many hard means, for conveyance of victuals into the isle, which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried prisoners to *Athens* ; where it was decreed, that when the *Peloponnesians* next invaded *Attica*, these prisoners should all be slain. Whether fearing the death of these men, or withheld by the troubles, which (according to the *Athenians* hope) fell upon them, the *Lacedemonians* were so far from wasting *Attica*, that they suffered their own country to be continually over-run, both by the *Athenians*, who landed on all parts of their coast, and by those who issued out of *Pylus* ; which became the rendezvous of all that were ill-affected unto them.

SECT. V.

How the Lacedemonians hardly, and to their great disadvantage, obtained a peace, that was not well kept.

Therefore they endeavoured greatly to obtain peace ; which the *Athenians* would not hearken unto. For they were so puffed up with the continuance of good success, that having sent a few bands of men into *Sicily*, to hold up a faction there, and make what profit they might of the *Sicilians* quarrels ; when afterwards they heard that the differences in that isle were taken away, and their bands return'd without either gain or loss ; they banished the captains, as if it had been merely through their default that the isle of *Sicily* was not conquered ; which (besides the longer distance) was in power to offend others, or defend it self ; no whit inferiour unto *Peloponnesus*. Yet was this their overweening much abated shortly after, by some disasters received, especially in *Thrace*, where, in a battel which they lost at *Amphipolis*, *Cleon*, and *Brasidas*, generals of the *Athenian* and *Lacedemonian* forces, were both slain ; which two had most been adversaries to the peace. As the *Athenians* by their losses were taught moderation ; so the *Lacedemonians*, who not only felt the like wounds, but thro' the great navy which they had receiv'd at *Pylus*, were fain to proceed humely in the war, against such as, thro' commodity of their good fleet, had all advantages that could be found in expedition, were fervently desirous to conclude the business, ere fortune by any new favour should revive the insolence, which was at this time well mortified in their enemies. Neither was it only a consideration of their present estate, that urged them to bring the treaty of peace to a good and speedy effect ; but other dangers hanging over their heads, and ready to fall on them, which unless they compounded with the *Athenians*, they knew not how to avoid. The estate of *Argos*, which had ancient enmity with them, was now, after a truce of 30 years well nigh expired, ready to take the benefit of their present troubles, by joining with those who alone found them work enough. *Argos* was a rich and strong city, which, tho' inferiour to *Sparta* in valour, yet was not so unwarlike, nor held such ill correspondence with the neighbouring estates, that the *Lacedemonians* could ever far prevail upon it, when they had little else to do. This was a thing that in the beginning of this war had not been regarded : for it was then thought,

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that by wasting the territory of *Athens* with sword and fire, the quarrel should easily, and in short time, have been ended ; whereby not only the *Athenians* should have been brought to good order, but the *Corinthians* and others, for whose sake the war was undertaken, have been so firmly knit to the *Lacedemonians*, that they should for love of them have abandoned the *Argives* to their own fortunes. But now the vanity of those hopes appeared, in that the *Athenians*, abounding in ready money, and means to raise more, were able to secure themselves by a strong fleet, from any great harm : that the *Peloponnesians*, wanting wherewith to maintain a navy, could do unto them ; yea, as masters of the sea, to weary them out, as in effect already they had done. As for the confederates of *Sparta*, they could now endure neither war nor peace ; their daily travels, and many losses had so wearied and incensed them. Wherefore the *Lacedemonians* were glad to use the occasion, which the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a final peace ; which with much ado they procured, as seemed equal and easy ; but was indeed impossible to be performed, and therefore all their travel was little effectual.

The restitution of prisoners and places taken being agreed upon, it fell out by lot, that the *Lacedemonians* should restore first. These had won more towns upon the continent from the *Athenians*, than the *Athenians* had from them ; but what they had won, they had not won absolutely. For they had restored some towns to such of their allies, from whom the state of *Athens* had taken them ; some, and those the most, they had set at liberty (as reason required) which had opened their gates unto them, as to their friends and deliverers, and not compelled them to break in as enemies. Now, concerning the towns which were not in their own hands, but had been rendered unto their confederates, the *Spartans* found means to give some satisfaction, by permitting the *Athenians* to retain other, which they had gotten in the war ; as for the rest, they promised more than afterwards they could perform. The cities, which they had taken into protection, could not endure to hear of being abandon'd ; neither would they by any means yield themselves into the hands of their old lords, the *Athenians*, whom they had offended by revolting, notwithstanding whatsoever articles were drawn and concluded, for their security, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the side of the *Spartans*, made the *Athenians* become as backward in doing those things which on their part were required ; so that restoring only the prisoners which they had, they deferred the rest, until such time as they might receive the full satisfaction according to the agreement. But before such time, as these difficulties broke out into matter of open quarrel, the *Lacedemonians* entered into a more straight alliance with the *Athenians* ; making a league offensive and defensive with them. Hereunto they were moved by the backwardness of the *Argives*, who being (as they thought) likely to have sued for peace at their hands, as soon as things were once compounded between *Athens* and *Sparta*, did shew themselves plainly unwilling to give ear to any such motion. Thinking therefore, that by cutting from *Argos* all hope of *Athenian* succour, they should make sure work ; the *Spartans* regarded not the affections of other states, whom they had either bound unto them by well-deserving in the late war, or found so troublesome, that their enmity (if perhaps they durst let it appear) were little worse than friendship. It bred great jealousy in all the cities of *Greece*, to perceive such a conjunction between two

so powerful signories ; especially one clause threatening every one, that was any thing apt to fear, with a secret intent, that might be harboured in their proud conceits, of subduing the whole country, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For, besides the other articles, it was agreed, that they might by mutual consent add new conditions, or alter the old at their own pleasures. This impression wrought so strongly in the *Corinthians*, *Thebans*, and other ancient confederates of *Sparta*, that the hate which they had borne to the *Athenians* their professed enemies, was violently thrown upon the *Lacedemonians* their unjust friends ; whereby it came to pass, that they, who had lately borne chief sway in *Greece*, might have been abandon'd to the discretion of their enemies, as already in effect they were, had the enemies wisely used the advantage.

S E C T. VI.

Of the negotiations, and practices, held between many states of Greece, by occasion of the peace that was concluded.

THE admiration wherein all *Greece* held the valour of *Sparta* as irresistible, and able to make way through all impediments, had been so excessive, that when by some sinister accidents, that city was compelled to take and seek peace, upon terms not founding very honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as happens usually in things extreme) was changed into much contempt. For it was never thought that any *Lacedemonian* would have endured to lay down his weapons, and yield himself prisoner ; nor that any misfortune could have been so great, as should have drawn that city to relieve it self otherwise than by force of arms. But when once it had appeared, that many of their citizens, among whom were some of especial mark, being overlaid by enemies, in the island before *Pylus*, had rather chosen to live in captivity, than to die in fight ; and that *Pylus* it self, sticking as a thorn in the foot of *Laconia*, had bred such anguish in that estate, as utterly wearying the accustomed *Spartan* resolution, had made it sit down, and seek to refresh it self by dishonourable ease : then did not only the *Corinthians* and *Thebans* begin to conceive basely of those men which were virtuous, tho' unfortunate ; but other lesser cities, joining with these in the same opinion, did cast their eyes upon the rich and great city of *Argos*, of whose ability, to do much, they conceived a strong belief, because of long time it had done nothing. Such is the base condition, which thro' foolish envy is become almost natural in the greater part of mankind. We curiously search into their vices, in whom had they kept some distance, we should have discern'd only the virtues ; and comparing injuriously our best part with their worst, are justly plagued with a false opinion of that good in strangers which we know to be wanting in our selves.

The first that published their dislike of *Sparta*, were the *Corinthians*, at whose vehement entreaty (tho' moved rather by envy at the greatness of *Athen*s daily increasing) the *Lacedemonians* had entered into the present war. But these *Corinthians* did only murmur at the peace, alledging as grievances, that some towns of theirs were left in the *Athenians* hands. The *Mantineans*, who, during the time of war, had procured some part of the *Arcadians* to become their followers, and forsake their dependency upon the state of *Sparta*, did more freely and readily discover themselves ; fear of revenge to come, working more effectually than indignati-

on at things already past. The *Argives* feeling the gale of prosperous fortune that began to fill their sails, prepared themselves to take as much of it as they could stand under ; giving for that purpose unto 12 of their citizens, a full and absolute commission to make alliance between them and any free cities of *Greece* (*Athen*s and *Sparta* excepted) without any further trouble of propounding every particular business to the multitude. When the gates of *Argos* were thus set open to all comers, the *Mantineans* began to lead the way, and many cities of *Peloponnesus* following them, entered into this new confederacy ; some incited by private respects, others thinking it the wisest way to do as the most did. What inconvenience might arise to them by these courses, the *Lacedemonians* easily discerned ; and therefore sent ambassadors to stop the matter at *Corinth*, where they well perceived that the mischief had been hatched. These ambassadors found in the *Corinthians* a very rough disposition, with a gravity expressing the opinion which they had conceived of their present advantage over *Sparta*. They had caused all cities which had not entered yet into the alliance with *Argos*, to send their agents to them, in whose presence they gave audience to the *Lacedemonians* ; the purport of whose embassy was this : that the *Corinthians*, without breach of their oath, could not forsake the alliance, which they had long since made with *Sparta*, and that reason did as well bind them to hold themselves contented with the peace lately made, as religion enforced them to continue in their ancient confederacy ; forasmuch as it had been agreed between the *Spartans* and their associates, that the consent of the greater part (which had yielded unto peace with *Athen*s) should bind the lesser number to perform what was concluded, if no divine impediment withstood them. Hereunto the *Corinthians* made answer, that the *Spartans* had first begun to do them open wrong, in concluding the war wherein they had lost many places, without provision of restitution ; and that the very clause alledged by the ambassadors, did acquit them from any necessity of subscribing to the late peace ; forasmuch as they had sworn unto those people whom they perswaded to rebel against *Athen*s, that they would never abandon them, nor willingly suffer them to fall again into the tyrannous hands of the *Athenians*. Wherefore they held themselves bound both in reason and religion, to use all means of upholding those, whom by common consent they had taken into protection ; for that an oath was no less to be accounted a divine impediment, than were pestilence, tempest, or any the like accident, hindering the performance of things undertaken. As for the alliance with *Argos*, they said that they would do as they should find cause. Having dismiss'd the ambassadors with this answer, they made all haste to join themselves with *Argos*, and caused other states to do the like ; so that *Sparta* and *Athen*s were in a manner left to themselves, the *Thebans* and *Megarians* being also upon the point to have entered into this new confederacy. But as the affections were divers, which caused this hasty confluence of sudden friends to *Argos*, it so likewise came to pass, that the friendship it self, such as it was, had much diversity both of sincerity and of continuance. For some there were that hated or feared the *Lacedemonians* ; as the *Mantineans* and *Eleans* : these did firmly betake themselves to the *Argives*, in whom they knew the same affection to be inveterate ; others did only hate the peace concluded ; and these would rather have followed the *Spartans* than the *Argives* in war, yet rather the *Argives* in war than the *Lacedemonians* in peace ;

peace; of this number were the *Corinthians*, who knowing that the *Thebans* were affected like unto themselves, dealt with them to enter into the society of the *Argives*, as they had done: but the different forms of government, used in *Thebes* and *Argos*, caused the *Thebans* to hold rather with *Sparta*, that was ruled by the principal men, than to incur the danger of innovation, by joining with such as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This business having ill succeeded, the *Corinthians* began to bethink themselves of their own danger, who had not so much as any truce with *Athens*, and yet were unprepared for war. They sought therefore to come to some temporary agreement with the *Athenians*, and hardly obtained it. For the *Athenians*, who had dealt with all *Greece* at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment with one city, that had shewed against them more stomach than force; but gave them to understand, that they might be safe enough from them, if they would claim the benefit of that alliance, which *Athens* had lately made with *Sparta* and her dependants; yet finally, they granted unto these *Corinthians* (which were loth to acknowledge themselves dependants of *Sparta*) the truce that they desired; but into private confederacy they would not admit them, it being an article of the league between them and the *Spartans*, that the one should not make peace nor war without the other.

Herein, as in many other passages, may clearly be seen the great advantage which absolute lords have as well in peace as in war, over such as are served by voluntaries. We shall hardly find any one signiory, that hath been so constantly followed as *Sparta* was, by so many states, and some of them little inferior to it self, being all as free: whereas contrariwise, the *Athenians* had lately, and by compulsive means, gotten their dominion, wherein they demeaned themselves as tyrants. But in performance of conditions agreed upon, the *Athenians* were able to make their words good, by excluding any state out of their confederacy, and giving up such places as were agreed upon: of which the *Lacedemonians* could do neither the one nor the other. For such towns as their old allies had gotten by their means in the late war, could not be restored without their consent, which had them in present possession; and particularly the town of *Panæte*, which the *Thebans* held, could by no means be obtained from them by the *Lacedemonians* (who earnestly desired it, that by restitution thereof unto the *Athenians*, as earnestly demanding it, themselves might recover *Pylus*) unless they would agree to make a private alliance with *Thebes*; which thereupon they were constrain'd to do, tho' knowing it to be contrary to the last agreement between them and *Athens*.

The *Lacedemonians* having broken one article of the league made between them and the *Athenians*, that by so doing they might enable themselves to the performance of another, were shamefully disappointed of their hopes by the *Thebans*, who did not give up the town of *Panæte*, till first they had utterly demolished it, and made it of no worth to the *Athenians*. This was sought to have been excused by the *Lacedemonian* ambassadors, who coming to *Athens* (whither they had sent home all prisoners that had been detained at *Thebes*) hoping with gentle words to salve the matter; saying, that from henceforth no enemy to *Athens* should nestle in *Panæte*, for it was destroyed. But these ambassadors had not to deal with tame fools: for the *Athenians* told them in plain terms, that of three principal conditions agreed upon in their late league,

they had not performed any one, but used such base collusion as stood not with their honour: having made private alliance with the *Thebans*; having destroyed a town that they should have restored; and not having forced their dependants by war, to make good the covenants of the late concluded peace. Hereupon they dismissed the ambassadors with rough words, meaning with as rough deeds to anger those that sent them.

There were at that time both in *Athens* and *Sparta*, many that were ill contented with the peace; among whom were the *Ephori*, chosen for that year, in *Sparta*; and *Alcibiades*, a powerful young gentleman in *Athens*. But the *Ephori*, though desiring to renew the war, yet wished that first they might get from the *Athenians* as much as was to be render'd to them by covenant, especially *Pylus*, that had so sorely troubled them. *Alcibiades*, whose nobility, riches and favour with the people, made him desire war, as the means, whereby himself might procure some honourable employment, used all means to set the quarrel on foot, whilst the *Athenians* had yet both advantage enough, as not having render'd ought save their prisoners, and pretence enough to use that advantage of breaking the peace, by reason that the *Lacedemonians* (though indeed against their wills) had broken all covenants with them. Now the state of *Athens* had fully determined to retain *Pylus*, and to perform nothing that the *Lacedemonians* should and might require, until they had first, without any longer halting, fulfilled all articles whereunto they were bound, even to the utmost point. This was enough to make them sweat, who having already done the most that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the delivery of their citizens which were prisoners. But *Alcibiades* wishing a speedy beginning of open war, sent privily to the *Argives*, and gave them to understand how fitly the time served for them to associate themselves with *Athens*, which was enough to give them security against all enemies.

The *Argives*, upon the first confluence of many estates unto their society, had embraced great hopes of working wonders, as if they should have had the conduct of all *Greece* against the *Athenians*, robbing *Sparta* of that honour, as having ill used it, and thereby leaving their old enemies in case of much contempt and disability. But these sudden apprehensions of vain joy, were suddenly changed into as vain fear; which ill agreed with the great opinion that had lately been conceived of *Argos*. For when the *Thebans* had refused their alliance; when the *Corinthians* had sought security from *Athens*; and when a false rumour was noised abroad, that *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, were come to a full agreement upon all points of difference; then began the *Argives* to let fall their crests, and sue for peace unto the *Lacedemonians*, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their gravity, and were not over-hasty to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the message of *Alcibiades* came very welcome to the *Argives*, which were not now consulting how to become the chief of all others, but how to save themselves. Wherefore they sent away presently to *Athens* their own ambassadors, accompanied with the *Mantineans* and *Ileans*, to make a league offensive and defensive, between their estates and the *Athenians*.

Of this business the *Lacedemonians* knew not what to think: for well they saw, that such a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were desirous to prevent it; but to keep the love of the *Athenians*, the new *Ephori* thought that more was already

already done, than stood with their honour or profit; others held it the wisest way, having done so much, not to stick at a little more; but rather by giving full satisfaction to retain the friendship of that state, which was more to be valued than all the rest of Greece. This resolution prevailing, they sent away such of their citizens as were best affected to the peace; who coming to Athens with full commission to make an end of all controversies, did earnestly labour in the council-house, to make the truth of things appear; saying, that their confederacy with the Thebans had tended to none other end than the recovery of *Panaete*: concerning which town, or any other business, that it much grieved the Lacedemonians, to see things fall out in such wise as might give to the Athenians cause of displeasure; but that all should be done which in reason might be required for making matters even between them; to which purpose they shewed that themselves had absolute commission. Wherefore they desired that *Pylus* might be restored unto them, and especially for the present, that the negotiations with the Argives might be called aside. Favourable audience was given to this proposition; the rather, because they, which promised amends, had power to make their words good. But all this fair likelihood of good agreement was dash'd on the sudden, by the practice of *Alcibiades*, who secretly dealing with the Lacedemonian ambassadors, perswaded them well of his friendship towards their city, and advised them to take all care, that their absolute power to conclude what they pleased in the name of *Sparta*, might not be known to the commonalty of Athens, lest the insolent multitude should thereupon grow peremptory, and yield to nothing, unless they could draw them to unreasonable conditions. The ambassadors believed him, and fashioned their tale in the assembly of the people as he had advised them. Hereupon the same *Alcibiades* taking presently the advantage, which their double-dealing afforded, inveighed openly against them, as men of no sincerity, that were come to Athens for none other purpose, than to hinder the people from strengthening themselves with friends, meaning to draw the Argives and their adherents to their own alliance, as (contrary to their oath) already they had the Thebans. The people of Athens, whom a pleasing errand would hardly have satisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the Lacedemonians (whose honest meanings had so ill been seconded with good performance) were now so incensed with the double-dealing of the ambassadors, and the strong perswasions of *Alcibiades*, that little wanted of concluding the league with Argos. Yet for the present, so far did *Nicias*, an honourable citizen, and great friend to the peace, prevail with them, that the business was put off, till he himself with other ambassadors might fetch a better answer from *Sparta*.

It may seem a great wonder, how so poor a trick of *Alcibiades* was able to carry a matter of such importance, when the Spartan ambassadors might have cast the load upon his own shoulders, by discovering the truth. But the gravity which was usually found in the Lacedemonians, hinder'd them (perhaps) from playing their game handsomely against so nimble a wit; and they might well have been thought untrusty men, had they professed themselves such as would say and unsay for their most advantage.

Nicias and his companions had a sower message to deliver at *Sparta*, being peremptorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the rest, that the Lacedemonians should take the pains to rebuild *Panaete*, and should immediately renounce

their alliance made with the Thebans; letting them understand, that otherwise the Athenians, without further delay, would enter into confederacy with the Argives and their adherents. The Ephori at *Sparta* had no mind to forsake the Thebans, assured friends to their state; but wrought so hard, that the anger of the Athenians was suffered to break out what way it could, which to mitigate they would do no more, than only (at the request of *Nicias* their honourable friend, who would not seem to have effected nothing) swear anew to keep the articles of the league between them and Athens. Immediately therefore upon return of the ambassadors, a new league was made between the Athenians, Argives, Mantineans and Eleans, with very ample provision for holding the same common friends and enemies; wherein, though the Lacedemonians were passed over with silence, yet was it manifest that the whole intent of this confederacy did bend it self chiefly against them, as in short while after was proved by effect.

At this time the Lacedemonians were in ill case, who having restored all that they could unto the Athenians, and procured others to do the like, had themselves recovered nothing of their own (prisoners excepted) for default of restoring all that they should. But that which did most of all disable them was the loss of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late war by misfortunes, than in sundry passages between them and the Athenians: to procure and keep whose amity, they had left sundry of their old friends to shift for themselves. Contrariwise, the Athenians, by the treaty of peace, had recovered the most part of that which they lost in war; all their gettings they had retained, and were strengthened by the access of new confederates.

SECT. VII.

How the peace between Athens and Sparta was ill kept, though not openly broken.

IT was not long ere the Argives and their fellows had found business wherewith to set the Athenians on work, and make use of this conjunction. For, presuming upon the strength of their side, they began to meddle with the Epidaurians, whom it concerned the state of *Sparta* to defend. So, many acts of hostility were committed, wherein Athens and *Sparta* did not (as principals) interst each the other, but came in collaterally, as to the aid of their several friends.

By these occasions, the Corinthians, Beotians, Phocians, Locrians, and other people of Greece, began anew to range themselves under the Lacedemonians, and follow their ensigns. One victory, which the Lacedemonians obtained by their mere valour in a set battle near to Mantinea, against the Argive side, helped well to repair their decayed reputation, tho' otherwise it yielded them no great profit. The civil dissension, arising shortly after within Argos it self, between the principal citizens and the commons, had almost thrown down the whole frame of the new combination. For the chief citizens getting the upper hand, made a league with *Sparta*, wherein they proceeded so far as to renounce the amity of the Athenians in express words, and forced the Mantineans to the like. But in short space of time the multitude prevailing, reversed all this, and having chased away their ambitious nobility, applied themselves to the Athenians as closely as before.

Besides these uproars in Peloponnesus, many essays were made to raise up troubles in all parts of Greece,

Greece, and likewise in *Macedon*, to the *Athenians*; whose forces and readiness for execution prevented some things, revenged other, and requited all with some prosperous attempts. Finally, the *Athenians* wanting matter of quarrel, and the *Lacedemonians* growing weary, they began to be quiet, retaining still that enmity in their hearts, which they had sufficiently discovered in effects, tho' not yet breaking out into terms of open war.

SECT. VIII.

The Athenians sending two fleets to sack Syracuse, are put to flight and utterly discomfited.

DURING this intermission of open war the *Athenians* re-entertained their hopes of subduing *Sicil*, whither they sent a fleet so mighty as never was set forth by *Greece* in any age before or after.

This fleet was very well mann'd, and furnished with all necessaries to so great an expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the factions in *Athens*, whence *Alcibiades* author of that voyage, and one of the generals of their fleet, was driven to banish himself, for fear of such judgment, as else he was like to have undergone among the incensed people; partly by the invasion which the *Lacedemonians* made upon *Attica*, whilst the forces of that state were so far from home. Hereunto was added the aid of the king of *Persia*, who supplied the *Peloponnesians* with money.

Neither was the success of things in *Sicil* such, as without help from *Athens*, could give any likelihood of a good end in that war. For although in the beginning, the enterprize had so well succeeded, that they besieged *Syracuse*, the chief city of the island, and one of the fairest towns which the *Greeks* inhabited, obtaining the better in sundry battles by land and sea; yet when the town was relieved with strong aid from *Peloponnesus*, it came to pass that the *Athenians* were put to the worse on all sides, in such wise, that their fleet was shut up into the haven of *Syracuse*, and could not issue out.

As the *Athenian* affairs went very ill in *Sicil*, so did they at home stand upon hard terms, for that the *Lacedemonians*, who had been formerly accustomed to make wearisome yearly journeys into *Attica*, which having pill'd and foraged, they returned home; did now by counsel of *Alcibiades* (who seeking revenge upon his own citizens, was fled unto them) fortify the town of *Declea*, which was near to *Athens*, whence they ceased not with daily excursions to harry all the country round about, and sometimes give alarm unto the city it self.

In these extremities, the perverse obstinacy of the *Athenians* was very strange; who leaving at their backs, and at their own doors, an enemy little less mighty than themselves, did yet send forth another fleet into *Sicil*, to invade a people no less puissant, which never had offended them.

It often happens, that prosperous events makes foolish counsel seem wiser than it was, which came to pass many times among the *Athenians*, whose vain conceits *Pallas* was said to turn unto the best. But where unsound advice finding bad proof, is obstinately pursued, neither *Pallas* nor fortune can be justly blamed for a miserable issue. This second fleet of the *Athenians*, which better might have served to convey home the former, that was defeated; after some attempt made to small purpose against the *Syracusans*, was finally (together with the other part of the navy, which was there before) quite vanquished, and barr'd up in the haven

of *Syracuse*, whereby the camp of the *Athenians*, utterly deprived of all benefit by sea, either for succour or departure, was driven to break up and fly away by land; in which flight they were overaken, routed, and quite overthrown in such wise, that scarce any man escaped.

This mischief well deservedly fell upon the *Athenians*, who had wickedly condemned into exile, *Sophocles* and *Pribodorus*, generals, formerly sent into that isle, pretending that they had taken money for making peace in *Sicil*; whereas indeed there was not any means or possibility to have made war. Hereby it came to pass, that *Nicias*, who had the chief command in this unhappy enterprize, did rather choose to hazard the ruin of his country, by the loss of that army, wherein consisted little less than all the power of *Athens*, than to adventure his own estate, his life, and his honour, upon the tongues of shameless accusers, and the sentence of judges before his tryal resolved to condemn him, by retiring from *Syracuse*, when wisdom and necessity required it. For (said he) they shall give sentence upon us, who know not the reason of our doings, nor will give ear to any that would speak in our behalf; but altogether hearken to suspicious and vain rumours that shall be brought against; yea, these our soldiers, who now are so desirous to return in safety, will in our danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleasure of the lewd and insolent multitude.

This resolution of *Nicias*, tho' it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an honest and valiant man, to do what reason willeth, not what opinion expecteth; and to measure honour or dishonour by the assurance of his well informed conscience, rather than by the malicious report and censure of others) yet it may be excused; since he had before his eyes the injustice of his people, and had well understood that a wicked sentence is infinitely worse than a wicked fact, as being held a precedent and pattern, whereby oppression beginning upon one, is extended as warrantable upon all. Therefore his fear of wrongful condemnation was such, as a constant man could not easily have over-master'd; but when afterwards the army, having no other expectation of safety than the faint hope of a secret flight, he was so terrified with an eclipse of the moon, happening when they were about to dislodge, that he would not consent to have the camp break up till seven and twenty days were pass'd. His timorousness was even as foolish and ridiculous, as the issue of it was lamentable. For he should not have thought that the power of the heavens, and the course of nature would be as unjust as his *Athenians*; or might pretend less evil to the slothful, than to such as did their best. Neither do I think that any astrologer can alledge this eclipse, as either a cause or prognostication of that army's destruction, otherwise than as the folly of men did, by application, turn it to their own confusion. Had *C. Cæsar*, the Roman, he, who slew *Julius Cæsar*, imitated this superstition of *Nicias*, he had surely found the same fortune in a case very like. But when, he retiring, the broken remainder of *Crassus's* army defeated by the *Parthian* archers, was advised, upon such an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the sun were past the sign of *Scorpio*; he made answer, that he stood not in such fear of *Scorpio*, as of *Sagittarius*. So adventuring rather to abide the frowning of the heavens, than the nearer danger of enemies upon earth, he made such a safe and honourable retreat, as did both shew his noble resolution, and give a fair example to that good rule,

— Sapiens dominabitur astris.

Thus we see that God, who ordinarily works by concatenation of means, deprives the governours of understanding, when he intends evil to the multitude; and that the wickedness of unjust men is the ready means to weaken the virtue of those who might have done them good.

SECT. IX.

Of the troubles whercin the state of Athens fell, after the great loss of the fleet and army in Sicilia.

THE loss of this army was the ruin of the *Athenian* dominion, and may be well accounted a very little less calamity to that estate, than was the subversion of the walls, when the city about seven years after was taken by *Lysander*. For now began the subjects of the *Athenian* estate to rebel; of whom, some they reduced under their obedience, others held out; some for fear of greater inconvenience were set at liberty, promising only to be their good friends, as formerly they had been their subjects; others, having a kind of liberty offered by the *Athenians*, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect liberty by force. Among these troubles it fell out very unseasonably, that the principal men of *Athens* being wearied with the people's insolency, took upon them to change the form of that estate, and bring the government into the hands of a few. To which purpose conspiring with the captains which were abroad, they caused them to set up the form of an aristocracy in the towns of their confederates; and in the mean time, some that were most likely to withstand this innovation, being slain at *Athens*, the commonalty were so dismay'd, that none durst speak against the conspirators, whose number they knew not; but every man was afraid of his neighbour, lest he should be a member of the league. In this general fear the majesty of *Athens* was usurped by four hundred men, who observing in shew the ancient form of proceeding, did cause all matters to be propounded unto the people, and concluded upon by the greater part of voices: but the things propounded were only such as were first allowed in private among themselves; neither had the commonalty any other liberty, than only to approve and give consent, for whosoever presumed any further, was quickly dispatched out of the way, and no enquiry made of the murder. By these means were many decrees made, all tending to the establishment of this new authority, which nevertheless endured not long. For the fleet and army which then was in the isle of *Samos*, did altogether detest these dealings of the four hundred usurpers, and held them as enemies; whereupon they revoked *Alcibiades* out of banishment, and by his assistance procured that the supplies which the *Persian* king had promised unto the *Lacedemonians*, were by *Tissaphernes* his lieutenant, made unprofitable through the slow and bad performance. *Alcibiades* had at the first been very well entertain'd in *Sparta*, whilst his services done to that state was not grown to be the object of envy. But when it appeared that in counsel and good performance he so far excelled all the *Lacedemonians*, that all their good success was ascribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principal citizens weary of his virtue; especially *Agis*, one of their kings, whose wife had so far yielded herself to the love of this *Athenian*, that among her inward friends she could not forbear to call her young child by his name. Hereupon order was taken that *Alcibiades* should be killed out of the way. But he discovering the *Spartan* trea-

chery, conveyed himself unto *Tissaphernes*, whom he so bewitched with his great beauty, sweet conversation, and sound wit, that he soon became the master of that barbarous vice-roy's affections, who had free power to dispose the great king's treasures and forces in those parts. Then began he to advise *Tissaphernes*, not so far forth to assist the *Lacedemonians*, that they should quite overthrow the state of *Athens*, but rather to help the weaker side, and let them one consume another, whereby all should fall at length into the hands of the *Persian*. By this counsel he made way to other practices, wherein by strength of his reputation (as the only favourite of so great a potentate) he play'd his own game, procuring his restitution. At length his banishment being repealed by the army, but not by the citizens (who then were oppress'd by the four hundred) he laboured greatly to reconcile the soldiers to the governours; or at least to divert their heat another way, and turn it upon the common enemy. Some of the four hundred approved his motion, as being weary of the tyranny whereof they were partakers; partly because they saw it could not long endure, and partly for that themselves, being less regarded by the rest of their companions, than stood with their good liking, sought to acquit themselves of it as honestly as they might. But the most of that faction laboured to obtain peace of the *Lacedemonians*, desiring chiefly to maintain both their own authority, and the greatness of their city, if they might; but if this could not be, they did rather wish to preserve their own power, or safety at least, than the good estate of the commonwealth. Therefore they made sundry overtures of peace to the *Lacedemonians*, desiring to compound in as good terms as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to be trusted than the wavering multitude; especially considering that the city of *Sparta* was governed by an aristocracy, to which form they had now reduced *Athens*. All these passages between the four hundred (or the most and chief of them) and the *Lacedemonians*, were kept as secret as might be. For the city of *Athens* hoping, without any great cause, to repair their losses, was not inclined to make composition; from which upon juster ground the enemy was much more averse, trusting well that the discord of the *Athenians* (not unknown abroad) might yield some fair opportunity to the destruction of it self, which in effect (though not then presently) came to pass. And upon this hope king *Agis* did sometimes bring his forces from *Decelea* to *Athens*, where doing no good, he received some small losses. Likewise the navy of *Peloponnesus* made shew of attempting the city, but seeing no likelihood of success, they bent their course from thence to other places; where they obtained victories, which in the better fortune of the *Athenians* might more likely have been regarded, than in this their decayed estate. Yet it seems, without any disparagement to their wisdom, they should rather have forbore to present unto the city, or to the countries near adjoining any terror of the war. For the dissension within the walls might soon have done more hurt than could be received from the fleet or army without; which indeed gave occasion to set the citizens at unity, though it lasted not very long. The four hundred, by means of these troubles, were fain to resign their authority, which they could not now hold, when the people having taken arms to repel foreign enemies, would not lay them down, till they had freed themselves from such as oppress'd the state at home. Yet was not this alteration of government a full restitution of the sovereign command unto the people,

ple, or whole body of the city, but only to five thousand; which company the four hundred (when their authority began) had pretended to take unto them as assistants: herein seeming to do little wrong or none to the commonalty, who seldom assembled in greater number. But now when the highest power was come indeed into the hands of so many, it was soon agreed that *Alcibiades* and his companions should be recalled from exile, and that the army at *Samos* should be requested to undertake the government; which was forthwith reformed according to the soldiers desire.

S E C T. X.

How Alcibiades won many important victories for the Athenians, was recalled from exile, made their general, and again deposed.

THIS establishment of things in the city, was accompanied with some good success in the wars. For the *Lacedemonians* were about the same time overthrown at sea, in a great battle, by the *Athenian* fleet, which had remained at *Samos*; to which *Alcibiades* afterwards joining such forces as he could raise, obtain'd many victories. Before the town of *Abydos*, his arrival with 18 ships gave the honour of a great battle to the *Athenians*; he overthrew and utterly destroy'd the fleet of the *Lacedemonians*, commanded by *Mindarus*, took the towns of *Cyzicus* and *Perinthus*, made the *Selymbrians* ransom their city, and fortify'd *Chrysopolis*. Hereupon letters were sent to *Sparta*, which the *Athenians*, intercepting, found to contain the distress of the army in these few words: *All is lost, Mindarus is slain, the soldiers want victuals, we know not what to do.*

Shortly after this, *Alcibiades* overthrew the *Lacedemonians* in fight by land at *Chalcedon*, took *Selymbria*, besieged and won *Byzantium*, now called *Constantinople*, which even in those days was a goodly, rich, and very strong city. Hereupon he returned home with very great welcome, and was made high admiral of all the navy.

But this his honour continued not long; for it was taken from him, and he driven to banish himself again; only because his lieutenant, contrary to the express command of *Alcibiades*, fighting with the enemies in his absence, had lost a great part of the fleet.

The second banishment of *Alcibiades* was to the *Athenians* more harmful than the first; and the loss which they thereupon received was (tho' more heavy to them, yet) less to be pitied of others, than that which ensued upon his former exile. For whereas at the first, he had fought revenge upon his own city; now, as inured to adversity, he rather pitied their fury, who in time of such danger had cast out him that should have repaired their weak estate, than sought by procuring or beholding the calamity of his people, to comfort himself after injury received. Before they, who were instituted in the place of *Alcibiades*, arrived at the fleet, he presented battle to *Lyfander* the *Lacedemonian* admiral, who was not so confident upon his former victory, as to undertake *Alcibiades* himself, bringing more ships in number (notwithstanding the former loss of 15) than his enemies had, and better ordered than they had been under his lieutenant. But when the decree of the people was published in the navy, then did *Alcibiades* withdraw himself to a town upon *Hellepont*, called *Bizantbe*, where he had built a castle.

S E C T. XI.

The battle at Arginusæ, and condemnation of the victorious Athenian captains by the people.

AFTER this time the *Athenians*, receiving many losses and discomfitures, were driven to flee into the haven of *Mytelene*, where they were straightly besieged both by land and sea. For the raising of this siege necessity enforced them to man all their vessels, and to put the uttermost of their forces into the hazard of one battle. This battle was fought at *Arginusæ*, where *Callicratidas*, admiral of the *Lacedemonians*, losing the honour of the day, preserved his own reputation by dying valiantly in the fight. It might well have been expected, that the ten captains, who jointly had command in chief over the *Athenian* fleet, should for that good day's service, and so happy a victory, have received great honour of their citizens. But contrariwise they were forthwith called home, and accused, as if wilfully they had suffered many of the citizens, whose ships were broken and sunk, to be cast away, when by appointing some vessels to take them up, they might have saved them from being drowned. Hereto the captains readily made a very just answer; that they pursuing the victory, had left part of the fleet, under sufficient men, to save those that were wrack'd; which if it were not well accomplished, it was, because a tempest arising about the end of the fight, had hindered the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuse availed not: for a lewd fellow was brought forth, who said, that he himself escaping in a meal-tub, had been intreated by those who were in peril of drowning, to desire of the people revenge of their deaths upon the captains. It was very strange, that upon such an accusation, maintained with so slender evidence, men, that had well deserved of their country, should be overthrown. But their enemies had so incensed the rascally multitude, that no man durst absolve them, save only *Socrates* the wise and virtuous philosopher, whose voice in this judgment was not regarded. Six of them were put to death, of whom one had hardly escaped drowning, and was with much ado relieved by other vessels in the storm: but the captains which were absent escaped; for when the fury of the people was over-pass'd, this judgment was reversed, and the accusers called into question for having deceived and perverted the citizens. Thus the *Athenians* went about to free themselves from the infamy of injustice; but the divine justice was not asleep, nor would be so deluded.

S E C T. XII.

The battle at Ægos-Potamos, wherein the whole state of Athens was ruined; with the end of the Peloponnesian war.

THE *Peloponnesian* fleet under *Lyfander*, the year next following, having scoured the *Ægean* seas, entered *Hellepont*, where (landing soldiers) it besieged and took the town of *Lampfacus*. Hereupon all the navy of *Athens*, being an hundred and fourscore sail, made thither in haste; but finding *Lampfacus* taken before their coming, they put in at *Sestos*, where having refreshed themselves, they sailed to the river, called *Ægos-Potamos*, which is (as we might name it) *Goat-brook*, or the river of the *Goat*, being on the continent, opposite to *Lampfacus*; and there they cast anchor, not one whole league off from *Lyfander*, who rode at *Lampfacus* in the harbour. The next day after their arrival, they presented fight unto the *Pelopon-*
nesians

nesians, who refus'd it ; whereupon the *Athenians* returned again to *Ægos-Potamos* ; and thus they continued five days, braving every day the enemy, and returning to their own harbour when it drew towards evening.

The castle of *Alcibiades* was not far from the navy, and his power in those places was such as might have greatly availed his countrymen, if they could have made use of it. For he had waged mercenaries, and making war in his own name upon some people of the *Thracians*, had gathered much wealth, and obtained much reputation among them. He perceiving the disorderly course of the *Athenian* commanders, repaired unto them, and shewed what great inconvenience might grow, if they did not soon fore-see and prevent it. For they lay in a road subject to every weather, neither near enough to any town where they might furnish themselves with necessaries ; nor so far off as had been more expedient. *Sestos* was the next market-town ; thither both soldiers and mariners resorted, flocking away from the navy every day, as soon as they were returned from braving the enemy. Therefore *Alcibiades* willed them either to lie at *Sestos*, which was not far off ; or at the least, to consider how near their enemy was, whose fear proceeded rather from obedience to their general, than from any cowardise. This admonition was so far despised, that some of the commanders willed him to meddle with his own matters, and to remember that his authority was out of date. Had it not been for these opprobrious words, he could (as he told his familiars) have compelled the *Lacedemonians* either to fight upon unequal terms, or utterly to quit their fleet. And like enough it was that he might so have done, by transporting the light-armed *Thracians* his confederates, and others his followers, over the straits, who assailing the *Peloponnesians* by land, would either have compelled them to put to sea, or else to leave their ships to the mercy of the *Athenians*. But finding their acceptance of his good counsel no better than hath been rehearsed, he left them to their fortune, which how evil it would be he did prognosticate.

Lysander all this while defending himself by the advantage of his haven, was not careless in looking into the demeanour of the *Athenians*. When they departed, his manner was to send forth some of his swiftest vessels after them, who observing their doings, related unto him what they had seen. Therefore understanding in what careless fashion they roamed up and down the country, he kept all his men aboard after their departure, and the 5th day gave especial charge to his scouts, that when they perceived the *Athenians* disembarking, as their custom was, and walking towards *Sestos*, they should forthwith return, and hang up a brazen shield in the prow, as a token for him to weigh anchor.

The scouts performed their charge, and *Lysander* being in a readiness, made all speed that strength of oars could give, to *Ægos-Potamos*, where he found very few of his enemies aboard their ships, not many near them, and all in great confusion, upon the news of his approach.

Inſomuch that the great industry which the *Athenians* then shewed, was in the escape of 8 or 9 ships, which knowing how much that loss imported, gave over *Athens* as desperate, and made a long flight unto the isle of *Cyprus* ; all the rest were taken, and such of the soldiers as came in to the rescue cut in pieces. Thus was the war, which had lasted 27 years, with variable success, concluded

in one hour ; and the glory of *Athens* in such wise eclipsed, that she never after shone in her perfect light.

Immediately upon this victory, *Lysander*, having taken such towns as readily did yield upon the first fame of his exploit, he set sail for *Athens*, and joining his forces with those of *Agis* and *Pausanias*, kings of *Sparta*, summoned the city, which finding too stubborn to yield, and too strong to be won on the sudden, he put forth again to sea ; and rather by terror than violence, compelling all the islands, and such towns of the *Ionians*, as had formerly held of the *Athenians*, to submit themselves to *Sparta*, he did thereby cut off all provision of victuals and other necessaries from the city, and enforced the people by mere famine to yield to these conditions : That the long walls leading from the town to the port, should be thrown down ; that all cities subject to their estate, should be set at liberty ; that the *Athenians* should be masters only of their own territories, and the fields adjoining to their town ; and that they should keep no more than twelve ships ; that they should hold as friends or enemies, the same whom the *Lacedemonians* did, and follow the *Lacedemonians* as leaders in the wars.

These articles being agreed upon, the walls were thrown down with great rejoicing of those who had borne displeasure to *Athens* ; and not without some consultation of destroying the city, and laying waste the land about it. Which advice, altho' it was not entertained, yet were thirty governours, or rather cruel tyrants, appointed over the people, who recompensed their former insolency and injustice over their captains, by oppressing them with all base and intolerable slavery.

The only small hope then remaining to the *Athenians*, was, that *Alcibiades* might perhaps repair what their own folly had ruined. But the thirty tyrants perceiving this, advertised the *Lacedemonians* thereof, who contrived, and (as now domineering in every quarter) soon effected his sudden death.

Such end had the *Peloponnesian* war. After which, the *Lacedemonians* abusing the reputation and great power, which they had therein obtained, grew very odious to *Greece* ; and by combination of many cities against them, were dispossessed of their high authority, even in that very age, in which they had subdued *Athens*. The greatest soil that they took was of the *Thebans*, led by *Epaminondas*, under whom *Philip* of *Macedon*, father to *Alexander* the Great, had the best of his education. By these *Thebans*, the city of *Sparta* (besides other great losses received) was sundry times in danger of being taken. But these haughty attempts of the *Thebans* came finally to nothing ; for the several estates and signiories of *Greece* were grown so jealous of one another's greatness, that the *Lacedemonians*, *Athenians*, *Argives*, and *Thebans*, which were the mightiest, associating themselves with the weaker party, did so counterpoise the stronger, that no one city could extend the limits of her jurisdiction so far as might make her terrible to her neighbours. And thus all parts of the country remained rather evenly balanced, than well agreeing, till such time as *Philip*, and after him *Alexander*, kings of *Macedon* (whose forefathers had been dependants, and followers, yea, almost mere vassals to the estates of *Athens* and *Sparta*) found means, by making use of their factions, to bring them all into servitude, from which they never could be free, till the *Romans* presenting them with a shew of liberty, did themselves indeed become their masters.

C H A P. IX.

Of matters concerning the Peloponnesian war, or shortly following it.

S E C T. I.

How the affairs of Persia stood in these times.

DURING the times of this *Peloponnesian* war, and those other less expeditions foregoing it, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, having peaceably enjoy'd a long reign over the *Persians*, left it by his death either to *Darius*, who was called *Darius Nothus*, or the *Bastard*, whom the *Greek* historians (lightly passing over *Xerxes* the second, and *Sogdianus*, as usurpers, and for their short reign little to be regarded) place next unto him, or to *Xerxes* the second, who, and his brother *Sogdianus* after him (seeming to have been the sons of *Hester*) held the kingdom but one year between them, the younger succeeding his elder brother. It is not my purpose (as I have said before) to pursue the history of the *Persians* from henceforth, by rehearsal of all the particulars, otherwise than as they shall be incident to the affairs of *Greece*. It may therefore suffice to say, that *Xerxes* the second being a vicious prince, did perish after a month or two, if not by surfeit, then by treachery of his, as riotous, brother *Sogdianus*. Likewise of *Sogdianus* it is found, that being as ill as his brother, and more cruel, he slew unjustly *Bagorazus* a principal eunuch, and would have done as much to his brother *Darius* the bastard, had not he foreseen it, and by raising a stronger army than this hated king *Sogdianus* could levy, seiz'd at once upon the king and kingdom. *Darius* having slain his brother, held the empire 19 years. *Amyrtaeus* of *Sais* an *Egyptian* rebelled against him, and having partly slain, partly chased out of the land the *Persian* garrisons, allied himself so firmly with the *Greeks*, that by their aid he maintained the kingdom, and delivered it over to his posterity, who (notwithstanding the fury of their civil wars) maintained it against the *Persian*, all the days of this *Darius*, and of his son *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. Likewise *Amorges*, a subject of his own, and of the royal blood, being lieutenant of *Caria*, rebelled against him; confederating himself with the *Athenians*. But the great calamity, before spoken of, which fell upon the *Athenians* in *Sicil*, having put new life into the *Spartans*, and given courage to the islanders and others, subject to the state of *Athens*, to shake off the yoke of their long continued bondage: it fell out well for *Darius*, that the *Lacedemonians* being destitute of money, wherewith to defray the charge of a great navy, without which it was impossible to advance the war against the state of *Athens*, that remained powerful by sea, were driven to crave his assistance, which he granted unto them, first upon what conditions best pleased himself, tho' afterwards the articles of the league between him and them were set down in more precise terms, wherein it was concluded, that he and they should make war jointly upon the *Athenians*, and upon all that should rebel from either of them, and (which was highly to the king's honour and profit) that all the cities of *Asia*, which had formerly been his, or his predecessors, should return to his obedience. By this treaty, and the war ensuing (of which I have already spoken) he recovered all that his grandfather and father had lost in *Asia*. Likewise by assistance of the *Lacedemonians*, he got *Amorges* alive into his hands, who was taken in the city of *Jafus*; the *Athenians* wanting either force

or courage to succour him. Nevertheless *Egypt* still held out against him; the cause whereof cannot be the employment of the *Persian* forces on the parts of *Greece*, for he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occasions, but they wanted manhood, which caused him to fight with gold, which effected for him by soldiers of other nations, and his natural enemies, what the valour of his own subjects was insufficient to perform. *Darius* had in marriage *Parysatis* his own sister, who bare unto him (besides other children) *Artaxerxes* called *Mnemon*, that is to say, the mindful, or the rememberer, who succeeded him in the kingdom; and *Cyrus* the younger, a prince of singular virtue, and accounted by all that knew him, the most excellent man that ever *Persia* bred after *Cyrus* the great. But the old king *Darius* intending to leave unto his elder son *Artaxerxes* the inheritance of that great empire, did cast a jealous eye upon the doings of young *Cyrus*, who being lieutenant of the lower *Asia*, took more upon him than befitted a subject: for which cause his father sent for him, with intent to have taken some very sharp course with him, had not his own death prevented the coming of his younger son, and placed the elder in his throne. Of the war between these brethren, and summarily of *Artaxerxes*, we shall have occasion to speak somewhat in more convenient place.

S E C T. II.

How the thirty tyrants got their dominion in Athens.

I Hold it in this place very convenient to shew the proceedings of the *Greeks*, after the subversion of the walls of *Athens*, which gave end to that war called the *Peloponnesian* war, but could not free the unhappy country of *Greece* from civil broils. The 30 governours, commonly called the 30 tyrants of *Athens*, were chosen at first by the people to compile a body of their law, and make a collection of such ancient statutes as were meet to be put in practice: the condition of the city standing as it did in that so sudden alteration. To this charge was annexed the supreme authority, either as a recompence of their labours, or because the necessity of the times did so require it, wherein the law being uncertain, it was fit that such men should give judgment in particular causes, to whose judgment the laws themselves, by which the city was to be ordered, were become subject. But these 30 having so great power in their hands, were more careful to hold it, than to deserve it by faithful execution of that which was committed to them in trust.

Therefore apprehending such troublesome fellows, as were odious to the city, though not punishable therefore by law, they condemned them to death; which proceeding was by all men highly approved, who considered their lewd conditions, but did not withal bethink themselves, how easy a thing it would be unto these 30 men, to take away the lives of innocents, by calling them perturbors of the peace, or what else they listed, when condemnation without due trial and proof had been once well allowed. Having thus plausibly entered into a wicked course of government, they thought it best to fortify themselves with a sure guard, ere they broke out into those disorders, which they must

needs commit for the establishing of their authority. Wherefore dispatching two of their own company to *Sparta*, they informed the *Lacedemonians*, that it was the full intent of the thirty, to keep the city free from all rebellious motions, to which purpose it behoved them to cut off such as were seditious; and therefore desired the *Lacedemonians* to send them a garrison, which they promised at their own cost to maintain. This motion was well approved, and a guard sent, the captain of which was so well entertained by the thirty, that none of their misdeeds could want his high commendations at *Sparta*. Hereupon the tyrants began to take heart, and looking no more after base and detested persons, invaded the principal men of the city, sending armed men from house to house, who drew out such as were of great reputation, and likely, or able, to make any head against this wicked form of government: whereby there was such effusion of blood, as to *Theramenes* (one of the thirty) seemed very horrible, and unable to escape vengeance. His dislike of their proceedings being openly discovered, caused his fellows to bethink themselves, and provide for their own security, and his destruction, lest he should make himself a captain of the discontented (which were almost the whole city) and redeem his own peace with their ruin. Wherefore they selected three thousand of the citizens, whom they thought meetest, and gave unto them some part of publick authority, the rest they disarmed; and having thus increased their own strength, and weakened their opposites, they began a fresh to shed the blood not only of their private enemies, but of such whose money or goods might enrich them, and enable them for the payment of their guard. And to this purpose they concluded, that every one of them should name one man upon whose goods he should seize, putting the owner to death. But when *Theramenes* uttered his detestation of so wicked a practice, then did *Critias*, who of all the thirty was most tyrannical, accuse him to the council as a treacherous man, and (whereas one main privilege of the three thousand was, that none of them should suffer death at the appointment of the thirty, but have the accustomed tryal) he took upon him to strike out of that number the name of *Theramenes*, and so reduced him under the tryal and sentence of that order. It was well alledged by *Theramenes*, that his name was not more easy to be blotted out of the catalogue than any other man's, upon which consideration, he advised them all to conceive no otherwise of his case, than as of their own, who were liable to the same form of proceeding; but (every man choosing rather to preserve his own life by silence, than presently to draw upon himself the danger, which as yet concerned him little, and perhaps would never come near him) the tyrants interpreting silence as consent, condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drink poison.

SECT. III.

The conspiracy against the thirty tyrants, and their deposing.

AFTER the death of *Theramenes*, the thirty began to use such outrage, as excelled their former villanies. For having three thousand (as they thought) firm unto them, they robbed all others without fear or shame, despoiling them of lands and goods, and causing them to fly into banishment for safeguard of their lives. This flight of the citizens procured their liberty, and the general good of the city. For the banished citizens, who were fled to *Thebes*, enter'd into consultation, and resolved to

hazard their lives in setting free the city of *Athens*.

The very thought of such a practice had been treason at home, which had no other danger abroad than might be found in the execution. Seventy men, or thereabouts, were the first undertakers, who with their captain *Thrasylbulus* took *Phyla*, a place of strength in the territory of *Athens*. No sooner did the thirty hear of their exploit, than seek means to prevent further danger; assembling the three thousand and their *Lacedemonian* guard, with which force they attempted *Phyla*, but were with some loss of their men repelled. Finding the place too strong to be taken by assault, they intended to besiege it; which purpose came to nought by means of snow that fell, and other stormy weather, against which they had not made provision. Retiring therefore to the city, which above all they were to make good, they left the most of their guard, and two companies of horse to weary out them which lay in *Phyla*, with a flying siege. But it was not long ere the followers of *Thrasylbulus* were increased from seventy to seven hundred, which adventured to give charge upon those guards, of whom they cut off above an hundred and twenty. These small, but prosperous beginnings, added more to the number of those in *Phyla*, who now with a thousand men got entrance into *Pireus*, the suburb of *Athens*, lying on the port. Before their coming, the thirty had resolved to fortify the town of *Eleusine*, to their own use, wherein to they might make an easy retreat, and save themselves from any sudden peril. It may well seem strange, that whereas their barbarous manner of government had brought them into such danger, they were so far from seeking to obtain mens good will, that contrariwise, to assure themselves of *Eleusine*, they got all of the place who could bear arms into their hands by a train, and wickedly (tho' under form of justice) murdered them all. But *Sceleribus tutum per scelera est iter*, the mischiefs which they had already done were such as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparent likelihood of safety, than by extending their cruelty unto all, seeing few or none were left, whom they could trust. When *Thrasylbulus* and his fellows, who as yet were termed conspirators, had taken the *Pireus*, then were the three thousand armed again by the tyrants, and brought to assault it; but in this enterprise *Thrasylbulus* had the better, and repelled his enemies, of whom altho' there were slain to the number of seventy only, yet the victory seemed the greater, because *Critias*, and one other of the thirty, perished in that fight. The death of *Critias*, and the stout defence of *Pireus*, together with some exhortations used by *Thrasylbulus* to the citizens, wrought such effect, that the thirty were deposed. Nevertheless there were so many of the three thousand who having communicated with the thirty in their misdeeds, feared to be called to a sharp account, that no peace, nor quiet form of government could be established. For ambassadors were sent to *Sparta*, who craving aid against *Thrasylbulus*, and his followers, had favourable audience, and a power sent to their assistance, both by land and sea, under the conduct of *Lysander*, and his brother; whom *Pausanias* the *Spartan* king did follow, raising an army of the cities confederate with the *Lacedemonians*. And here appeared first the jealousy wherein some people held the state of *Sparta*. The *Beotians* and *Corinthians*, who in the late wars had been the most bitter enemies to *Athens*, refused to follow *Pausanias* in this expedition; alledging that it stood not with their oaths, to make war against that people, who had not hitherto broken any one article of the league: but fearing,

ing, indeed, lest the *Lacedemonians* should annex the territory of *Athens* to their own domains. It is not to be doubted that *Pausanias* took this answer in good part. For it was not his purpose to destroy those against whom he went, but only to cross the proceedings of *Lyfander*, whom he envied. Therefore having in some small skirmishes against them of *Thrafsybulus's* party, made a shew of war, he finally wrought such means, that all things were compounded quietly: the thirty men, and such others as were like to give cause of tumult, being sent to

Sparta. The remainder of that tyrannical faction, having withdrawn themselves to *Eleusine*, were shortly after found to attempt some innovation; whereupon the whole city rising against them, took their captains as they were coming to parly, and slew them: which done, to avoid further inconvenience, a law was made, that all injuries past should be forgotten, and no man called into question for wrongs committed. By which order, wisely made, and carefully observed, the city returned to their former quietness.

CHAP. X.

The expedition of Cyrus the younger.

SECT. I.

The grounds of Cyrus's attempt against his brother.

THE matters of *Greece* now standing upon such terms, that no one estate durst oppose itself against that of *Lacedemon*; young *Cyrus*, brother to *Artaxerxes*, king of *Persia*, having in his father's life time very carefully prosecuted the war against *Athens*, did send his messengers to *Sparta*, requesting that their love might appear no less to him, than that which he had shewed towards them in their dangerous war against the *Athenians*. To this request, being general, the *Lacedemonians* gave a suitable answer, commanding their admiral to perform unto *Cyrus* all service that he should require of him. If *Cyrus* had plainly discovered himself, and the *Lacedemonians* bent their whole power to his assistance, very likely it is, that either the kingdom of *Persia* should have been the recompence of his deserts; or that he perishing in battel, as after he did, the subversion of that empire had forthwith ensued. But it pleased God, rather to shew unto the *Greeks* the ways, which under the *Macedonian* ensigns, the victorious footsteps of their posterity should measure; and opening unto them the riches, and withal the weakness of the *Persian*, to kindle in them both desire and hope of that conquest, which he reserved to another generation; than to give into their hands that mighty kingdom, whose hour was not yet come. The love which *Parysatis* the queen-mother of *Persia* bare unto *Cyrus* her younger son, being seconded by the earnest favour of the people, and ready desires of many principal men, had moved this young prince, in his father's old age to aspire after the succession. But being sent for by his father (as hath before been shewed) whose meaning was to curb this ambitious youth; he found his elder brother *Artaxerxes* established so surely by the old king's favour, that it were not safe to attempt any means of displanting him, by whose disfavour himself might easily lose the place of a viceroy, which he held in *Asia* the less, and hardly be able to maintain his own life. The nearest neighbour to *Cyrus* of all the king's deputies in the lower *Asia*, was *Tissaphernes*, a man compounded of cowardise, treachery, craft, and all vices which accusomably branch out of these. This man accompanied *Cyrus* to his father, using by the way all fair shews of friendship, as to a prince, for whom it might well be thought that queen *Parysatis* had obtained the inheritance of that mighty

empire. And it was very true that *Parysatis* had used the best of her endeavour to that purpose, alledging that (which in former ages had been much available to *Xerxes*, in the like disceptation with his elder brother) *Artaxerxes* was born whilst his father was a private man, but *Cyrus*, when he was a crowned king. All which not sufficing; when the most that could be obtained for *Cyrus*, was the pardon of some presumptuous demeanour, and confirmation of his place in *Lydia*, and the parts adjoining; then did this *Tissaphernes* discover his nature, and accuse his friend *Cyrus* to the new king *Artaxerxes*, of a dangerous treason intended against his person. Upon this accusation, whether true or false, very easily believed, *Cyrus* was arrested, and by the most vehement intreaty of his mother very hardly delivered, and sent back into his own province.

SECT. II.

The preparations of Cyrus, and his first entry into the war.

THE form of government which the *Persian* lieutenants used in their several provinces, was in many points almost regal. For they made war and peace, as they thought it meet, not only for the king's behoof, but for their own reputation; usually indeed with the king's enemies, yet sometimes one with another: which was the more easily tolerated, because their own heads were held only at the king's pleasure; which caused them to frame all their doings, to his will, whatsoever it were, or they could conjecture it to be. *Cyrus* therefore, being settled in *Lydia*, began to consider with himself, the interest that he had in the kingdom; the small assurance of his brother's love, held only by his mother's intercession; the disgrace endured by his late imprisonment; and the means which he had by love of his own people, and that good neighbourhood of the *Lacedemonians*, whom he had bound unto him, to obtain the crown for himself. Neither was it expedient that he should long sit idle, as waiting till occasion should present it self; but rather enterprise somewhat whilst yet his mother lived, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worse than only questionable. Hereupon he first began to quarrel with *Tissaphernes*, and seized upon many towns of his jurisdiction, annexing them to his own province; which displeased not *Artaxerxes* at all, who (besides that he was of condition somewhat simple) being truly paid by *Cyrus* the

the accustomable tributes out of those places, was well contented to see his brother's hot spirit exercised in private quarrels. But *Tissaphernes*, whose base conditions were hated, and cowardise despised, although he durst not adventure to take arms against *Cyrus*, yet perceiving that the *Milesians* were about to give up themselves into the hands of that young prince, as many other towns of the *Ionians* had done, thought by terror to preserve his reputation, and keep the town in his own hands. Wherefore he slew many, and many he banished, who flying to *Cyrus*, were gently entertained, as bringing fair occasion to take arms, which was no small part of his desire. In levying soldiers he used great policy; for he took not only the men of his own province, or of the countries adjoining, whose lives were ready at his will; but secretly he furnished some *Grecian* captains with money, who being very good men of war, entertained soldiers therewith, some of them warring in *Thrace*, others in *Thessaly*, others elsewhere in *Greece*; but all of them ready to cross the seas, at the first call of *Cyrus*, till which time they had secret instructions to prolong their several wars, that the soldiers might be held in continual exercise, and ready in arms upon the sudden. *Cyrus* having sent a power of men to besiege *Miletus*, forthwith summoned these bands of the *Greeks*, who very readily came over to his assistance, being 13000 very firm soldiers, and able to make head (which is almost incredible) against the whole power of *Artaxerxes*. With this army, and that which he had levy'd before, he could very easily have forced *Miletus*, and chased away *Tissaphernes* out of *Asia* the less: but his purpose was not so to lose time in small matters, that was to be employ'd in the accomplishment of higher designs. Pretending therefore that the *Pisidian*, a people of *Asia* the less, not subject to the *Persian*, had invaded his territory, he raised the siege of *Miletus*, and with all speed marched eastward, leaving *Tissaphernes* much amazed, who had no leisure to rejoice that *Cyrus* had left him to himself, when he considered that so great an army, and so strong, was never levy'd against the rovers of *Pisidia*, but rather against the great king his master. For which cause taking a band of 500 horse, he posted away to carry tidings to the court, of this great preparation.

S E C T. III.

How Cyrus took his journey into the higher Asia, and came up close to his brother.

THE tumult which his coming brought was very great, and great the exclamations of the queen *Statira*, against *Parysatis*, the queen-mother, whom she called the author and occasioner of the war. But whilst the king in great fear was arming the high countries in his defence, the danger hastened upon him very fast. For *Cyrus* made great marches, having his numbers much increased, by the repair of his countrymen, tho' most strengthened by the access of 700 *Greeks*, and of other 400 of the same nation, who revolted unto him from the king. How terrible the *Greeks* were to the *Barbarians*, he found by trial in a muster, which (to please the queen of *Cilicia*, who had brought him aid) he made in *Phrygia*: where the *Greeks* by his direction making offer of a charge upon the rest of his army, which contained an hundred thousand men; the whole camp (not perceiving that this was but a bravery) fled again, the victuallers and baggagers forsaking their cabins, and running all away for very fear. This was to *Cyrus* a joyful spectacle, who

knew very well, that his brother was followed by men of the same temper, and the more unlikely to make resistance, because they were press'd to the war against their will and dispositions; whereas his army was drawn along by meer affection and good will. Nevertheless he found it a hard matter to persuade the *Greeks* to pass the river of *Euphrates*. For the very length of the way which they had trodden, wearied them with the conceit of the tedious return. Therefore he was driven, being in *Cilicia*, to seek excuses, telling them, that *Abrocomas*, one of the king's principal captains, and his own great enemy, lay by the river, against whom he requested them to assist him. By such devices, and excessive promise of reward, he brought them to *Euphrates*, where some of the *Greeks* considering, that who so passed the river first, should have the most thanks, and might safely return if the rest should refuse to follow them, they entered the fords, whereby were all finally persuaded to do as some had begun; and being allured by great hopes, they resolved to seek out *Artaxerxes*, wheresoever he was to be found. The king in the mean time having raised an army of nine hundred thousand men, was not so confident upon this huge multitude, as to adventure them in tryal of a plain battle. *Abrocomas*, who with three hundred thousand men had undertaken to make good the straights of *Syria*, which were very narrow, and fortified with a strong wall, and other defences of nature and art, which made the place seem impregnable, had quitted the passage, and retired himself towards the king's forces, not daring to look *Cyrus* in the face, who despairing to find any way by land, had procured the *Lacedemonian* fleet, by the benefit whereof to have transported his army. I do not find that this cowardise of *Abrocomas*, or of his soldiers, who arrived not at the camp till five days were pass'd after the battel, received either punishment or disgrace; for they, towards whom he withdrew himself, were all made of the same metal.

Therefore *Artaxerxes* was upon the point of retiring to the uttermost bounds of his kingdom, until by *Teribazus*, one of his captains, he was persuaded not to abandon so many goodly provinces to the enemy, who would thereby have gathered addition of strength, and (which in the sharp disputation of title to a kingdom is most available) would have grown superiour in reputation. By such advice the king resolved upon meeting with his brother, who now began to be secure, being fully persuaded that *Artaxerxes* would never dare to abide him in the field. For the king having cast up a trench of almost forty miles in length, about thirty foot broad, and eighteen foot deep, intended there to have encamped: but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing so safe as to be far distant from his enemies.

S E C T. IV.

The battel between Cyrus and Artaxerxes.

THE army of *Cyrus* having overcome many difficulties of evil ways, and scarcity of victuals, was much encouraged by perceiving this great fear of *Artaxerxes*; and being pass'd this trench, marched carelessly in great disorder, having bestowed their arms in carts, and upon beasts of carriage; when on the sudden one of their vint-currors brought news of the king's approach. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themselves, and had ranged their battels in good order upon the side of the river *Euphrates*, where they waited for the coming of their enemies, whom they

saw not till it was after noon. But when they saw the cloud of dust raised by the feet of that huge multitude, which the king drew after him, and perceived by their near approach how well they were marshalled, coming on very orderly, in silence; whereas it had been expected, that rushing violently with loud clamours, they should have spent all their force upon the first brunt; and when it appeared that the fronts of the two armies were so unequal in distent, being all embattelled in one body and square, that *Cyrus* taking his place (as was the *Persian* manner) in the midst of his own, did not with the corner and utmost point thereof, reach to the half breadth of *Artaxerxes's* battel, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of *Cyrus*: then did the *Greeks* begin to distrust their own manhood, which was not accustomed to make proof of it self, upon such excessive odds. It was almost incredible, that so great an army should be so easily chafed. Nevertheless, it quickly appeared, that these *Persians*, having learned (contrary to their custom) to give charge upon their enemies with silence, had not learned (for it was contrary to their nature) to receive a strong charge with courage. Upon the very first offer of onset made by the *Greeks*, all that beastly rabble of cowards fled amain, without abiding the stroak, or staying till they were within reach of a dart. The chariots armed with hooks and scythes (whereof *Artaxerxes* had two hundred, and *Cyrus* not twenty) did small hurt that day, because the drivers of them leaping down, fled away on foot. This base demeanor of his enemies gave so much confidence to *Cyrus*, and his followers, that such as were about him forthwith adored him as king. And certainly the title had been assured unto him that day, had not he sought how to declare himself worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For, perceiving that *Artaxerxes*, who found that part of the field which lay before him void, was about to encompass the *Greeks*, and to set upon them in the rear, he advanced with six hundred horse, and gave so valiant a charge upon a squadron of six thousand which lay before the king, that he broke it, slaying the captain thereof, *Artagerfes*, with his own hands, and putting all the rest to flight. Hereupon his whole company of six hundred, very few excepted, began to follow the chase, leaving *Cyrus* too ill attended, who perceiving where the king stood in troupe, uncertain whether to fight, or leave the field, could not contain himself, but said, *I see the man*; and presently with a small handful of men about him ran upon his brother, whom he struck thro' the cuirass, and wounded in the breast. Having given this stroke, which was his last, he received immediately the fatal blow, which gave period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded under the eye with a dart, thrown by a base fellow; where-with astonished, he fell dead from his horse, or so hurt, that it was impossible to have recovered him, tho' all which were with him did their best for his safety; not caring afterwards for their own lives, when once they perceived that *Cyrus* their master was slain. *Artaxerxes* caused the head and right hand of his brother to be forthwith struck off, and shewed to his people, who now pursuing them, fled apace, calling upon the name of *Cyrus*, and desiring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the king's troops, and utterly dismay'd such *Persian* captains, as were now, even in their own eyes, no better than rebels; it was not long ere the camp of *Cyrus* was taken, being quite abandoned; from whence *Artaxerxes*, making all speed, arrived quickly at

the quarters of the *Greeks*, which was about three miles from the place where *Cyrus* fell. There he met with *Tissaphernes*, who having made way thro' the battel of the *Greeks*, was ready now to join with his master in spoiling their tents. Had not the news, which *Artaxerxes* brought with him of his brother's death, been sufficient to countervail all disasters received, the exploit of *Tissaphernes* in breaking thro' the *Greeks* would have yielded little comfort. For *Tissaphernes* had not slain any one man of the *Greeks*; but contrariwise, when he gave upon them, they opening their battel, drove him with great slaughter thro' them, in such wise, that he rather escaped as out of an hard passage, than forced his way thro' the squadron of the *Greeks*. Hereof the king being informed by him, and that the *Greeks*, as masters of the field, gave chase to all that came in their sight; they ranged their companies into good order, and followed after these *Greeks*, intending to set upon them in the rear. But these good soldiers perceiving the king's approach, turned their faces, and made head against him; who not intending to seek honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being pursued unto a certain village, that lay under a hill, on the top whereof he made a stand, rather in a bravery, than with a purpose to attempt upon these bold fellows any further. For he knew well that his brother's death had secured his estate, whom he would seem to have slain with his own hand, thinking that fact alone sufficient to give reputation to his valour; and this reputation he thought that he might now preserve well enough, by shewing a manly look half a mile off. On the top of this hill therefore he advanced his standard, a golden eagle display'd on the top of a spear. This ensign might have encouraged his people, had not some of the *Greeks* espied it, who not meaning that he should abide so near them, with all their power marched towards him. The king discovering their approach, fled upon the spur, so that none remained in the place of battle, save only the *Greeks*, who had lost that day not one man, nor taken any other harm, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondered that they heard no news of *Cyrus*, but thinking that he was pursuing the army, they thought it was fittest for them, having that day done enough, to return to their quarters, and take their supper, to which they had good appetite, because the expectation of the king's coming had given them no leisure to dine.

SECT. V.

The hard estate of the Greeks after the fight; and how Artaxerxes in vain sought to have made them yield unto him.

IT was now about the setting of the sun, and they bringing home dark night with them, found their camp spoiled, little or nothing being left, that might serve for food: so that wanting victuals to satisfy their hunger, they refreshed their weary bodies with sleep. In the mean season *Artaxerxes* returning to his camp, which he entred by torch-light, could not enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune entire, because he perceived that the baseness of his people, and weakness of his empire, was now plainly discovered to the *Greeks*: which gave him assurance, that if any of these who had beheld the shameful demeanor of his army, should live to carry tidings home, it would not be long ere with greater forces they disputed with him for his whole signiory. Wherefore he resolved to try all means, whereby he might bring them to destruction, and not let one escape to carry tidings of that which he had

seen:

seen: to which purpose he sent them a brave message the next morning. Charging them to deliver up their arms, and come to his gates, to wait there upon his mercy. It seems that he was in good hope to have found their high courages broken, upon report of his brother's death; but he was greatly deceived in that thought: for the *Greeks* being advertised that morning from *Ariæus*, a principal commander under *Cyrus*, that his master being slain, he had retired himself to the place of their last encamping, about eight miles from them, whence intending to return into *Ionia*, his meaning was to dislodge the next day, awaiting for them so long if they would join with him, but resolving to stay no longer: they sent answer back to *Ariæus*, that having beaten the king out of the field, and finding none that durst resist them, they would place *Ariæus* himself on the king's throne, if he would join with them, and pursue the victory. Before they received any reply to this answer, the messengers of *Artaxerxes* arrived at the camp, whose errand seem'd to the captains very insolent: one told them that it was not for the vanquishers to yield their weapons; another, that he would die ere he yielded to such a motion; a third asked, whether the king, as having the victory, required their weapons; if so, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he desired them in way of friendship? for then would they first know, with what courtesy he meant to requite their kindness. To this question *Phalimus*, a *Grecian*, waiting upon *Tissaphernes*, answered; that the king having slain *Cyrus*, knew no man that could pretend any title to his kingdom, in the midst whereof he held them fast inclosed with great rivers, being able to bring against them such numbers of men, as they wanted strength to kill if they would hold up their throats, for which cause he accounted them his prisoners. These words, to them, who knew themselves to be free, were nothing pleasant. Therefore one told *Phalimus*, that having nothing left but their arms and valour, whilst they kept their arms their valour would be serviceable; but should they yield them, it was to be doubted, that their bodies would not long remain their own. Hereat *Phalimus* laughed, saying, this young man did seem a philosopher, and made a pretty speech; but that his deep speculation shewed his wits to be very shallow, if he thought with his arms and his valour to prevail against the great king. It seems that *Phalimus* being a courtier, and employ'd in a business of importance, thought himself too profound a statesman, to be check'd in his embassy by a bookish discourser. But his wisdom herein failed him. For whatsoever he himself was (of whom no more is known than that he brought an dishonest message to his own countrymen, perswading them basely to surrender their weapons and lives to the merciless *Barbarians*) this young scholar by him despised, was that great *Xenophon*, who, when all the principal commanders were surpris'd by treachery of the *Persians*, being a private gentleman, and having never seen the wars before, undertook the conduct of the army, which he brought safe into *Greece*, freeing it from all those, and from greater dangers than *Phalimus* could propound. Some there were who promised to be faithful to the king, as they had been to *Cyrus*, offering their service in *Egypt*, where they thought *Artaxerxes* might have use of them. But the final answer was, that without weapons they could neither do the king good as friends, nor defend themselves from him as enemies. Hereupon *Phalimus* delivered the king's further pleasure, which was to grant them truce, whilst they abode where they then were, denouncing war if they stir'd thence;

whereunto he required their answer. *Clearchus* the general told him, they liked it. How (saith *Phalimus*) must I understand you? as choosing peace if we stay, or otherwise war, said *Clearchus*. But whether war or peace? quoth this politick ambassador. To whom *Clearchus* (not willing to acquaint him with their purpose) Let our doings tell you; and so dismissed him no wiser than he came. All that day the *Greeks* were fain to feed upon their horses, asses, and other beasts, which they roasted with arrows, darts, and wooden targets thrown away by the enemies.

S E C T. VI.

How the Greeks began to return homewards.

AT night they took their way towards *Ariæus*, to whom they came at midnight, being forsaken by 400 foot, and 40 horse, all *Thracians*, who fled over to the king, by whom how they were entertained, I do not find. Like enough it is, that they were cut in pieces; for had they been kindly used, it may well be thought that some of them should have accompanied *Tissaphernes*, and served as stales to draw in the rest. *Ariæus* being of too base a temper and birth, to think upon seeking the kingdom for himself, with such assistance as might have given it unto *Cyrus*, was very well pleased to make covenant with them for mutual assistance unto the last: whereunto both parts having sworn, he advised them to take another way homeward, which should be somewhat longer, yet safer and fitter to relieve them with victuals, than that by which they came. The next day, having made a wearisome march, and tired the soldiers, they found the king's army which had coasted them, lodged in certain villages, where they purposed themselves to have encamped: towards which *Clearchus* made directly, because he would not seem by declining them to shew fear or weakness. That the king's men were contented to remove, and give place to their betters, it cannot be strange to any that hath considered their former behaviour; nor strange, that the *Grecians*, being weary and hungry, and lying among enemies in an unknown country, should be very fearful; but it is almost past belief, that the noise which was heard of these poor men, calling one to another tumultuously, as the present condition enforced them to do, should make the *Persians* fly out of their camp, and so affright the great king, that instead of demanding their arms, he should crave peace of them. The next day very early, came messengers from *Artaxerxes*, desiring free access for ambassadors to intreat of peace. Were it not that such particulars do best open the quality of the persons, by whom things were managed, I should hold it fitter to run over the general passages of those times, than to dwell among circumstances. But surely it is a point very remarkable, that when *Clearchus* had willed the messengers to bid the king prepare for battel, because the *Greeks* (as he said) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to hear of truce till their bellies were full; *Artaxerxes* dissembling the indignity, was contented sweetly to swallow down this pill, sending them guides, who conducted them to a place where was plenty of victuals to relieve them.

S E C T. VII.

How Tissaphernes, under colour of peace, betray'd all the captains of the Greeks.

Hitherto the *Greeks* relying upon their own virtue, had rather advanced their affairs, than

than brought themselves into any straits or terms of disadvantage. But now came unto them the subtil fox *Tissaphernes*, who circumventing the chief commanders by fine flights, did mischievously entrap them, to the extream danger of the army. He told them, that his province lying near unto *Greece*, had caused him greatly to desire that their deliverance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well, that in time to come, both they and their countrymen at home, would not be unthankful for such a benefit. Herewithal he forgot not to rehearse the great service that he had done to his master, being the first that advertised him of *Cyrus's* intent, and having not only brought him a good strength of men, but in the day of battel shewed his face to the *Greeks*, when all others turned their backs: that he, together with the king, did enter their camp, and gave chase to the *Barbarians* that stood on the part of *Cyrus*. All this (quoth he) did I alledge to the king, intreating that he would give me leave to conduct you safe into *Greece*; in which suit I have good hope to speed, if you will send a mild answer to him, who hath willed me to ask you, for what cause you have borne arms against him. The captains hearing this, were contented to give gentle words, which *Tissaphernes* relating to the king, procured (though very hardly as he said) that peace should be granted: the conditions whereof were; that they should pass freely thro' all the king's dominions, paying for what they took, and committing no spoil: yet that it should be lawful for them to take victuals by force, in any place that refused to afford them an open market. Hereupon both parties having sworn, the league was concluded, and *Tissaphernes* returning to the king to take leave, and end all business, came unto them again after twenty days, and then they set forward. This interim of twenty days, which *Tissaphernes* did spend at the court, ministered great occasion of mistrust to his new confederates. For besides his long absence, which alone sufficed to breed doubt; the brethren and kindred of *Ariæus* repairing daily to him, and other *Persians* to his soldiers, did work him and them so with assurance of pardon, and other allurements, that he daily grew more strange to the *Greeks* than formerly he had been. This caused many to advise *Clearchus*, rather to pass forward as well as he might, than to rely upon covenants, and sit still whilst the king laid snares to entrap them. But he on the contrary perswaded them to rest contented whilst they were well, and not to cast themselves again into those difficulties, out of which they were newly freed by the late treaty; reciting withal their own wants, and the king's means, but especially the oaths mutually given and taken, wherewith he saw no reason why the enemy should have clogged himself if he meant mischief, having power enough to do them harm by a fair and open war.

Tissaphernes was a very honourable man (if honour may be valued by greatness and place in court) which caused his oath to be the more esteemed; forasmuch as no inforcement, or base respect was like to have drawn it from him. But his falsehood was such, both in substance and in success, as may fitly expound that saying, which proceeded from a fountain of truth, *I hate a rich man a liar*. A lye may find excuse when it grows out of fear: for that passion hath his original from weakness. But when power, which is a character of the Almighty, shall be made the supporter of untruth, the falsehood is most abominable; for the offender, like proud lucifer, advancing his own strength against the Divine Justice, doth commit that sin with an

high hand, which commonly produceth lamentable effects, and is followed with sure vengeance. It was not long ere *Tissaphernes* found means to destroy all the captains, whom he subtilly got into his power by a train; making the general *Clearchus* himself the means to draw in all the rest. The business was contrived thus: having travelled some days together in such wise, that the *Persians* did not encamp with the *Greeks*, who were very jealous of the great familiarity appearing between *Tissaphernes*, and *Ariæus*; *Clearchus* thought it convenient to root out of *Tissaphernes's* brains all causes of distrust, whereof many had grown in that short time. To which purpose obtaining private conference with him, he rehearsed the oath of confederacy, which had passed between them, shewing how religiously he meant to keep it; and repeating the benefits, which the *Greeks* did receive by the help of *Tissaphernes*, he promised that their love should appear to him not unfruitful, if he would make use of their service against the *Mysians* or *Pisidians*, who were accustomed to infect his province; or against the *Egyptians*, who were then rebels to the great king. For which cause he desired him, that whereas all divine and human respects had linked them together, he would not give place to any close accusation or suspicion, whereby might grow sudden inconvenience to either of them, upon no just ground. The faithless *Persian* was very much delighted with this speech, which ministered fair occasion to the execution of his purpose. Therefore he told *Clearchus*, that all this was by him wisely considered, wishing him further to call to mind how many ways he could have used to bring them to confusion, without peril to himself, especially by burning the country, thro' which they were to pass, whereby they must needs have perished by mere famine. For which cause he said that it had been great folly to seek by perjury, odious to God and man, the destruction of such as were already in his hands: but the truth was, that his own love to them had moved him to work their safety; not only for those ends which *Clearchus* had recounted, of pleasures that might redound to himself, and the king, by their assistance; but for that he might, by their friendship, hope to obtain what *Cyrus* had miss'd. Finally, he invited the credulous gentleman to supper, and sent him away so well assured of his good will, that he promised to bring all the captains with him to the same place, where, in presence of them all, *Tissaphernes* likewise promised to tell openly, which of them had by secret information sought to raise dissension between them. *Clearchus* himself being thus deceived, with great importunity drew all the chief commanders, and many of the inferior leaders, to repair with him to the camp of *Tissaphernes*, whither followed them about two hundred of the common soldiers, as it had been to some common fair. But being there arrived, *Clearchus* with other the five principal colonels were called into the tent, the rest staying without, where they had not waited long ere a sign was given, upon which they within were apprehended, and the residue slain. Forthwith certain bands of *Persian* horse-men scoured the field, killing as many *Greeks* as they met; and riding up to the very camp of the *Greeks*, who wondered much at the tumult, whereof they knew not the cause, till one, escaping sorely wounded, informed them of all that had been done. Hereupon the *Greeks* took arms in haste, thinking that the enemy would forthwith have assailed their camp. Anon they might perceive the ambassadors of *Tissaphernes*, among whom were his own brother, and *Ariæus*, followed with three hundred horse, who called

called for the principal men in the army, saying, that they brought a message from the king, which *Ariæus* delivered to this effect: That *Clearchus*, having broken his faith, and the league made, was justly rewarded with death; that *Menon* and *Proxenus*, two other of the five colonels, for detecting his treachery, were highly honoured; and finally, that the king required them to surrender their arms, which were due to him, as having belonged unto his servant *Cyrus*. When some alteration had followed upon this message, *Xenophon* told the ambassadors, that if *Clearchus* had in such sort offended, it was well that he was in such sort punished: but he willed them to send back *Menon* and *Proxenus*, whom they had so greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both nations, the *Greeks* might be advised how to answer the *Persian*. Hereunto the ambassadors knew not how to frame any reply, and therefore departed without speaking one word more. *Clearchus*, and the other four were sent to *Artaxerxes*, by whose commandment their heads were struck off. I hold it not amiss to prevent the order of time, annexing to this perfidioulness of *Tissaphernes*, the reward which he afterward received. He saw his province wasted by the *Greeks*, against whom, receiving from his master convenient aid of men and money, he did so ill manage his affairs, that neither subtilty nor perjury (to which he failed not to have recourse) availing him; finally, the king was jealous of his cunning head, and sent a new lieutenant into those parts, who took it from his shoulders. Such was the recompence of his treachery, which made him so mistrusted at home, that the service which he could not do, he was thought upon private ends to neglect; and so hated abroad, that he knew not which way to fly from the stroke, all the world being shut against him. But now let us return to the prosperity, wherein he triumphed without great cause, having betrayed braver men than himself, and intending to bring the like mischief upon the whole army.

S E C T. VIII.

How Xenophon heartned the Greeks, and in despite of Tissaphernes went off safely.

GREAT was the heaviness of the soldiers, being now left destitute of leaders, and no less their fear of the evil hanging over their heads, which they knew not well how to avoid. Among the rest, *Xenophon*, whose learning supplied his want of experience, finding the deep sadness of the whole army to be such, as hindered them from taking any course of preventing the danger at hand, began to advise the under-officers of *Proxenus's* companies, whose familiar friend he had been, to bethink themselves of some means, whereby their safety might be wrought, and the soldiers encouraged; setting before their eyes whatsoever might serve to give them hope, and above all, perswading them in no wise to yield to the mercy of their barbarous enemies.

Hereupon they desired him to take upon him the charge of that regiment; and so together with him, the same night calling up such as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fittest men to succeed in the places of those who were slain, or taken. This being done, and order set down for disburdening the army of all superfluous impediments, they easily comforted themselves for the loss of *Tissaphernes's* assistance, hoping to take victuals by force better cheap than he had been wont to sell them: to which purpose they intend-

ed to take up their lodging two or three miles further, among some plentiful villages, and so to proceed, marching towards the heads of those great rivers, which lay in their way, and to pass them where they were fordable. Many attempts were made upon them by *Tissaphernes*, whom they, serving all on foot, were not able to requite for the harm which they received by the *Persian* archers, who shot at a farther distance than the *Greeks* could reach. For this cause did *Xenophon* provide slings, wherewith he over-reached the enemy; and finding some horses fit for service, that were employed among the carriages, he set men upon them; training likewise his archers, to shoot compass, who had been accustomed to the point-blank. By these means did he bear off the *Persians* who assailed him; and sometimes gave them chase with that band of fifty horse, which being well back'd, with a firm body of foot-men, and seconded with troops of the light-armed-shot and slingers, compelled the enemy to lie a-loof. *Tissaphernes*, not daring to come to handy-gripes with these resolute men, did possess the tops of mountains, and places of advantage, by which they were to pass. But finally, when their valour made way through all such difficulties, he betook himself to that course, which was indeed the surest, of burning the country. With great sorrow did the *Greeks* behold the villages on fire, and thereby all hope of victuals cut off. Some advised to defend the country, as granted by the enemy himself to be theirs; others, to make more fires; if so, perhaps the *Persians* might be ashamed to do that which were the desire of such as made passage in hostile manner; but these were faint comforts. The best counsel was, that being near unto the *Carduchi*, a people enemy to the *Persian*, they should enter into their country, passing over some high mountains which lay between them. This course they followed, which could not have availed them, if *Tissaphernes* had begun sooner to cut off their victuals, rather than to seek to force, or to circumvent them by his fine wit.

S E C T. IX.

The difficulties which the Greek army found in passing through the land of the Carduchi.

ENTERING upon the land of the *Carduchi*, they were encounter'd with many difficulties of ways, but much more afflicted by the fierce inhabitants, who, accustomed by force to defend themselves against the huge armies of the *Persian*, were no way inferior to the *Greeks* in daring, but only in the art of war. They were very light of foot, skilful archers, and used the sling well; which weapons in that mountainous country, were of much use against these poor travellers, afflicting them in seven days, which they spent in that passage, far more than all the power of the great king had done. Between the territory of these *Carduchi*, and the parts of *Armenia* confining them, ran *Centrites*, a great river, upon which the *Greeks* refreshed themselves one day, rejoicing that they had so well escaped these dangers, and hoping that the remainder would prove easy. But the next morning they saw certain troops of horse, that lay to forbid their passage. These were levied by the kings deputies in those parts; *Tissaphernes* and his companies having taken their way towards *Ionia*. The river was broad and deep, so that it was not possible for such as would enter it, to make resistance against those which kept the opposite banks. To encrease these dangers, the *Carduchi* followed upon them, lay on the side of a mountain, within less than a mile of the water. But it

it was their good hap to discover a ford, by which the greater number of them passing over, did easily chase away the subjects of the *Persian*; and then sending back the most expedite men, gave succour to the rearward, against which the *Carduchi* being slightly armed, could not on plain ground make resistance hand to hand. These *Carduchi* seem to have inhabited the mountains of *Niphates*, which are not far from the spring of *Tigris*; tho' *Ptolemy* place them far more to the east upon the river of *Cyrus* in *Media*, wherein he differs much from *Xenophon*, whose relation being grounded upon his own knowledge, doth best in this case deserve credit. Of the river *Centrites* (as of many other rivers, towns, and places, mentioned by *Xenophon*) I will not labour to make a conjecture, which may endure the severity of a critick. For *Ptolemy*, and the whole nation of geographers, add small light to this expedition; only of this last, I think it the same which falleth into *Tigris*, not much above *Artasigarta*, springing out of *Niphates*, and running by the town of *Sardeva* in *Gordene*, a province of *Armenia* the great, wherein the *Greeks*, having passed *Centrites*, did arrive.

S E C T. X.

How Teribazus, governour of Armenia, seeking to entrap the Greeks with terms of feigned peace; was disappointed, and shamefully beaten.

THE army finding in *Armenia* good provision, marched without any disturbance about fifty or threescore miles to the heads of the river *Tigris*, and passing over them, travelled as far further without resistance, till they were encountered by *Teribazus*, at the river *Telebou*, which *Xenophon* commends as a goodly water, though small; but *Ptolemy* and others omit it. *Teribazus* governed that country for the *Persian*, and was in great favour with *Artaxerxes*, whose court may seem to have been a school where the art of falshood was taught as wisdom. He desired peace of the *Greeks*, which was made upon this condition, That they should take what they pleased, but not burn down the towns and villages in their way. As soon as he had made this league, he levied an army, and besetting the straits of certain mountains which they were to pass, hoped well to make such benefit of their security, as might give him the commendations of being no less craftily dishonest than *Tissaphernes*. Yet his cunning failed of success. For a great snow fell, which caused the *Greeks* to make many fires, and some of his men wandered about seeking relief. By the fires he was discovered, and by a soldier of his that was taken prisoner, the whole plot was revealed. Hereupon the *Greeks*, taking this captive with them for a guide, sought him out; and coming upon his camp, did so afright him, that before the whole army could arrive there, the shout which was raised by the vant-currors, chased him away. They took his pavilion, wherein (besides many slaves, that were artificers of voluptuousness) very rich furniture was left by the treacherous coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the army went north-ward, and passing *Euphrates*, not far below the springs thereof, travelled with much difficulty through deep snow, being followed aloof by the enemy, who durst not approach them, but did cut off such as they found stragling behind. The inhabitants of the country, through which they marched, had their wintering-houses under ground, wherein was found great plenty of vic-

tuals; and of cattel, which likewise did winter in the same cellars with the owners. Having refreshed themselves in those parts, and taken sufficient ease after the miserable journey, which had consumed many of them with extream cold; they departed, leading with them many bond-slaves, and taking away (besides other horses and cattel) some colts that were bred up for the great king:

S E C T. XI.

The passage of the army to Trabifond, through the countries bordering upon the river of Phasis, and other obscure nations.

SO without impediment they came to the river *Phasis*, near whereunto the people called *Phasiani Tacchi*, and *Chalybes* were seated. These nations were joined together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of mountains, which the *Greeks* were to pass, made countenance of war: but some companies being sent by night to seize upon a place of equal height to that whereon the enemies lay, making good the piece of ground which they had taken, secured the ascent of the rest; which caused these people to fly, every one retiring to the defence of his own. The first upon whose country the *Greeks* did enter were the *Tacchi*, who conveying all their provision of victuals into strong holds, brought the army into much want, until with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great store of cattel were taken; the people, to avoid captivity, threw themselves headlong down the rocks, the very women throwing down first their own children, and then casting themselves upon them. Here was taken a great booty of cattel, which served to feed them, travelling through the land of the *Chalybes*, of whom they got nothing but strokes. The *Chalybes* were a very stout nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encounter'd the *Greeks* hand to hand, killing as many as they took prisoners, and cutting off their heads, which they carried away, singing and dancing, to the great grief of their companions living; who were glad, when after seven days journey they escaped from those continual skirmishes, wherewith they had been vexed by these *Barbarians*. Hence travelling through a good corn-country, inhabited by an obscure nation, called the *Scythini*, they came to a rich town, the lord whereof, and of the region adjoining, used them friendly, and promised to guide them to a mountain, whence they might discover the *Euxine* sea. From *Gymnias* (which was the name of his town) he led them through the territory of his enemies, desiring them to waste it with sword and fire. After five days march, they came to a mountain called *Teches*, being (as I think) a part of the mountains called *Mosibici*, whence their guide shewed them the sea; towards which they bent their course, and passing friendly through the region of the *Macrones* (with whom by means of an interpreter, found among themselves, who born in that place had been sold into *Greece*, they made a good peace) they arrived in the land of *Colchos*, wherein stands the city of *Trabifond*, called then *Trapezus*, a colony of the *Greeks*. The *Colchi* entertaining them with hostility, were requited with the like; for the army, having now good leisure to repose themselves among their friends the *Trapezuntians* did so spoil the country thirty days together, forbearing only the borderers upon *Trabifond*, at the citizens request.

† Trabifond, a Colony of the Greeks, situate in the bottom of the Euxine sea.

S E C T. XII.

How the army began at Trabifond to provide a fleet, wherewith to return home by sea: how it came into the territory of Sinope, and there prosecuted the same purpose.

HAVING now found a haven-town, the soldiers were desirous to take shipping, and change their tedious land-journeys into an easy navigation. To which purpose *Cherisophus*, a *Lacedemonian*, one of the principal commanders, promised by means of *Anaxibius* the *Lacedemonian* admiral, who was his friend, that he would provide vessels to embark them. Having thus concluded, they likewise took order for the staying of such ships as should pass that way, meaning to use them for their navigation. Lest all this provision should be found insufficient for the transportation of the whole army, *Xenophon* perswaded the cities adjoining to clear the ways, and make an easy passage for them by land; whereunto the soldiers were utterly unwilling to give ear, being desirous to return by sea: but the country, fearing what inconvenience might grow by their long stay, did readily condescend to *Xenophon's* request. Two ships they borrowed of the *Trapezuntians*, which they manned and sent to sea; the one of them sailed directly into *Greece*, forsaking their companions who had put them in trust to bring ships into the port of *Trabifond*: the other took merchants and passengers, whose goods were safely kept for the owners, but the vessels were stay'd to increase the fleet. After long abode, when victuals began to fail, by reason that all the land of the *Colchi*, near unto the camp, was already quite wasted, they were fain to embark their sick men, with the women, children, and such of the baggage as might best be spared, in those few ships which they had already provided. The rest of the army took their way by land to *Cerasus*, a *Greek* town, where the fleet likewise arrived. Here the army being mustered, was found to consist of eight thousand and six hundred men. From hence they passed through the country of the *Mosynaci*, who were divided into factions. The stronger party despising their friendship, caused them to join with the weaker, whom they left masters of all.

The next place of their abode was *Cotyora*, a *Greek* town likewise, and a colony of the *Sinopians*, as *Trapezus* and *Cerasus* were; but the entertainment which they here found was very churlish, having neither an open market afforded to them, nor the sick men that were among them admitted into any house. Hereupon the soldiers enter'd the town by force, and (committing no outrage) bestowed those which were sick in convenient lodgings, taking into their own hands the custody of the gates. Provision for the army they made by strong hand, partly out of the territory of the *Paphlagonians*, partly out of the lands belonging to the town. These news were unwelcome to *Sinope*, whence ambassadors were sent to the camp, who complaining of these dealings, and threatening to join with the *Paphlagonians*, if redress could not otherwise be had, were roundly answered by *Xenophon*, that mere necessity had enforced the army to reach those of *Cotyora* good manners in so bad a method; letting them know, that he feared not to deal with them and the *Paphlagonian* at once, though perhaps the *Paphlagonian* would be glad to take *Sinope* itself; to which, if cause were given, they would lend

assistance. Upon this answer the ambassadors grew better advised, promising all friendship that the state of *Sinope* could shew; and commanding the town of *Cotyra* to relieve the soldiers as well as they might. Further, they promised to assist them with shipping, letting them understand how difficult the passage by land would prove, in regard of the many and great rivers, as *Thermudon*, *Iris*, *Halys*, and *Parthenius*, which crossed their way. This good counsel, and the fair promises accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the army, which well perceived, that the city of *Sinope* would spare for no cost, to be freed from such a neighbourhood. It was therefore decreed, that they would pass the rest of the way by sea; provided, that if there should want such number of vessels as might serve to embark every one of them, then would they not put from the shore.

S E C T. XIII.

Of dissension which arose in the army; and how it was embarked.

HITHERTO the danger of enemies, and miseries of weather and wants, had kept the company in firm unity; which now began to dissolve and to thaw, by the neighbouring air of *Greece*, warming their heads with private respects to their several ends and purposes. Whilst they, who were sent as agents from the camp, remained at *Sinope*; *Xenophon* considering the strength and valour of his men, and the opportunity of the coast whereon they lay, thought it would be an honourable work to build a city in those parts, which were soon like to prove great and wealthy, in regard both of their own puillance, and of the great repair of the *Greeks* into that quarter. For this cause he made sacrifice, according to the superstition of his time and country, divining of his success by the entrails of beasts. The soothsayer whom he employ'd, had received a great reward of *Cyrus*, for conjecturing aright, that *Artaxerxes* would not give battel in ten days: he therefore having preserved his money carefully, was desirous to be soon at home, that he might freely enjoy his gettings. By him the purpose of *Xenophon* was divulged, which was interpreted according to the diversity of mens opinions; some approving the motion, but the greater part rejecting it. They of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, being informed of this consultation, were sore afraid, lest the poverty of the soldiers, who had not wherewith to maintain themselves at home, should give success to the project. Which to prevent, they promised to supply the army with a sufficient fleet, and likewise offered money to some of the captains, who thereupon undertook to give the soldiers pay, if they would presently set sail for *Greece*. One of these captains being a banished man, desired them to follow him into *Troas*; another offered to lead them into *Cherronesus*. *Xenophon*, who only desired the common good, was pleased greatly with these propositions, and professed openly that he would have them to set forward, and hold together in any case, punishing him as a traitor that should forsake the army, before such time as they were arrived at their journey's end. *Sylanus* the sooth-sayer, who had uttered *Xenophon's* purpose, was hereby stay'd from outrunning his fellows, and driven to abide with his wealth among poor men, longer than stood with his good liking. All the other captains were much trou-

^a Mosynaci a nation of Pontus Cappadocius. Syria, a colony of the Milesians.

^b Cotyora, a port town in the same region.

^c Sinop: a port-town in Leuce-

bled and afraid, when they perceived that ships were prepared sufficient for their navigation, but that the money promised to them, and by them to the soldiers, came not. For the people of *Sinopè* and *Heraclea*, knowing that the army was now resolved for the voyage, and that *Xenophon*, whom they feared, had perswaded them to this resolution, thought it the wisest way to furnish them with a navy whilst they were in good readiness to depart, but to keep the money to themselves. The captains therefore who being disappointed by these towns, found themselves in great danger of their men, whom they had deceived with fair hopes, repented much of their hasty offers, and signifying as much to *Xenophon*, pray'd him to make proposition to the army, of taking the ships, and sailing to *Phasis*, where they might seize upon lands, and plant themselves in such wise as should stand best with their good liking. But finding him cold in the business, they began to work the principal of their own followers, hoping by them to draw in all the rest. This news becoming publick, bred a suspicion of *Xenophon*, as if he had won the rest of the captains to his purpose, and meant now to carry the army quite another way from their own home. Wherefore assembling the companies, he gave them satisfaction, and withal complained of some disorders, which he caused them to redress. A general inquisition was likewise made of offences committed since the death of *Cyrus*; which being punished, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came ambassadors from *Corylas*, lord of the *Paphlagonians*, who sending presents desired peace of the *Greeks*: the ambassadors were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to have been sought, for that the *Greeks* having now their fleet in a readiness, did soon weigh anchors, and set sail for *Harmene* the port of *Sinopè*, whether *Cherisophus* came, bringing with him a few galleys from the admiral *Anaxibius*, who promised to give the army pay as soon as they came into the parts of *Greece*.

S E C T. XIV.

Another great dissension and distraction of the army. How the mutineers were beaten by the Barbarians, and rescued by Xenophon.

THE nearer they approached to *Greece*, the greater was their desire to make provision for themselves, that they might not return home empty-handed. Wherefore trusting well, that if the charge of the army were absolutely committed to one sufficient man, he might the more conveniently procure the good of them all, they determined to make *Xenophon* sole commander of all; in whose favour, as well the captains as the common soldiers were very earnest and violent. But he, either fearing to displease the *Lacedemonians*, who were jealous of him already (being incensed by that fugitive who forsook the army at *Trabizond*, flying with one of their two ships) or moved by some tokens appearing to him in the entrails, that threatened ill success to his government, procured with vehement contention, that this honour was laid upon *Cherisophus* a *Lacedemonian*. It seems that *Xenophon*, considering the vexations incident to the conduct of a voluntary army, wanting pay, did wisely in yielding to such tokens, as forbade him to accept it: especially, knowing so well their desire, which was, by right or by wrong to get wealth wheresoever it might be found, without all regard of friend or of foe. *Cherisophus* had been general but six or seven days when he was deposed, for having been unwilling to rob the town of *Heraclea*, which had

sent presents to the camp, and been very beneficial unto them in lending ships for their transportation. Two days they had sailed by the coast of *Asia*, when being pass'd those great rivers, which would have given impediment to their journey by land, they touched at *Heraclea*, where consulting how to take their way onwards, whether by land or sea, one seditious man began to put them in mind of seeking to get somewhat for themselves; telling them that all their provision would be spent in three days, and that being now come out of the enemies country, victuals and other necessaries could not be had without money; for which cause he gave advice to send messengers into the town of *Heraclea*, giving the citizens to understand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thousand pieces of money, called *Cyzicens*, which sum amounteth to two thousand and five hundred pounds sterling, or thereabouts. This motion was greatly applauded, and the sum raised to ten thousand *Cyzicens* at least: which to require, they thought *Cherisophus*, as being general, the fittest man; others had more desire to send *Xenophon*: but in vain, for they both refused it, and renounced the action as dishonest. Lest therefore either of these should fail in managing the business which agreed not with his disposition, others of more impudence and less discretion were sent, who in such wise delivered their insolent message; that the citizens taking time to deliberate upon their request, brought what they could out of the fields into the town, and shutting the gates, did forthwith man the walls. When the soldiers perceived themselves to be disappointed of their ravenous purpose, they fell to mutiny, saying, that their leaders had betray'd them: and being for the more part of them *Acadians*, and *Acheans*, they forsook immediately *Cherisophus* and *Xenophon*, choosing new leaders out of their own number. Above four thousand five hundred they were, all heavily arm'd, who electing ten captains, sailed unto the port of *Calpas*, which is the mid-way between *Heraclea* and *Bizantium*, with purpose to assail the *Bythinians* on the sudden. With *Cherisophus* there aboard two thousand and one hundred, of whom, one thousand and four hundred were armed weightily: *Xenophon* had two thousand foot, three hundred whereof were lightly armed, and forty horse, which small band had done good service already, and could not have been spared now. *Cherisophus* had agreed with *Cleander* governor of *Bizantium*, to meet him at the mouth of the river *Calpas*, whither *Cleander* promised to bring some galleys to convey him over into *Greece*; for which cause he took his way thither by land, leaving to *Xenophon* such shipping as he had, who passing some part of the way by sea, landed upon the confines of *Heraclea*, and *Thracia Asiatica*, intending to make a cut thro' the mid-land country to the *Propont*. The mutineers, who had landed at *Calpas* by night, with purpose to take spoils in *Bythynia*, divided themselves into ten companies, every captain leading his own regiment into some village, five or six miles from the sea: in the greater towns were two regiments quartered, and so was that part of the country surprised on the sudden, and sacked all at one time. The place of rendezvous was an high piece of ground, where some of them arrived, finding no disturbance; others, not without much trouble and danger; two companies were broken and defeated, only eight men escaping, the rest were all put to the sword. For the *Thracians*, which had slip'd at first out of the soldiers hands, did raise the country, and finding the *Greeks* laden with booty, took the advantage of their disorder, cutting in pieces those two regiments: which done, they

they attempted the rest, encompassing the hill whereon they encamped. One great advantage the *Thracians* had, that being all light-armed, they could at pleasure make retreat from these *Arcadians* and *Acheans*: who wanting the assistance of horse, and having neither archers nor slingers among them, were driven to stand merely upon their defence, bearing off with great danger, and many wounds received, the darts and arrows of the *Barbarians*, till finally they were driven from their watering place, and enforced to crave parley. Whatsoever the articles of composition were, the *Thracians* yielded to all; but pledges of assurance they would give none, without which the *Greeks* well knew, that all promises of such people, especially incensed, were nothing worth. In the mean time *Xenophon*, holding his way quietly thro' the inland region, did enquire of some travellers, whether they knew ought of any *Grecian* army passing along those parts: and receiving by them true information of the desperate case into which these gallants had foolishly thrown themselves, he marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for guides, them who gave him the intelligence. His horsemen he sent before to discover and to scour the ways; the light-armed footmen took the hill-tops on either hand; all of them setting fire on whatsoever they found combustible, whereby the whole country seemed to be on a light flame, to the great terror of the enemies, who thought that some huge army had approached. That night he encamped on a hill, within five miles of the *Arcadians*, encamping still the number of his fires, which he caused hastily to be quenched soon after supper. The enemies perceiving this, thought certainly that he would have fallen upon them in the dark, which caused them in all haste to dislodge. Early the next morning *Xenophon* coming thither in very good order, to have given battle, found that his advice to affright the *Thracians*, had taken full effect; but he marvelled that the *Greeks* were also departed, concerning whom he learned by enquiry, that they removed at break of day, and perceived by signs, that they had taken the way to the port of *Calpas*, in which journey he overtook them. They embraced him and his with great joy, confessing that they themselves had thought the same which the enemies did, looking that he should have come by night, wherein finding themselves deceived, they were afraid lest he had forsaken them, and therefore hastened away to overtake him, and join with him. So they arrived at the haven of *Calpas*, where it was decreed, that whosoever from thenceforth made any motion to disjoin the army, should suffer death.

S E C T. XV.

Of divers pieces of service done by Xenophon; and how the army returned into Greece. The occasions of the war between the Lacedemonians and the Persian.

THE haven of *Calpas* lay under a goodly headland, that was very strong, and abounding with all kind of grain and fruits, except olives. There was also timber for building and shipping, and a very convenient seat for a great city. All which commodities that might have allured the soldiers to stay there and to plant, caused them to haste away, fearing lest *Xenophon* should find some device to have settled himself and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good means to live at home, neither did they so much for hope of gain follow *Cyrus* in that war, as in regard of

his honour, and the love which they bare unto him: the poorer sort were such as left their parents, wives and children, to whom (tho' failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchase) they were now desirous to return. But whether *Xenophon* found advantage by their own superstition, to make them stay, which they greatly suspected; or whether the signs appearing in the entrails, did indeed forbid their departure: so long they were enforced to abide in the place till victuals failed, neither would the captains lead them forth to forage the country, until the sacrifices should promise good success. *Cherisophus* was dead of an ague, and his ships were gone, being returned to the *Heracleans*, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were joined to the rest of the army, which the greater it was, the more provision it needed, and the sooner felt want. For which cause, he that was chosen colonel into the place of *Cherisophus*, would needs adventure to gratify the soldiers with the spoil of some villages that stood near at hand; in which enterprize he found ill success, the whole country lying in wait to entrap him, and an army of horse being sent by *Pharnabazus*, the satrapa or viceroy of *Phrygia*, to the assistance of these *Bitynian Thracians*, which troops falling upon the *Greeks* that were scattered abroad in seeking booty, slew five hundred of them, and chased the rest to a certain mountain there by. The news of this overthrow coming to *Xenophon*, he led forth a part of the army to the rescue of those that survived, and brought them safe to the camp, upon which the *Bitynians* made an offer that night, and breaking a *Corps du garde*, slew some, pursuing the rest to the very tents. This new courage of the enemy, together with the present condition of the army, so disheartned and unfurnished of necessaries, caused the *Greeks* to remove their camp to a place of more strength; which having intrench'd, and committed to the defence of such as were least able to endure travail, *Xenophon* with the firmest and best able men went forth, both to bury those which were lately slain, and to abate the pride of the *Thracians*, and their assistants. In this journey his demeanour was very honourable. For having given burial to the dead, the enemy was discover'd, lying on the tops of the hills adjoining, to whom (notwithstanding that the way was very rough and troublesome, so that some thought it a matter of too great danger, to leave at their backs a wood scarce passable) he marched directly, telling his men plainly, that he had rather follow the enemy with half the number, than turn his back to them with twice as many, and letting them further know, that if they did not charge the *Barbarian*, he would not fail with the greater resolution to pursue them; from whom, if they could safely retire to the camp, yet what should they do there, wanting victuals to sustain them in the place, and ships to carry them away? wherefore he willed them rather to fight well that day, having eaten their dinners, than another day fasting; and not to regard the uneasy return, which might serve to stay cowards from running away, but to wish unto the enemy a fair and easy way, by which he might fly from them. These persuasions were followed with so valiant execution, that both *Persians* and *Bitynians* being chased out of the field, abandoned the country forthwith, removing their families, and leaving all that could not suddenly be convey'd away to the discretion of the *Greeks*, who at good leisure gather'd the harvest of these bad neighbours fields. This was the last fight which they had on the side of *Asia*. For they were not only suffered quietly to enjoy the spoil of the country, but when the opinion grew common in

In those parts, that it was the intent of *Xenophon* to plant a colony on the port of *Calpas*, embassadors were sent from the neighbour-people, to desire friendship, and make offer of their best assistance. But the soldiers had no mind to stay. Wherefore entering further into *Bitbynia*, they took a great booty, which they carried away to *Chrysopolis*, a city near unto *Chalcedon*, where they sold it. *Pharnabazus*, lieutenant in *Phrygia* to *Artaxerxes*, did greatly fear, lest their long stay in that country might breed in them a desire to visit his province, where they might have found great wealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore he sent to the *Lacedemonian* admiral, entreating him with much instance and large promises to wait them over into *Europe*; to whom *Anaxibius* the admiral condescending, promised to give the soldiers pay, as soon as they arrived at *Bizantium*. So were they carried out of *Asia* at the entreaty of the *Persian*, who in the height of his pride, had thought them so surely imprisoned with mighty rivers, that he not only denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to surrender their arms into his hands, and so to yield their lives to his discretion. How discourteously they were intreated by *Anaxibius*, and how to requite his injurious dealings, they seized upon *Bizantium*, which by *Xenophon's* persuasion they forbore to sack, I hold it superfluous to relate. For the residue of their doings appertain little to

the general course of things. But this expedition, as in all ages it was glorious, so did it both discover the secrets of *Asia*, and stir up the *Greeks* to think upon greater enterprises than ever their forefathers had undertaken. Likewise it was the only remarkable action which the time afforded. For the *Roman* wars did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring towns of *Italy*; and in *Greece* all things were quiet, the *Lacedemonians* ruling insolently, but without disturbance. True it is, that the seeds of the war shortly following, which the *Lacedemonians* made upon *Artaxerxes*, were already sown, before these companies return'd out of the high countries of *Asia*. For the towns of *Ionia*, which had sided with young *Cyrus* against *Tissaphernes*, if not against the great king, prepared to rebel, which they thought safer than to fall into the hands of *Tissaphernes*, who was now appointed lieutenant, both of his old province, and of all that had belonged to *Cyrus*. Wherefore the *Ionians* besought the *Lacedemonians* to send them aid, whereby to recover their liberty; and obtained their request.

For a power was sent over, under conduct of *Thimbro* a *Spartan*, who bestowed his men in such towns as had already revolted, to secure the cities and their fields, but not to make any offensive war.

CHAP. XI.

Of the affairs of Greece, whilst they were managed by the Lacedemonians.

SECT. I.

How the Lacedemonians took courage by example of Xenophon's army, to make war upon Artaxerxes.

IT seems that the *Lacedemonians* did well perceive in how ill part *Artaxerxes* took their favour shewed unto his brother, and yet were timorous in beginning an open war against him, thinking it sufficient to take all care that no advantage might slip, which could serve to strengthen their estate, by finding the *Persian* weak beyond the sea. But when *Xenophon's* army had revealed the baseness of those effeminate *Asiatics*, and rehearsed the many victories which they themselves had gotten, upon terms of extreme disadvantage; then was all *Greece* filled with desire of undertaking upon this huge unwieldy empire, thinking it no hard matter for the joint forces of that whole nation, to hew out the way to *Susa*, whereof one handfull had opened the passage to *Babylon*; and further, finding no power that was able to give them resistance, in all that long journey of 34255 furlongs, spent in going and returning, which make of *English* miles about 4281, a very painful march of one year and three months. Nevertheless the civil distraction wherewith *Greece* was miserably torn, and especially that hot fire of the *Theban* war, which, kindled with *Persian* gold, brake forth suddenly into a great flame, drew back out of *Asia* the power of the *Lacedemonians*, to the defence of their own estate; leaving it questionable whether *Agésilas*, having both the same, and far greater forces, could have wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole space of two years, which he spent

in *Asia*, his deeds procured more commendation of magnanimity and fair behaviour, than of stout courage, and great, or profitable achievements. For how highly soever it pleased *Xenophon*, who was his friend, and follower in this, and in other wars, to extol his virtue; his exploits being only a few incursions into the countries lying near the sea, carry no proportion to *Xenophon's* own journey, which I know not whether any age hath paralleled: the famous retreat of *Conon* the *Briton* with 6000 men from *Aquileia*, to his own country, thro' all the breadth of *Italy*, and length of *France*, in despite of the emperor *Theodosius*, being rather like it than equal. But of *Agésilas*, and his wars in *Asia* and *Greece*, we shall speak more in due place.

SECT. II.

The prosperous beginnings of the war in Asia.

Thimbro receiving *Xenophon's* men, began to take in towns, and to entertain all such as were willing to revolt from the *Persian*, who were many, and some of them such, as had been highly beholden to the king; who seem to have had no other cause of discontent, than that they were to live under the government of *Tissaphernes*, whom all others did as vehemently hate, as the king his master did love him. The managing of the war begun by *Thimbro*, was for his oppressions taken out of his hands, and committed to *Dercyllidas* a *Spartan*, who behaved himself as a good man of war, and a wise commander. For whereas the rule of the low countries of *Asia* was divided between *Pharnabazus* and *Tissaphernes*, who did ill agree;

Pharnabazus being the worthier man, but the other by his prince's favour the greater, and having the chief command in those wars against the *Greeks*; *Dercyllidas*, who did bear a private hatred to *Pharnabazus* (knowing well that *Tissaphernes* was of a mischievous nature, and would not be sorry to see his corival thoroughly beaten, tho' to the king's loss) made an appointment with *Tissaphernes*, and forthwith entered *Æolis*, which was under the jurisdiction of *Pharnabazus*, which province, in few days, he brought into his own power.

That country of *Æolis* had about the same time suffered a violent alteration, which gave easy success to the attempts of *Dercyllidas*. *Zenis*, a *Dardanian*, had been deputy to *Pharnabazus* in those parts; after whose death, his wife *Mania* procured his office, wherein she behaved her self so well, that she not only was beloved of the people under her government, but enlarged her territory, by the conquest of certain towns adjoining; and sundry times gave assistance to *Pharnabazus* in his wars against the *Myrians* and *Persians*. For she had in pay some companies of *Greeks*, whose valour by her good usage did her great service. But somewhat before the arrival of *Dercyllidas* in those parts, a son-in-law of hers, called *Midias*, whom she trusted and loved much, being blinded with ambition, found means to stifle her, and kill her son of 17 years old; which done, he seized upon two of her principal towns, wherein her treasure lay, hoping to have been admitted into possession of her whole estate. Being denied entrance by her soldiers that lay in garrison, he sent messengers with presents to *Pharnabazus*, desiring him to make him governour in the place of *Mania*. His presents were not only rejected by *Pharnabazus*, but revenge of his foul treason threatened; whereby the wicked villain was driven into terms of almost utter desperation. In the mean time came *Dercyllidas*, to whom the towns of *Mania*, that held against *Midias*, did quickly open their gates. One only town stood out four days (against the will of the citizens, who were covetous of liberty) the governour striving in vain to have kept it to the use of *Pharnabazus*. Now remaining only two cities, *Gergethe* and *Scepsis*, which the traitor held, who fearing all men, as being loved of none, sent ambassadors to *Dercyllidas*, desiring leave to speak with him, and pledges for his security: upon the delivery of which he issued out of *Scepsis*, and coming into the camp, made offer to join with the *Greeks* upon such conditions, as might seem reasonable. But he was plainly told by *Dercyllidas*, that other conditions there were none, than to set the citizens freely at liberty. And presently upon these words they marched toward *Scepsis*. When *Midias* perceived that it was in vain to strive against the army, and the townsmen, who were all of one mind, he quietly went along with *Dercyllidas*; who remaining but a few hours in the city, did a sacrifice to *Minerva*, and then leading away the garrison of *Midias*, he left the city free, and departed towards *Gergethe*. *Midias* did not forsake his company, but followed him, earnestly entreating that he might be suffered to retain *Gergethe*: but coming to the gates, he was bidden to command his soldiers that they should be opened; for (quoth *Dercyllidas*) I must here likewise do a sacrifice to *Minerva*. The traitor not daring to make denial, caused his mercenaries to open the gates, whereby *Dercyllidas*, taking possession of the place, tendered pay to the garrison, who did not refuse to serve under his ensigns. This done, all the goods of *Mania* were seized upon, as belonging to one that had been subject to *Pharna-*

bazus, who was enemy to the *Greeks*: and so the murderous wretch was sent away naked, not knowing in what part of the world he might find any place to hide his detested head. *Dercyllidas*, having in 8 days taken 9 cities, purposed for the ease of his confederates, to winter in *Bitynia*, to which end he took truce with *Pharnabazus*, who had not any desire of war. That winter, and the summer ensuing, the truce being re-continued held; in which time, besides the walling of *Bitynia*, the neck of land joining *Cherronea* to the main was fortified, being 4 or 5 miles in breadth, by which means 11 towns, with much good land belonging to them, were freed from the incursions of the wild *Thracians*, and made fit and able to victual the camp. Likewise the city of *Atarne* was taken, which was of great strength, and very well stored with provision. After this, *Dercyllidas* had command from *Sparta*, to divert the war into *Caria*, where was the seat of *Tissaphernes*; for that hereby it was thought not uneasy to recover all the towns of *Ionian*: *Pharax*, the admiral of the fleet (which was a yearly office) being appointed to join with him. Tho' it was manifest that *Tissaphernes* had neglected *Pharnabazus* in time of necessity, yet was he not in his own danger requited with the like. For *Pharnabazus* having respect to the king's service, came to assist his private enemy *Tissaphernes*, and so passing into *Caria*, they thrust garrisons into all places of strength; which done, they march'd towards *Ionian*, hoping to find the towns ill manned for resistance. As these *Persians* were desirous to keep the war from their own doors, so was *Dercyllidas* willing to free his confederates the *Ionians* from the spoil and danger of the war, by transferring it into *Caria*. For which cause he passed the river *Meander*, and not looking to have been so soon encountered, marched carelessly thro' the country; when on the very sudden the whole army of *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* was discovered, consisting of *Persians*, *Carians*, and some mercenary *Greeks*, who were all marshalled in very good order to present battel. The odds was too apparent, both in numbers of men, and in readiness, as also in advantage of ground: for the *Persian* had a great multitude of horse, the *Greek* very few and feeble, being to fight in an open plain. Therefore all the *Ionians*, together with the islanders and others, of such places as bordered upon the king's dominions, did either betake themselves to present flight; or, abiding a while for shame, did plainly discover by their looks, that they meant not to be more bold than wise. Only *Dercyllidas* with his *Peloponnesians*, regarding their honour, prepared to endure the fight; which must needs have brought them to destruction, if the counsel of *Pharnabazus* had been followed, who perceiving the opportunity of so great a victory, was not willing to let it slip. But *Tissaphernes*, who naturally was a coward, seeing that countenance of resistance was made, began to consider what strange defence the soldiers of *Xenophon* had shewed, and thinking that all the *Greeks* were of the like resolution, held it the wisest way to crave parley; the conclusion of which was, that a truce should be made, to last until *Tissaphernes* might receive answer from the king, and *Dercyllidas* from *Sparta*, concerning the demands propounded in the treaty; which were on the one part, that all the *Greeks* in *Asia* might enjoy their own liberty and laws; but contrariwise on the other side, that the *Lacedemonians* should depart *Asia*, and leave the towns to the king's pleasure. This treaty was of none effect; only it served to free the *Greeks* from the present danger, and to gain time unto *Tissaphernes*, who desired

desired to avoid the war by procrastination, which he durst not adventure to finish by tryal of a batrel.

S E C T. III.

How the Lacedemonians took revenge upon the Eleans for old displeasure. The discontents of the Corinthians and Thebans, conceived against the state of Sparta.

IN the mean season the *Lacedemonians*, who found none able to withstand them in *Greece*, began to call the *Eleans* to account for some disgraces received by them during the late wars, when leisure was wanting to the requital of such petty injuries. These *Eleans* being presidents of the *Olympian* games, had set a fine upon the city of *Sparta*; for non-payment of which, they forbid them to come to the solemnity, and publickly whip'd one of them, that was a man of note, for presuming to contend against their decree. Likewise they hindered *Agis*, king of *Sparta*, from doing sacrifice to *Jupiter*; and in all points used great contempt toward the *Spartans*, who now had no business that could hinder them from taking revenge: and therefore sent a peremptory message to the *Eleans*, commanding them to set at liberty the cities which they held in subjection. This was the usual pretence which they made the ground of all their wars; though little they cared for the liberty of such towns, which they caused afterwards to become followers, and little better than mere vassals to themselves. In their late wars with *Athens*, the strong opposition which they found caused this goodly title of liberty to work very slowly: but having now to do with a state of great spirit and small force, it gave present success to their desires. Two years together they sent an army into the country of the *Eleans*: the first year an earthquake (held in those times a prodigious sign, and which did always forbid the prosecution of any enterprise in hand) caused them to retire: the second year, all the towns of the *Eleans* did hastily revolt, and the city it self was driven to submission; consenting both to suffer their old subjects freely to enjoy their liberty, and to have her own walls thrown down. Only the presidentship of the *Olympian* games was left unto them; which it was not to be doubted that they would, in time coming, use modestly, finding themselves to stand at the mercy of *Sparta*. In this expedition all the *Greeks* were assistant to the *Lacedemonians*, excepting the *Corinthians* and *Boeotians*, whose aid having been of as much importance in the late *Peloponnesian* war, as the force of *Sparta* it self, they could not smother their dislike of their unequal division following the victory; which gave to *Sparta* the command of all *Greece*; to *Thebes* and *Corinth*, only security against *Athens*; but such a security as was worse than the danger. For when the equal greatness of two mighty estates did counterpoise each the other, it was in the power of these neutral common-wealths to adhere to either, as the condition of their affairs required: but when to revenge injuries, they had by mortal hatred prosecuted the war to extremity, leaving the one city naked of power and friends, the other mightily increased in both, it was then (if not necessary to obey the greatness which themselves had made, yet) too high and dangerous to provoke it. Nevertheless, it was not the purpose of the *Spartans* to take occasion of any quarrel, which they could not finish at pleasure, till such time as they had by victory or composition made some good end with the *Persian*, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

S E C T. IV.

The passage of Agesilaus into Asia. His war with Tissaphernes. How Tissaphernes was put to death, and the war diverted into another province, thro' perswasion and gifts of Tithraustes his successor. How careles the Persian lieutenants were of the king's good.

AGESILAUS, newly made king of *Sparta*, was desirous to have the honour of the victory, which, not without cause, he expected upon those of *Asia*; and therefore procuring a great army to join with that of *Dercyllidas*, he took his way in great pomp to *Aulis* in *Beotia*, a haven lying opposite to the island of *Eubœa*, in which place *Agamemnon* (leading the power of all *Greece* to the war against *Troy*, many ages before) had embark'd his men. In imitation of *Agamemnon* he meant also to do sacrifice in *Aulis*, which the *Thebans*, lords of that country, would not permit; but saying, that the performance of such ceremonies in that place belonged unto their officers; they were so unable to conceal their malice, that sending some companies of horse, they threw down his sacrifice from the altar. It was not then convenient time for *Agesilaus* to entangle himself and his country in a new war; therefore, waiting better opportunity of revenge, he quietly swallowed the contumely, and followed his main intendment. Having landed his men at *Ephesus*, he was entertained by *Tissaphernes* with a treaty of peace, wherein *Agesilaus* peremptorily requiring that the *Persian* should restore to liberty all the *Greek* towns in *Asia*, was promised that the king, being first informed of his demand, should send answer to his good liking, if he would in the mean while make truce. Truce was therefore made, which *Tissaphernes* had sought only to win time of making provision for the war, and getting supply of men and money from *Artaxerxes*; whilst *Agesilaus* was busy in settling the estates of his confederate cities on that side of the sea. The end of this long vacation from war, was at the coming down of the forces which *Artaxerxes* had sent; at what time *Agesilaus* received a plain message from *Tissaphernes*, that either he must forthwith depart out of *Asia*, or make good his abode by strong hand. *Agesilaus* returning word that he was glad to hear that his enemies had by perjury deserved vengeance from heaven, prepared to invade them; and sending word to all the towns which lay between him and *Caria*, that they should provide victuals, and other necessaries for his army, did easily make *Tissaphernes* believe, that his intent was to invade that province wherein *Tissaphernes* dwelt, and which was unfit for horse, in which part of his forces the *Persian* had most confidence. Therefore *Tissaphernes* bestowing all his companies of foot in *Caria*, enter'd with his horse into the plains of *Meander*, hoping thereby to stop the passage of a heavy foot-army, not suffering them to pass into that country which was fittest for their service. But the *Greeks* left him waiting there in vain, and marched directly into *Phrygia*, where they took great spoil without resistance, till such time as the horse-men of *Pharnabazus* met him, who in a small skirmish having the better of the *Greeks*, were the occasion that *Agesilaus* returned to *Ephesus*. Although in this last fight only twelve men were lost, yet *Agesilaus* perceiving by that tryal how hard it would be to prevail, and hold the mastery of the field, without a greater strength of horse, took all possible care to encrease that part of his forces. By which means having enabled himself, whilst winter

ter lasted, he enter'd upon the country of *Tissaphernes*, as soon as the season of the year would permit, and not only took a great booty, but finding the horse-men of *Tissaphernes* in the plain of *Meander*, without assistance of their infantry, he gave them battel, and had a great victory, taking their camp, in which he found great riches. The blame of this loss fell heavy upon *Tissaphernes*, who either upon cowardise had absented himself from the battel, or following some other business, was then at *Sardes*. For which cause his master having him in distrust, and thinking that peace might be the sooner had, which he much desired, if the man, so odious to the whole nation of the *Greeks*, were taken out of the way, he sent into those parts *Tithraustes*, a *Persian*, to cut off the head of *Tissaphernes*, and succeed him in the government. Such was the end of this base and cowardly politician, who little cared to offend heaven, when by perjury he could advance his purposes on earth, failed at the last thro' too much over-weening of his own wisdom, even in that part of cunning wherein he thought himself most perfect. For supposing, that by his great skill in subtil negotiation he should one way or other circumvent the *Greeks*, and make them weary of *Asia*; he did not seek to finish the war, and, according to his master's wish, bring all things speedily to quiet; but rather to temporise till he might find some opportunity of making such end as best might stand with the king's honour and his own. Wherein it seems that he much mistook his prince's disposition, who, though he had highly rewarded him for the aid which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would he much more gladly have taken it, if he could have found such means whereby the danger it self might have been avoided: as not loving to have war, whilst by any conditions (honourable or not) he might obtain peace. And this appeared well by the course which *Tithraustes* took at his first possession of the low countries. For he sent ambassadors to *Agésilas* in very friendly sort, letting him know, that the man who had been author of the war, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the king's pleasure to let the *Greeks* enjoy their own laws and liberty, upon condition that they should pay him the tribute accustomed, and the army be forthwith dismissed. The answer to this proposition, was by *Agésilas* refer'd to the counsel of *Sparta*; in the mean season he was content to transfer the war into the province of *Pharnabazus*, at the request of *Tithraustes*, who bought his departure with thirty talents.

This was a strange manner of war, both on the offensive and on the defensive part. For *Agésilas*, having entertained great hopes of vanquishing the great king, was contented to forbear his several provinces, at the entreaty of the lieutenants: and those lieutenants being employed by the king to maintain his estates against all enemies (wherein if they failed, they knew that their heads might easily be taken from their shoulders) were little offended at any loss that fell on their next neighbour-princes, which were subject likewise to the same crown of *Persia*, so long as their own government could be preserved free from waste and danger. The cause of this disorder on the *Persian* side, I can ascribe to nothing so deservedly, as to the corrupted estate of the court, wherein eunuchs, concubines, and ministers of pleasure, were able by partial construction to countenance or disgrace the actions of such as had the managing of things abroad; and to that foolish manner of the king's (which was so usual that it might be called a rule) to reward or punish the provincial governour, according to the benefit or loss, which

the country given in charge unto each of them received, during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to pass, that as every one was desirous to make his own territory yield a large increase of the king's treasure; so no man was careful to assist his borderers, if loss or danger might thereby grow to himself and his; but sat still as an idle beholder, when perhaps by joining their forces, it had not been uneasy to recompense the spoil of one country, by conquering another, or defending a third from far greater miseries.

S E C T. V.

The war and treaty between Agésilas and Pharnabazus.

A G E S I L A U S, having thus compounded with *Tithraustes*, enter'd *Phrygia*, burning and wasting the country without resistance. He took the palace of *Pharnabazus*, and by his lieutenant drove him out of his camp. These actions, together with his honourable behaviour, which added much to their lustre, were more glorious than profitable. For he did not win cities and places of strength, which might have encreased his power, and given assurance to the rest of his proceedings: but purchased fame and high reputation, by which he drew unto him some that were discontented and stood upon bad terms with the great king, whom he lost again as easily, by means of some slight injury done to them by his under-captains. *Pharnabazus* did not enclose himself in any town for fear of being besieged, but kept the field, lying as near as he could safely to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpose to fight, but to make some good end by composition, which he found not uneasy to do. For the pleasures, by him formerly done to the state of *Sparta*, in the times of their most necessity, had been so great, that when he (obtaining parly) did set before their eyes his bounty towards them, and his love (which had been such, that besides many other hazards of his person, he had for the rescue of their fleet, when it was driven to run ashore at *Abidus*, adventured to ride into the sea, as far as he could find any ground, and fight on horseback against the *Athenians*) together with his faith, which had never been violated in word or deed: they knew not how to excuse their ingratitude, otherwise than by telling him, that having war with his master, they were forced against their will to offend him. *Agésilas* did make a fair offer to him, that if he would revolt from the king to them, they would maintain him against the *Persian*, and establish him free prince of the country wherein he was at that time only deputy to *Artaxerxes*. But *Pharnabazus* told him plainly, that if the king his master did put him in trust to make war against them, he would not fail to do the best that he could as their enemy; if the charge were taken out of his hand, and he commanded to obey another, he would then shift side, and betake himself to their alliance. The issue of this parly was, that the army should no longer abide in *Phrygia*, nor again return into it, whilst employment could be found elsewhere. The excuse made by *Agésilas*, and the withdrawing of his forces out of those parts, were not sufficient to appease *Pharnabazus*, whom he had not invaded for want of more necessary business elsewhere; but because his country would yield great booty; and for the hire of thirty talents. By this means the *Lacedemonians* changed an honourable friend into a hot enemy, who afterwards requited their unthankfulness with full revenge.

SECT. VI.

The great commotions raised in Greece by the Thebans and others, that were hired with gold from the Persian.

IN the mean while *Tithraustes*, perceiving that *Agefilaus* meant nothing less than to return into Greece, and let *Artaxerxes* rest quietly in Asia, took a wise course, whereby the city of *Sparta* was not only driven to look to her own, and give over her great hopes of subverting the empire, but was beaten out of all that had been gotten by many late victories, and saw her dominion restrained unto the narrow bounds of her own territory. He sent into Greece fifty talents of silver, to be employed in raising war against the *Lacedemonians*; which treasure was, by the subtle practice of him that was put in trust with it, in such wise dispersed, among the principal men of the *Thebans*, *Argives*, and *Corinthians*, that all those estates having formerly borne secret hate to that of *Sparta*, were now desirous of nothing so much as of open war. And lest this great heat of the incensed multitude should, for want of present exercise, begin to faint, and vanish away in idle words, occasion was found out to thrust the *Lacedemonians* into arms, that they themselves might seem authors of the quarrel. Some land there was in the tenure of the *Locrians*, to which the *Thebans* had in former time laid claim; but the *Phocians*, either having the better title, or finding the greater favour, had it adjudged unto them, and received yearly money for it. This money the *Locrians* were either hired or persuaded to pay now to the *Thebans*, who readily accepted it. The *Phocians*, not meaning so to lose their rent, made a distress by strong hand, recovering a great deal more than their own; which the *Thebans* (as in protection of their new tenants) requited with an invasion made upon *Phocis*, wasting that country in the manner of open war. Such were the beginnings of professed hostility between *Thebes* and *Sparta*, and the first breaking out of their close enmity, that had long time, tho' hardly been concealed. For when the *Phocian* ambassadors came to *Sparta*, complaining of the violence done by the *Thebans*, and requesting succour, they had very favourable audience, and ready consent to their suit; it being the manner of the *Lacedemonians*, to defer the acknowledgment of injuries received, until occasion of revenge were offered, and then to discover their indignation in cold blood. At this time they had very good opportunity to work their own wills, having no other war to disturb them in Greece, and hearing out of Asia no news that could offend or trouble them. Wherefore they sent *Lyfander* to raise all the countries about *Phocis*, and with such forces as he could levy, to attend the coming of *Pausanias*, king of *Sparta* (for *Sparta*, as hath been shewed before, had two kings) who should follow him with the strength of *Peloponnesus*. *Lyfander* did as he was appointed, and being of great reputation in those parts, he drew the *Orchomenians* to revolt from *Thebes*. *Pausanias* likewise raised all *Peloponnesus*, except the *Corinthians* (who refused to assist him in that enterprise) meaning to join with *Lyfander*, and make a speedy end of the war. The consideration of so great a danger approaching so swiftly, caused the *Thebans* to seek what help they could abroad, soasmuch as their own strength was far too little to make resistance against such mighty preparations. It was not unknown to them, that many followers of the *Lacedemonians* were otherwise affected in heart than they

durst utter in countenance; but the good wishes of such people were little available, considering that the most which could be expected from them was, that they should do as little hurt as they could: by which manner of tergiversation, the *Corinthians* did at that present cast themselves into the displeasure of the *Spartans*, to the no great benefit of *Thebes*. Wherefore it was thought the safest course to procure the assistance of some estate, that might presently declare itself on their side, which would cause many others to follow the example, and make their party strong. To this end they sent ambassadors to *Athens*, excusing old offences, as either not committed by publick allowance, or done in time of the general war, and recompensed with friendship lately shewn in their refusal of assisting *Pausanias*, when he came in behalf of the thirty tyrants, against the good citizens of *Athens*. In regard of which, and for their own honour's sake, they requested them of aid in the present war, offering to do the best that they could for the restoring of *Athens* to her former estate and dignity. *Thrasybulus* and his friends, who, persecuted by the thirty, had been well entertained at *Thebes*, procured now the city to make a large requital of the courtesy which they had received. For it was decreed, that the state of *Athens* should not only refuse to aid the *Lacedemonians* in this war, but that it should assist the *Thebans*, and engage itself in their cause. Whilst *Pausanias* lay still, waiting the arrival of his confederates, *Lyfander*, being desirous to do somewhat that might advance the business in hand, came to *Haliartus*, where, tho' *Pausanias* did not meet him, as had been appointed, yet he attempted the town, and was slain in fight by the *Thebans*, who came hastily to the rescue. As this victory did encourage the *Thebans*, so the coming of *Pausanias* with his great army did again amaze them, with presentation of extreme danger; but their spirits were soon revived by the strong succour which was brought from *Athens*; in consideration of which, and of the late battle, *Pausanias* durst not hazard a new fight with them, but receiving the bodies of those that were slain, by composition, departed out of their territory; for which, either cowardise or indiscretion, he was, at his return to *Sparta*, condemn'd as a traitor, and driven to fly into *Tegea*, where he ended his days in banishment.

SECT. VII.

How Agefilaus was called out of Asia to help his country. A victory of the Spartans. Conon, the Athenian, assisted by Pharnabazus, overcomes the Lacedemonian fleet, recovers the mastery of the seas, and rebuilds the walls of Athens.

THIS good success, and the confederacy made with *Athens*, gave such reputation to the *Thebans*, that the *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Pubeans*, *Locrians*, and *Acarnanes*, did forthwith side with them, and raising a strong army, determined to give battle to the *Lacedemonians*, as near as they might to their own doors; considering that the force of *Sparta* itself was not great, but grew more and more by the adjunction of their confederates. The magistrates of *Sparta* perceiving the danger, sent for *Agefilaus*, who readily obeyed them, and promising his friends in Asia to return speedily to their assistance, passed the streights of *Hellepont* into Europe. In the mean time the cities of the new league had given battle to the *Lacedemonians*, and the remainder of their associates, but with ill success. For when the right wing of each part had gotten the better

better hand, the *Argives* and *Thebans* returning from the chase in some disorder, were broken and defeated by the *Lacedemonians*, who meeting them in good order, won from them the honour which they had gotten by forcing the left wing of the *Lacedemonians*, and made the victory of that day entirely their own. The report of this battle meeting *Agésilas* at *Amphipolis*, were by him sent over into *Asia*, where it is not likely that they brought much comfort unto his friend, who had since his departure seen the *Spartan* fleet beaten, and *Lysander* the admiral slain. The same man, whose endeavour had brought the *Athenians* into order, by advancing the sea-forces of the *Lacedemonians* with money, and all manner of supplies, was now the occasion that the power of *Athens* grew strong at sea, when the city was despoiled of her old reputation, and scarcely able to maintain an army by land for her own defence. *Pharnabazus* considering how much it imported the king his master, to have the *Greeks* divided into such factions, as might utterly disable them from undertaking abroad, thought it the safest way for himself, during these broils, to take such order, that he should not need any more to seek peace by entreaty, and commemoration of old benefits, at their hands, who unprovoked had sold his love for thirty talents. To which purpose he furnished *Conon* the *Athenian* with eight ships, who had escaped, when the fleet of *Athens* was surpris'd by *Lysander* at *Ægos-Potamos*; giving him the command of a great navy, where-with he requited the loss received at *Ægos-Potamos*, by repaying the *Lacedemonians* with the like destruction of their fleet at *Cnidus*. After this victory *Conon* sail'd to *Athens*, bringing with him, partly as the liberality of *Pharnabazus*, partly as the fruit of his victory, so strong a navy, and so much gold, as encouraged the *Athenians* to rebuild their walls, and think more hopefully upon recovering the signiory which they had lost.

S E C T. VIII.

Of sundry small victories gotten on each part. The Lacedemonians lose all in Asia. The Athenians recover some part of their old dominion.

N E V E R T H E L E S S the *Lacedemonians*, by many victories at land, maintained for some years the honour of their estate, endangered very greatly by this loss at sea. For *Agésilas* obtained the better with his horsemen, from the *Thessalians*, who were accounted the best riders in *Greece*: He wast'd *Beotia*, and fought a great battle at *Coronea* against the *Thebans*, and their allies, whom he overthrew; and by his marshal *Gylis* foraged the country of *Locris*: which done, he return'd home.

The gain of these victories was not great, and the reputation of them was, by many losses, much defaced. For the *Thebans* did, in the battle of *Coronea*, vanquish the *Orchomenians*, who stood opposite unto them, and retired unbroken to mount *Helicon*, opening way perforce when *Agésilas* charged them in their return from the pursuit. Likewise *Gylis* was slain, with a great part of his army, by the *Locrians*; and some other exploits by the *Lacedemonians*, performed against the *Corinthians*, were repay'd with equal damage receiv'd in the parts adjoining; many towns being easily taken, and as easily recover'd. The variety of which inter-seats was such, that the *Thebans* themselves were drawn, by the loss of the haven of *Corinth*, to sue for peace, but could not get audience, till such time as the news came of a great victory obtained by *Iphicratos*, general of the *Athenian* forces at *Lecheum*;

whereupon the *Theban* ambassadors being sent for, and willed to do their message, required only in scorn, to have a safe conduct given them, that they might enter into *Corinth*. From this time forward the war was made for a while only by incursions, wherein the *Acheans*, confederates of *Sparta*, felt most loss; their whole state being endanger'd by the *Acarnerians*, who held with the contrary side, until *Agésilas* repayed these invaders with equal or greater calamities, brought upon their own lands, which did so afflict the *Acarnerians*, that they were driven to sue for peace. But the affairs at sea were of most consequence, upon which the success of all depended. For when the towns of *Asia* perceiv'd, that the *Lacedemonians* were not only entangled in an hard war at home, but almost disabled to pass the seas, having lost their fleet at *Cnidus*; they soon gave ear to *Pharnabazus*, who promised to allow that they should use their own laws, if they would expel the *Spartan* governours. Only the city of *Abydos* did stand firm, wherein *Dercyllidas* lay, who did his best to contain all the towns about *Hellepont*, in the alliance of the *Lacedemonians*; which he could not do, because the *Athenian* fleet under *Thrasylbulus* took in *Byzantium*, *Chalcedon*, and other places thereabout, reducing the isle of *Lesbos* to their ancient acknowledgment of *Athens*.

S E C T. IX.

The base conditions offered unto the Persians by the Lacedemonians. Of sundry fights, and other passages in the war. The peace of Antalcidas.

A B O U T this time the *Spartans* began to perceive, how uneasy a thing it would be, to maintain the war against men as good as themselves, assisted with the treasures of *Persia*; wherefore they craved peace of *Artaxerxes*, most basely offering, not only to renounce the *Greeks* inhabiting *Asia*, and to leave them to the king's disposition, but withal to set the islanders, and every town in *Greece*, as well the little as the great, at full and absolute liberty, whereby they said that all the principal estates of their country would so be weakened, that no one, nor all of them, should be able to stir against the great king. And sure it was, that the power of the country being so broken, and rent into many small pieces, could neither have disquieted the *Persian*, by an offensive war, nor have made any good defence against him, but would have left it easy for him, in continuance of time, to have taken the cities one after another, till he had made himself master of all. The *Spartans* were not ignorant of this, but were so carried with envy, that perceiving how the dominion of the seas was like to return to *Athens*, they chose rather to give all from themselves and others, and make all alike weak, than to permit that any of their own nation should grow stronger than themselves, who so lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the first accepted, both in regard that the other estates of *Greece*, who had in the king's behalf join'd together against the *Lacedemonians*, did by their several ambassadors oppose themselves unto it; and for that it was thought safest for *Artaxerxes*, rather to weaken the *Lacedemonians* yet more, than by interposing himself to bring friends and foes on the sudden to an equality. Especially *Struthas*, whom *Artaxerxes* had sent as his lieutenant into the low countries, did seek to repay the harm done by *Agésilas* in those parts: which his intent appearing plain, and all hope of the peace being thereby cut off, *Thimbro* was sent into *Asia*, to make war

war upon *Struthas*; and others were appointed to other places, whereby the war, being scattered about all the isles and towns on the firm land grew almost to the manner of piracy and robbery, affording many skirmishes, but few great actions worthy of remembrance. *Thimbro* was slain by *Struthas*, and in his place *Diphridas* was sent, who demeaned himself more warily. *Dercyllidas* was removed from his charge at *Abydus*, because he had not impeached *Thrasylbulus* in his enterprises about *Hellepont*; *Anaxibius*, who succeeded him, was surpris'd and slain in a skirmish by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*. *Thrasylbulus*, departing from *Lesbos* towards *Rhodes*, was slain by the way at *Aspendus*; the city of *Rhodes* had long before join'd with the *Lacedemonians*, who erected there (as was their manner) an *Aristocracy*, or the government of a few the principal citizens; whereas contrariwise, the *Athenians* were accustomed to put the sovereignty into the hands of the people, each of them seeking to assure themselves, by erecting in the towns of their confederates a government like unto their own: which doing (where more especial cause did not hinder) caused the nobility to favour *Sparta*, and the commons to incline to *Athens*. The people of *Ægina* roved upon the coast of *Attica*, which caused the *Athenians* to land an army in *Ægina*, and besieged their town; but this siege being rais'd by the assistance of the *Lacedemonian* fleet, the islanders began anew to molest *Attica*, which caused the *Athenians* to man their ships again, that returned beaten, having lost 4 of 13. The loss of these ships was soon recompens'd by a victory which *Chabrias* the *Athenian* general had in *Ægina*; whereupon the islanders were fain to keep home, and leave to the *Athenians* the seas free. It may well seem strange that the city of *Athens*, having but newly rais'd her walls, having not by any fortunate and important battle secur'd her estate from dangers by land; but only depending upon the assistance of such confederates, as carried unto different ends, had often discovered themselves irresolute in the common cause, would send a fleet and an army to *Cyprus*, in defence of *Evagoras*, when the mastery of the seas was so ill assur'd, that an island lying in the eye of *Piræus*, had ability to vex the coast of *Attica*. But as the over-weening of that city did cause it usually to embrace more than it could compass; so the insolency and shameless injustice of the people, had now bred in the chief commanders, a desire to keep themselves far out of sight, and to seek employments at such distance as might secure them from the eyes of the envious, and from publick judgments, out of which few or none escap'd. For which cause *Timotheus* did pass away much part of his time in the isle of *Lesbos*; *Iphicrates* in *Thrace*, and *Chabrias* did now carry away into *Cyprus* a greater force than his country well could have spar'd; with which he returned not when the business in *Cyprus* came to an end, but sought new adventures in *Egypt*, whereby arose neither thanks to himself, nor profit to his city, tho' honour both to him and it. The *Athenians* being thus careless of things at hand, had a notable blow given unto them, shortly after that *Chabrias* was gone to *Cyprus*, even within their own haven. For *Isentias*, a *Lacedemonian*, being made governour of *Ægina*, conceived a strong hope of surprising the navy of *Athens*, as it lay in *Piræus*; thinking aright, that it was an harder matter to encounter with ten ships prepared for the fight, than with twenty lying in harbour, whose mariners were asleep in their cabins, or drinking in taverns. Wherefore he sail'd by night unto the

mouth of the port, which entering at the break of day, he found (according to his expectation) most of the men on shore, and few or none left aboard to make resistance; by which means he took many ships laden with merchandises, many fisher-men, passengers, and other vessels; also three or four galleys, having sunk or broken, and made unserviceable, as many of the rest as the time would suffer. About this time, *Pharnabazus*, the lieutenant of *Phrygia*, had one of the king's daughters given to him in marriage, with whom he lived about the court; and many officers that favoured the *Lacedemonians* were placed in the lower *Asia*; by whose assistance, the fleet of *Sparta* grew victorious about *Hellepont*; in such wise, that perhaps they should not have needed the peace, which they themselves procur'd by *Antalcidas*, from the great king, the conditions whereof were such as are mentioned before, giving freedom to all the cities of *Greece*, and dividing the country into as many several states as there were petty boroughs in it. Thus *Artaxerxes*, having bought his own peace with money, did likewise by his money become arbitrator and decider of controversies between the *Greeks*, disposing of their business in such wise as stood best with his own good. The tenor of *Artaxerxes*'s decree was, that all *Asia* and *Cyprus* should be his own; the isles of *Lemnos*, *Imbrus*, and *Scirus* be subject to *Athens*; all other *Greek* towns, as well the little as the great, be set at liberty; and that whosoever should refuse this peace, upon them the approvers of it should make war, the king assisting them by land and sea, with men, and ships, and treasure. The *Athenians* were so discouraged by their losses at sea; the *Lacedemonians* by revolt of their confederates, and the necessity of maintaining many garrisons, for which they wanted money; and other states by the miseries of the war, whereof they saw no end; that all (excepting the *Theban*) did consent unto these articles. This was called the peace of *Antalcidas*: whereof the *Lacedemonians* taking upon themselves the execution, did not only compel the *Argives* to depart out of *Corinth* (which under pretence of defending they held by garrisons, lately thrust into it, not as patrons, but as lords) and the *Thebans* to leave *Beotia* free, of which province *Thebes* had always held the government: the *Thebans* themselves being also comprehended under the name of *Beotians*, but caus'd the *Mantineans* to throw down their own city, and to dwell in villages; alledging, that they had formerly been accustomed so to do, tho' purposing indeed to chastise them, as having been ill affected to *Sparta* in the late war. By these courses the *Lacedemonians* did hope that all the small towns in *Greece* would, when occasion should require it, willingly follow them in the wars, as authors of their liberty; and that the great cities having lost all their dependants, would be unable to make opposition.

S E C T. X.

The war which the Lacedemonians made upon Olynthus. They take Thebes by treason, and Olynthus by famine.

WHILST these wars, which ended without either victory or profit, consumed the riches and power of *Greece*, the city of *Olynthus* in *Thrace* was grown so mighty, that she did not only command her neighbour-towns, but was also become terrible to places far removed, and to *Sparta* it self. Great part of *Macedonia*, together with *Pella*, the principal city of that kingdom, was taken by the *Olynthians*, who following the usual pretence of

of the *Lacedemonians*, to set at liberty the places over which king *Amyntas* did tyrannize, had almost now driven him out of his dominions, and taken all to themselves. The citizens of *Acanthus* and of *Apollonia*, being nearest unto the danger of those incroaching neighbours, acquainted the *Lacedemonians* with their fear, affirming that this dominion of the *Olynthians* would be too strong for all *Greece*, if continuance of time should give it reputation, which only it wanted; wherefore they requested assistance, but in such terms as did sound of compulsion; protesting that either they must war upon *Olynthus*, or become subject unto her, and fight in her defence. Hereupon was made a hasty levy of men, two thousand being presently sent away with promise to be seconded by a greater army. Whilst these two thousand gave such beginning to the war, as agreed with their small number, the body of the army following them surprized the cittadel of *Thebes*, which was betrayed into the hand of *Phebidas* the *Lacedemonian*, by some of the magistrates, who sought to strengthen their faction by the slavery of their country. The *Thebans* were ill affected to *Sparta*, but had not in any one point violated the peace lately made between them; which caused the *Lacedemonians* to doubt whether this act of *Phebidas* were more worthy of reward or of punishment: in conclusion, profit so far over-weighed honesty, that the deed was approved, many principal citizens of *Thebes* condemned to death, many driven into banishment, and the traytors rewarded with the government of the city; by whose authority, and the force of the garrison, the *Thebans* were compelled to serve the *Lacedemonians*, in all, and more than all that they could require. This access of power having strengthened the *Lacedemonians*, caused them to entertain the greater forces about *Olynthus*, which (notwithstanding the loss of one great battel, and some other disasters) they compelled at length by famine to render it self to their obedience.

S E C T. XI.

How the Thebans recovered their liberty, driving out the Lacedemonian garrison.

AFTER this *Olynthian* war, which endured almost three years, it seemed that no estate in *Greece* was able to make head against that of *Sparta*: but it was not long ere the *Thebans* found means to shake off their yoke, and gave both example and means to others to do the like. One of the banished men found by conference with a scribe of the *Theban* magistrates coming to *Athens*, that the tyranny wherewith his country was oppressed, pleased him no better than it did those who for fear of it were fled from home. Whereupon a plot was laid between these two, that soon found very good success, being managed thus. Seven of the banished men forsook *Athens* privily, and enter'd by night into the fields of *Thebes*; where spending the next day secretly, they came late in the evening to the gates like husband-men returned from work, and so passed undiscovered unto the house of *Charon*, whom *Phyllidas* the scribe had drawn

into the conspiracy. The day following, a solemn feast being then held in the city, *Phyllidas* promised the governours, who were insolent and lustful men, that he would convey unto them that night the most beautiful dames of the town, with whom they should take their pleasure. Having cheered them with such hope, and plenty of good wine, he told them when the time of performance (which they urged) came, that he could not make good his promise, unless they would dismiss their followers; because the gentlewomen, who attended without in a chamber, would not endure, that any of the servants should see their faces. Upon this occasion the attendants were dismissed, and the conspirators, attired like ladies and their maids, brought into the place; who taking advantage of the governours loose behaviour, slew them all upon the sudden with daggers, which they brought hidden under their garments. Then presently casting off their disguise, they went to other places, where feigning themselves to come to the governours upon business, they got admittance, and likewise slew those that were of the *Lacedemonian* faction. By the like device they broke into the prison, slew the goaler, and set at liberty such as they thought meet; and being followed by these desperate men, proclaimed liberty, making the death of the tyrants known. The captain of the castle hearing the sudden proclamation, thought the rebels to be stronger than indeed they were: the citizens contrariwise mistrusted, that it was a practice to discover such, as would be forward upon occasion of revolting. But as soon as day-light revealed the plain truth, all the people took arms, and besieged the castle, sending hastily to *Athens* for succour. The garrison also sent for aid unto the towns adjoining, whence a few broken troops coming to the rescue, were defeated on the way, by the horse-men of *Thebes*. On the other side, the banished *Thebans* did not only make speed to assist their country-men, but procured some *Athenians* to join with them, and thereby came so strong into the city, that the castle was yielded more through fear than any necessity, upon condition that the soldiers might quietly depart with their arms; for which composition the captain at his return to *Sparta* was put to death. When the news of the doings at *Thebes*, and the success arrived at *Sparta*, an army was raised forthwith, and all things prepared as earnestly for the recovering of that city, as if some part of their ancient inheritance had been taken from the *Lacedemonians*, and not a town perfidiously usurped by them, restored to her own liberty. *Cleombrotus*, one of the kings, was sent on this expedition; who, having wearied his followers with a toilsome winter's journey, returned home without any good or harm done; leaving *Sphodrias*, with part of his army, at *Thebes*, to infest the *Thebans*; who, doing them some displeasures, made large amends by a foolish attempt upon the haven of *Athens*, which failing to take, he wasted the country adjoining, and drove away catel, causing by this outrage the *Athenians* to enter with all their power into the war, out of which they were before very carefully seeking how to withdraw themselves.

Chap. XII. The HISTOR

C H

Of the flourishing estate of Thebes, & M

SECT. I.

How Thebes and Athens joined together against Sparta. How the Athenians made peace for themselves and others, out of which the Thebans were excluded. The battel of Leuctra, and beginning of the Theban greatness.

THE *Lacedemonians* were men of great resolution, and of much gravity in all their proceedings, but one dishonourable rule they held, that all respects withstanding the commodities of *Sparta* were to be neglected; the practice of which doctrine, even by the best and wisest of them did greatly blemish that estate; but when it was put in execution by insufficient over-weening men, seldom failed to bring upon them, instead of profit unjustly expected, both shame and loss. And so befel them in these enterprizes of *Phebidas*, upon the castle of *Thebes*, and *Sphodrias* upon the *Pireus*. For howsoever *Agessilus* did spoil the country about *Thebes*, in which he spent two summers, yet the diligence of the *Thebans* repaired all, who by the good success of some attempts grew stronger than they were at the first.

The *Athenians* likewise began to look abroad, failing to the isle of *Corcyra*, where they order things at their pleasure, and, having in some fight at sea prevailed, began, as in the *Peloponnesian* war, to surround *Peloponnesus* with a navy; afflicting the *Lacedemonians*, that had not the *Thebans* in their insolency wearied their friends, and caused them to seek for peace, it had been very likely that the course of this war should have soon come to good end, which nevertheless being prosecuted by the *Thebans* (who opposed at once both these two great estates) left the city of *Sparta* as much dejected, as the beginning found it proud and tyrannous. But the *Athenians* perceiving how *Thebes* encroach'd every day upon her weak neighbours, not sparing such as had been dependants upon *Athen* and finding themselves, whilst engaged in such war, unable to relieve their complaining friends, resolved to settle the affairs of *Greece*, by renewing that form of peace which *Antalcidas* had brought from the *Persian*. Wherefore they sent messengers to *Thebes*, peremptorily signifying, that it was their intent to finish the war; to which purpose they would the *Thebans* to send ambassadors along with them to *Sparta*; who readily condescended, fearing otherwise that they should be left out of the treaty of peace, which came to pass, being so wrought by the couragious wisdom of *Epaminondas*, who understood far better than his countrymen, what was to be feared or hoped. In this treaty the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians* did soon agree; but when the *Thebans* offered to swear to the articles in the name of the *Beotians*, *Agessilus* required them to swear in their own name, and to leave the *Beotians* free, whom they had lately reduced under their obedience. Whereunto *Epaminondas* made answer, that the city of *Sparta* should give example to *Thebes*, by setting the *Lacemonians* free; for that the signiory of *Beotia* did by as good right appertain to the *Thebans* as that of *Laconia* to the *Spartans*. This was well and truly spoken; but was heard with no patience.

No. XLIX.

of the *Lacedemonians*, to set at liberty the places over which king *Amyntas* did tyrannize, had almost now driven him out of his dominions, and taken all to themselves. The citizens of *Acanthus* and of *Apollonia*, being nearest unto the danger of those incroaching neighbours, acquainted the *Lacedemonians* with their fear, affirming that this dominion of the *Olynthians* would be too strong for all *Greece*, if continuance of time should give it reputation, which only it wanted; wherefore they requested assistance, but in such terms as did sound of compulsion; protesting that either they must war upon *Olynthus*, or become subject unto her, and fight in her defence. Hereupon was made a hasty levy of men, two thousand being presently sent away with promise to be seconded by a greater army. Whilst these two thousand gave such beginning to the war, as agreed with their small number, the body of the army following them surprized the citadel of *Thebes*, which was betrayed into the hand of *Phebidas* the *Lacedemonian*, by some of the magistrates, who sought to strengthen their faction by the slavery of their country. The *Thebans* were ill affected to *Sparta*, but had not in any one point violated the peace lately made between them; which caused the *Lacedemonians* to doubt whether this act of *Phebidas* were more worthy of reward or of punishment: in conclusion, profit so far over-weighed honesty, that the deed was approved, many principal citizens of *Thebes* condemned to death, many driven into banishment, and the traytors rewarded with the government of the city; by whose authority, and the force of the garrison, the *Thebans* were compelled to serve the *Lacedemonians*, in all, and more than all that they could require. This access of power having strengthened the *Lacedemonians*, caused them to entertain the greater forces about *Olynthus*, which (notwithstanding the loss of one great battel, and some other disasters) they compelled at length by famine to render it self to their obedience.

S E C T. XI.

How the Thebans recovered their liberty, driving out the Lacedemonian garrison.

AFTER this *Olynthian* war, which endured almost three years, it seemed that no estate in *Greece* was able to make head against that of *Sparta*: but it was not long ere the *Thebans* found means to shake off their yoke, and gave both example and means to others to do the like. One of the banished men found by conference with a scribe of the *Theban* magistrates coming to *Athens*, that the tyranny wherewith his country was oppressed, pleased him no better than it did those who for fear of it were fled from home. Whereupon a plot was laid between these two, that soon found very good success, being managed thus. Seven of the banished men forsook *Athens* privily, and enter'd by night into the fields of *Thebes*; where spending the next day secretly, they came late in the evening to the gates like husband-men returned from work, and so passed undiscovered unto the house of *Charon*, whom *Phyllidas* the scribe had drawn

into the conspiracy. The day following, a solemn feast being then held in the city, *Phyllidas* promised the governours, who were insolent and lustful men, that he would convey unto them that night the most beautiful dames of the town, with whom they should take their pleasure. Having cheered them with such hope, and plenty of good wine, he told them when the time of performance (which they urged) came, that he could not make good his promise, unless they would dismiss their followers; because the gentlewomen, who attended without in a chamber, would not endure, that any of the servants should see their faces. Upon this occasion the attendants were dismissed, and the conspirators, attired like ladies and their maids, brought into the place; who taking advantage of the governours loose behaviour, slew them all upon the sudden with daggers, which they brought hidden under their garments. Then presently casting off their disguise, they went to other places, where feigning themselves to come to the governours upon business, they got admittance, and likewise slew those that were of the *Lacedemonian* faction. By the like device they broke into the prison, slew the goaler, and set at liberty such as they thought meet; and being followed by these desperate men, proclaimed liberty, making the death of the tyrants known. The captain of the castle hearing the sudden proclamation, thought the rebels to be stronger than indeed they were: the citizens contrariwise mistrusted, that it was a practice to discover such, as would be forward upon occasion of revolting. But as soon as day-light revealed the plain truth, all the people took arms, and besieged the castle, sending hastily to *Athens* for succour. The garrison also sent for aid unto the towns adjoining, whence a few broken troops coming to the rescue, were defeated on the way, by the horse-men of *Thebes*. On the other side, the banished *Thebans* did not only make speed to assist their country-men, but procured some *Athenians* to join with them, and thereby came so strong into the city, that the castle was yielded more through fear than any necessity, upon condition that the soldiers might quietly depart with their arms; for which composition the captain at his return to *Sparta* was put to death. When the news of the doings at *Thebes*, and the success arrived at *Sparta*, an army was raised forthwith, and all things prepared as earnestly for the recovering of that city, as if some part of their ancient inheritance had been taken from the *Lacedemonians*, and not a town perfidiously usurped by them, restored to her own liberty. *Cleombrotus*, one of the kings, was sent on this expedition; who, having wearied his followers with a toilsome winter's journey, returned home without any good or harm done; leaving *Sphodrias*, with part of his army, at *Thespies*, to infect the *Thebans*; who, doing them some displeasures, made large amends by a foolish attempt upon the haven of *Athens*, which failing to take, he wasted the country adjoining, and drove away cattle, causing by this outrage the *Athenians* to enter with all their power into the war, out of which they were before very carefully seeking how to withdraw themselves.

C H A P. XII.

Of the flourishing estate of Thebes, from the battel of Leuctra to the battel of Mantinea.

S E C T. I.

How Thebes and Athens joined together against Sparta. How the Athenians made peace for themselves and others, out of which the Thebans were excluded. The battel of Leuctra, and beginning of the Theban greatness.

THE Lacedemonians were men of great resolution, and of much gravity in all their proceedings, but one dishonourable rule they held, that all respects withstanding the commodity of Sparta were to be neglected; the practice of which doctrine, even by the best and wisest of them, did greatly blemish that estate; but when it was put in execution by insufficient over-weening men, it seldom failed to bring upon them, instead of profit unjustly expected, both shame and loss. And so it befel them in these enterprises of Pheidias, upon the castle of Thebes, and Sphodrias upon the Pireus. For howsoever Agesilaus did spoil the country about Thebes, in which he spent two summers, yet the diligence of the Thebans repaired all, who by the good success of some attempts grew stronger than they were at the first.

The Athenians likewise began to look abroad, failing to the isle of Corcyra, where they ordered things at their pleasure, and, having in some fights at sea prevailed, began, as in the Peloponnesian war, to surround Peloponnesus with a navy; afflicting so the Lacedemonians, that had not the Thebans by their insolency wearied their friends, and caused them to seek for peace, it had been very likely that the course of this war should have soon come to a good end, which nevertheless being prosecuted by the Thebans (who opposed at once both these two great estates) left the city of Sparta as much dejected, as the beginning found it proud and tyrannous. But the Athenians perceiving how Thebes encroach'd every day upon her weak neighbours, not sparing such as had been dependants upon Athens, and finding themselves, whilst engaged in such a war, unable to relieve their complaining friends, resolved to settle the affairs of Greece, by renewing that form of peace which Antalcidas had brought from the Persian. Wherefore they sent messengers to Thebes, peremptorily signifying, that it was their intent to finish the war; to which purpose they willed the Thebans to send ambassadors along with them to Sparta; who readily condescended, fearing otherwise that they should be left out of the treaty of peace, which came to pass, being so wrought by the courageous wisdom of Epaminondas, who understood far better than his countrymen, what was to be feared or hoped. In this treaty the Lacedemonians and Athenians did soon agree; but when the Thebans offered to swear to the articles in the name of the Boeotians, Agesilaus required them to swear in their own name, and to leave the Boeotians free, whom they had lately reduced under their obedience. Whereunto Epaminondas made answer, that the city of Sparta should give example to Thebes, by setting the Lacedemonians free; for that the signiory of Boeotia did by as good right appertain to the Thebans, as that of Laconia to the Spartans. This was well and truly spoken; but was heard with no patience:

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For Agesilaus bearing a vehement hatred unto those of Thebes, by whom he was drawn back out of Asia into Greece, and disappointed of all the glory which he had hoped to achieve by the Persian war, did now passionately urge that point of setting the Boeotians at liberty, and finding it as obstinately refused, he dash'd the name of the Thebans out of the league. At the same time Cleombrotus, the other king of Sparta, lay in Phocis, who received command from the governours of Sparta forthwith to enter upon the land of the Thebans with all his power, which he did, and was there slain at Leuctra, and with him the flower of his army. This battel of Leuctra being one of the most famous that ever were fought between the Greeks, was not so notable for any circumstance foregoing it, or for the managing of the fight it self, as for the death of the king, and many citizens of Sparta; but especially, for that after this battel (between which and the conclusion of the general peace, there passed but twenty days) the Lacedemonians were never able to recover the strength and reputation which had formerly made them redoubted far and near; whereas contrariwise the Thebans, whose greatest ambition had in former times confined it self unto the little region of Boeotia, did now begin to undertake the leading and command of many people and estates, in such wise, that soon after they brought an army of threescore and ten thousand strong unto the gates of Sparta. So much do the afflictions of an hard war valiantly endured, advance the affairs of the distressed, and guide them into the way of conquest by stiffening that resolution with a manly temper, which wealth and ease had through luxury, recklessness, and many other vices or vanities, made rusty and effeminate.

S E C T. II.

How the Athenians took upon them to maintain the peace of Greece. New troubles hence arising, Epaminondas invades and wasteth the territory of Lacedemon.

THE Athenians refusing to take advantage of this overthrow fallen upon their old enemies and new confederates the Lacedemonians; did nevertheless finally give them to understand, that their dominion was expired, and therefore their pride might well be laid away. For, taking upon themselves the maintenance of the peace lately concluded, which Agesilaus (perhaps of purpose to make benefit of quarrels that might arise) had left imperfect, they assembled the deputies of all the estates confederated at Athens; where the general liberty of all towns, as well small as great, was ratified, under the stile of the Athenians, and their associates. Hereupon began fresh garboils. The Mantineans claiming power by this decree to order their affairs at their own pleasure did (as it were) in despite of the Spartans, who had enforced them to raise their town, re-edify it, and ally themselves with such of the Arcadians as stood worst affected to Sparta. The Arcadians, a strong nation, consisting of many cities, were distracted with factions; some desiring to hold good correspondence with the Lacedemonians,

some

some to weaken and keep them low ; yet all pretending other ends. The *Lacedemonians* durst not give impeachment to the *Mantineans* ; nor take upon them to correct their ill-willers among the *Arcadians* , till such time as the factions broke out into violence, and each part called in foreign help. Then was an army sent from *Sparta*, as it were in defence of the people of *Tegea*, against the *Mantineans*, but indeed against them both. *Agésilas* had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The *Thebans* had by this time subdued the *Phocians*, and were become head of the *Locrians*, *Acarrians*, *Eubœans*, and many others ; with the power of which countries, they enter'd *Peloponnesus* in favour of the *Arcadians*, who had, upon expectation of their coming, abstained from giving battel to *Agésilas*. The army of the *Spartans* being dismissed, and *Epaminondas* joined with the *Arcadians*, the region of *Laconia* was invaded and spoiled : a thing so strange, that no oracle could have found belief if any had foretold it. Almost six hundred years were spent, since the *Dorians*, under the posterity of *Hercules*, had seized upon *Laconia*, in all which time, the sound of an enemy's trumpet was not heard in that country : ten years were not fully past since all *Greece* was at the devotion of the *Spartans* : but now the region which neither *Xerxes* with his huge army could once look upon, nor the mighty forces of *Athens*, and other enemy-states had dared to set foot on, saving by stealth, was all on a light fire, the very smoak whereof the women of *Sparta* were ashamed to behold. All which indignity notwithstanding, the *Lacedemonians* did not issue out of *Sparta* to fight, but sought how to preserve the town, setting at liberty as many of their *Heilotes* or slaves, as were willing to bear arms in defence of the state, and somewhat pitifully entreated the *Athenians* to give them succour. From *Corinth* and some towns of *Peloponnesus* they received speedy assistance ; the *Athenians* came forward more slowly, so that *Epaminondas* returned without battel, having rebuilt the city of *Messene*, and peopled it anew by calling home the ancient inhabitants, whom the *Lacedemonians* many ages before had chased away into other countries, possessing their territories themselves.

S E C T. III.

The composition between Athens and Sparta for command in war against the Thebans ; who again invade and spoil Peloponnesus. The unfortunate presumption of the Arcadians.

THIS journey therefore utterly defaced the reputation of the *Spartans*, in such wise that they did no longer demand the conduct of the army which was to be raised, nor any manner of precedence : but sending ambassadors from *Sparta*, and from all the cities which held league with it, unto *Athens*, they offered to yield the admiralty to the *Athenians*, requesting that they themselves might be generals by land. This had been a composition well agreeing with the situation and quality of these two cities ; but it was rejected, because the mariners and others that were to be employed at sea, were men of no mark or estimation, in regard of those companies of horse and foot whereof the land army was compounded, who being all gentlemen or citizens of *Athens* were to have served under the *Lacedemonians*. Wherefore it was agreed that the authority should be divided by time, the *Athenians* ruling five days, the *Lacedemonians* other five, and so successively that each of them should have command of all, both by land and sea. It is manifest,

that in this conclusion vain ambition was more regarded than the common profit, which must of necessity be very slowly advanced, where consultation, resolution, and performance are so often to change hands. This appeared by a second invasion of *Peloponnesus*, wherein the *Thebans* found their enemies so unable to impeach them, that having fortified *Isthmus* from sea to sea, as in former times they had done against *Xerxes*, they were driven out of their strength by *Epaminondas*, who foraged the country without resistance. But as the articles of this league between *Athens* and *Sparta* did, by dividing the conduct in such manner, disable the society, and make it insufficient to those ends for which it was concluded ; so the example of it wrought their good, by filling the enemies heads with the like vanity. For the *Arcadians* considering their own numbers which they brought into the field, and having found by many tryals that their people were not inferior to others in strength of body, in courage, or in good soldiership, thought it good reason that they should in like manner share the government with their friends the *Thebans* ; and not always continue followers of others, by encreasing whose greatness, they should strengthen their own yoke. Hereupon they began to demean themselves very insolently, whereby they grew hateful to their neighbours, and suspected of the *Thebans* in an ill time. For a motion of general peace having been made (which took not effect, because the city of *Messene* was not abandoned to the *Lacedemonians*) the next enterprize of the *Spartans* and their friends was upon these *Arcadians*, who relying too much upon their own worth, were overthrown in a great battel, their calamity being as pleasing to their confederates as to their enemies.

S E C T. IV.

The great growth of the Theban estate. Embassages of the Greeks to the Persian ; with the reasons why he most favoured the Thebans. Troubles in the Persian empire. The fruitless issue of the embassages.

THE *Thebans* especially rejoiced at the *Arcadians* misfortune, considering, that, without their aid, the success of all enterprizes proved so ill ; whereas they themselves had by their own power accomplished very well whatsoever they took in hand, and were become not only victorious over the *Lacedemonians*, but patrons over the *Thessalians*, and moderators of the great quarrels that had risen in *Macedonia*, where compounding the differences about that kingdom, as pleased them best, they carried *Philip* the son of *Amyntas*, and father of *Alexander* the Great, as an hostage unto *Thebes*. Having therefore obtained such reputation that little seemed wanting to make them absolute commanders of all *Greece*, they sought means of alliance with the *Persian* king, to whom they sent ambassador the great and famous captain *Pelopidas*, whose reputation drew *Artaxerxes* to grant unto the *Thebans* all that they desired ; whereof two especial points were, that *Messene* should remain free from the *Lacedemonians*, and that the *Athenians* should forbear to send their ships of war to sea ; only, the latter of these two was somewhat qualified with reference to farther advice. The other states of *Greece* did also send their ambassadors at the same time, of whom few or none received much contentment. For the king having found by long experience, how far it concerned him to maintain a sure party in *Greece*, did upon many weighty considerations re-

solve to bind the *Thebans* firmly unto him; justly expecting, that their greatness should be on that side his own security. The *Athenians* had been ancient enemies to his crown; and, having turn'd the profit of their victories upon the *Persian*, to the purchase of a great estate in *Greece*, maintain'd their signiory in such puissant manner, that (sundry grievous misfortunes notwithstanding) they had endur'd a terrible war, wherein the *Lacedemonians* being follow'd by most of the *Greeks*, and supply'd with treasure, and all sorts of aid, by *Darius Notbus*, were not able to vanquish them, till their own indiscretion brought them on their knees. The *Lacedemonians* being victorious over *Athens*, had no sooner established their dominion at home, than they undertook the conquest of *Asia*, from which, tho' by the commotion raised in *Greece* with *Persian* gold, they were called back; yet having renew'd their power, and settled things in *Greece*, it was not unlikely that they should upon the next advantage have pursued the same enterprize, had not they been impeached by this *Theban* war. But the *Thebans* contrariwise had always discovered a good affection to the crown of *Persia*. They had sided with *Xerxes*, in his invasion of *Greece*; with *Darius* and the *Lacedemonians*, against *Athens*; and finally, having offer'd much contumely to *Aegleus*, when he put to sea, they drew him home by making war on the confederates of *Sparta*. Besides all these their good deservings, they were no sea-men, and therefore unlikely to look abroad, whereunto if perchance they should have any desire, yet were they disabled by the want of good haven towns, which they could not seize upon without open breach of that peace, whereof they intended to become the executors, giving liberty to all cities that had at any time been free. Wherefore *Artaxerxes* did wholly condescend unto the requests of *Pelopidas*, as far forth as he might without giving open defiance to the rest of *Greece*; and by that means he purchased his own quiet, being never afterwards molested by that nation in the lower *Asia*. The ill means, which the *Greeks* had to disturb *Artaxerxes*, was very beneficial to the estate of *Persia* shortly after these times, in that great rebellion of all the maritime provinces. For had then the affairs of *Greece* been so composed, that any one city might, without impeachment of the rest, have transported an army to assist the revolting *Satrapæ*, or viceroys of *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Myfia*, *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Pamphilia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phenicia*, human reason can hardly find the means, by which the empire could have been preserv'd from that ruin, which the divine council had deter'd unto the days of *Alexander*. But this great conspiracy of so many large and wealthy provinces, wanting a firm body of good and hardy soldiers, was in short space discuss'd and vanish'd like a mist, without effect: these effeminate *Asiatics*, wearied quickly with the travels and dangers incident to war, forsaking the common cause, and each man striving to be the first that, by treason to his company, should both redeem the former treason to his prince, and purchase withal his own promotion with increase of riches. Of this commotion, which in course of time follow'd some actions not as yet related, I have rather chosen to make short mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the narration of things more important; but for that it was likely a sudden storm, rashly commenced, idly follow'd, and foolishly laid down, having made a great noise without effect, and having small reference to any other action regardable; as also because in the whole reign of *Artaxerxes*, from the

war of *Cyrus* to the invasion of *Egypt*, I find nothing (this insurrection, and a fruitless journey against the *Cadusians* excepted) worthy of any mention, much less of digression from the course of the business in *Greece*. All, or the most of his time, passed away so quietly, that he enjoy'd the pleasures which an empire so great and wealthy could afford unto so absolute a lord, with little disturbance. The troubles which he found were only or chiefly domestical; growing out of the hatred which *Parysatis*, the queen-mother, bare unto his wife *Statira*, and to such as had been the greatest enemies to her son *Cyrus*, or gloried in his death: upon whom, when by poison and mischievous practices she had satisfy'd her feminine appetite of revenge, thenceforth she wholly apply'd herself to the king's disposition, cherishing in him the leud desire of marrying his own daughter, and filling him with the persuasion, which princes, not endued with an especial grace, do readily entertain, That his own will was the supreme law of his subject, and the rule by which all things were to be measured, and adjudg'd to be good or evil. In this imaginary happiness *Pelopidas*, and the other ambassadors of *Greece*, both found and left him; but left him by so much more assured than they found him, by how much the conclusion of his treaty with them, being altogether to his own advantage, did seem to promise, if not the perpetuity, a long endurance of the same felicity to him and his; or (at the least) a full security of danger from *Greece*, whence only could any danger be fear'd. But such foundations of eternity laid by mortal men in this transitory world, like the tower of *Babel*, are either shaken from heaven, or made vain and unprofitable, ere the frame can be raised to full height, by confusion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the *Thebans*, and other estates of *Greece*, that had sent ambassadors to the *Persian*. For whereas it had been concluded, that all towns, as well the little as the great, should be set at liberty, and the *Thebans* made protectors of this common peace, who thereby should become the judges of all controversies that might arise, and leaders in war of all that would enter into this confederacy; the king's letters being solemnly publish'd at *Thebes*, in the presence of ambassadors, drawn thither from all parts of *Greece*; when an oath was required for observation of the form of peace therein set down, a dilatory answer was made by the ambassadors, who said that they were sent to hear the articles, not to swear unto them. Hereby the *Thebans* were driven to send unto each of the cities to require the oath, but in vain. For when the *Corinthians* had boldly refused it, saying, That they did not need it; others took courage by their example to do the like, disappointing the *Thebans* of their glorious hopes, to whom this negotiation with *Artaxerxes* gave neither addition nor confirmation of greatness, but left them as it found them, to rely upon their own swords.

SECT. V.

How all Greece was divided, between the Athenians and Lacedemonians on the one side, and Thebans on the other. Of the great tumults rising in Arcadia.

THE condition of things in *Greece* at that time did stand thus. *Athens* and *Sparta*, which in former times had commanded all that nation, and each upon envy of the other's greatness drawn all their followers into a cruel intestine war, by which the whole country, and especially the estate of these

two cities, was brought very low, did now conjoin their forces against the *Thebans*, who sought to make themselves lords of all. The *Eleans*, *Corinthians*, and *Achaïans*, followed the party of these ancient governing cities; either for the old reputation of them, and benefits received; or in dislike of those who by strong hand were ready to become rulers, to which authority they could not suddenly aspire without some injury and much envy. The city of *Thebes* abounding with men whom necessity had made warlike, and many victories in few years had filled with great spirits, and being so mighty in dependants, that she had reduced all the continent of *Greece* without *Peloponnesus* (the region of *Attica*, and very little part beside excepted) under such acknowledgment, as wanted not much of mere vassalage, did hope to bring all *Peloponnesus* to the like obedience, wherein already she had set good footing by her conjunction with the states of *Argos*, and of *Arcadia*. The *Argives* had been always bad neighbours to the *Spartans*, to whom they thought themselves in ancient nobility superiors; but were far under them in valour, having been often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of losing all; which caused them to suspect and envy nothing more than the greatness and honour of *Sparta*; taking truce with her when she was at rest, and had leisure to bend her whole force against them; but firmly joining with her enemies whensoever they found her entangled in a difficult war. As the *Argives* were, in hatred of *Sparta*, sure friends of *Thebes*, so the *Arcadians*, transported with a great opinion of their own worthiness, had formerly renounced and provoked against them their old confederates and leaders, the *Lacedemonians*, and were now become very doubtful adherents to the *Thebans*. In which regard it was thought convenient by *Epaminondas*, and the state of *Thebes*, to send an army into *Peloponnesus*, before such time as these wavering friends should fall further off, and become either neutral, or, which was to be feared, open enemies. And surely great cause there was to suspect the worst of them, considering that without consent of the *Thebans*, they had made peace with *Athens*; which was very strange, and seemed no less to the *Athenians* themselves, who holding a firm league with *Sparta* at the same time when the *Arcadians* treated with them, did nevertheless accept this new confederacy, not relinquishing the old, because they found that, howsoever these *Arcadians* were enemies to the *Lacedemonians*, they should hereby be drawn somewhat further from their alliance with *Thebes*, which without them was unlikely to invade *Peloponnesus* with a strong army. But this did rather hasten, than by any means stay, the coming of *Epaminondas*; who finding the way somewhat more clear for him (because the city of *Corinth*, which lay upon the isthmus, and had been adverse to *Thebes*, was now, by miseries of this grievous war, driven to become neutral) took occasion hereby, and by some disorders among the *Arcadians*, to visit *Peloponnesus* with an army, consisting of all the power of *Thebes*. A great tumult had risen in *Arcadia* about consecrated money, which many principal men among them had laid hands on, under pretence of employing it to publick uses. In compounding the differences grown upon this occasion, such as had least will to render account of the money which had come into their hands, procured the captain of some *Theban* soldiers, lying in *Tegea*, to take prisoners many of their countrymen, as people desirous of innovation. This was done: but the uproar thereby caused was so great, that the prisoners were forthwith enlarged,

and the *Arcadians*, who had in great numbers taken arms, with much ado scarce pacified. When complaint of the captains proceedings came to *Thebes*, *Epaminondas* turned all the blame upon them who had made the peace with *Athens*, letting them know, that he would be shortly among them, to judge of their fidelity, by the assistance which they should give him in that war which he intended to make in *Peloponnesus*. These lordly words did greatly amaze the *Arcadians*; who needing not the aid of so mighty a power as he drew along with him, did vehemently suspect that great preparation to be made against themselves. Hereupon such of them, as had before sought means to settle the affairs of their country, by drawing things to some good conclusion of peace, did now forthwith send to *Athens* for help; and withal dispatched some of the principal among them as ambassadors to *Sparta*, by whom they offered themselves to the common defence of *Peloponnesus*, now ready to be invaded. This embassy brought much comfort to the *Lacedemonians*, who feared nothing more than the coming of *Epaminondas*, against whom they well knew that all their forces, and best provisions, would be no more than very hardly sufficient. Forbearing therefore to dispute about prerogatives, they (who had been accustomed unto such a supremacy, as they would in no wise communicate with the powerful city of *Athens*, till other hope of securing their own estate could not be thought upon) did now very gently yield to the *Arcadians*, that the command of the army in chief should be given, for the time, to that city, in whose territory it lay.

S E C T. VI.

A terrible invasion of Peloponnesus by Epaminondas.

Certain it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a very firm consent, and uniform care of the common safety. For besides the great forces raised out of the other parts of *Greece*, the *Argives* and *Alessinians*, prepared with all their strength to join with *Epaminondas*; who having lain a while at *Nemica*, to intercept the *Athenians*, received there intelligence, that the army coming from *Athens* would pass by sea; whereupon he dislodged, and came to *Tegea*, which city, and the most of all *Arcadia* besides, forthwith declared themselves his. The common opinion was, that the first attempt of the *Thebans*, would be upon such of the *Arcadians* as had revolted; which caused the *Lacedemonian* captains to fortify *Manitina* with all diligence, and to send for *Agefilus* to *Sparta*, that he bringing with him all that small force of able men, which remained in the town, they might be strong enough to abide *Epaminondas* there. But *Epaminondas* held so good espial upon his enemies, that had not an unknown fellow brought hastily advertisement of his purpose to *Agefilus*, who was then well onward in the way to *Manitina*, the city of *Sparta* had suddenly been taken. For thither with all speed and secrecy did the *Thebans* march, who had surely carried the city, notwithstanding any defence that could have been made by that handful of men remaining within it; but that *Agefilus* in all flying haste got into it with his companies, whom the army of his confederates followed thither to the rescue as fast as it was able. The arrival of the *Lacedemonians* and their friends, as it cut off all hope from *Epaminondas* of taking *Sparta*, so it presented him with a fair advantage upon *Manitina*. It was the time of harvest, which made

made it very likely that the *Mantineans*, finding the war to be carried from their walls into another quarter, would use the commodity of that vacation, by fetching in their corn, and turning out their cattle into their fields, whilst no enemy was near that might impeach them. Wherefore he turned away from *Sparta* to *Mantineia*, sending his horsemen before him, to seize upon all that might be found without the city. The *Mantineans* (according to the expectation of *Epaminondas*) were scattered abroad in the country; far more intent upon their harvest-business, than upon the war, whereof they were secure, as thinking themselves out of distance. By which presumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their cattle, being unable to recover the town, were in a desperate case; and the town it self in no great likelihood of holding out, when the enemy should have taken all their provision of victuals with so many of the people, as had not over-dearly been redeemed, by that city's returning to society with *Thebes*. But at the same time, the *Athenians* coming to the succour of their confederates, whom they thought to have found at *Mantineia*, were very earnestly entreated by the citizens to rescue their goods, and people, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were possible by any couragious adventure to deliver those who otherwise were given as lost. The *Thebans* were known at that time to be the best soldiers of all the *Greeks*; and the commendation of good horsemanship had always been given to the *Thessalians*, as excelling in that quality all other nations; yet the regard of honour so wrought upon the *Athenians*, that for the reputation of their city, which had entered into this war, upon no necessity of her own, but only in desire of relieving her distressed friends, they issued forth of *Mantineia*, not abiding so long as to refresh themselves, or their horses with meat; and giving a lusty charge upon the enemy, who as bravely received them, after a long and hot fight, they remained masters of the field, giving by this victory a safe and easy retreat to all that were without the walls. The whole power of the *Beotians* arrived in the place soon after this battle, whom the *Lacedemonians* and their assistants were not far behind.

SECT. VII.

The great battle of Mantinea. The honourable death of Epaminondas, with his commendation.

E*paminondas*, considering that his commission was almost now expired, and that his attempts of surprising *Sparta* and *Mantineia* having failed, the impression of terror, which his name had wrought in the *Peloponnesians*, would soon vanish, unless by some notable act he should abate their courage in their first growth, and leave some memorable character of his expedition; resolved to give them battle, whereby he reasonably hoped both to settle the doubtful affections of his own associates, and to leave the *Spartans* as weak in spirit and ability as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into subjection. Having therefore warned his men to prepare for that battle, wherein victory should be rewarded with lordship of all *Greece*; and finding the alacrity of his soldiers to be such, as promised the accomplishment of his own desire; he made shew of declining the enemy, and intrenching himself in a place of more advantage, that so by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, he might allay the heat of their valour, and afterwards strike their senses with amazement, when he should come upon them unexpected. This opinion decei-

ved him not: for with very much tumult, as in so great and sudden a danger, the enemy ran to arms, necessity enforcing their resolution, and the consequence of that day's service urging them to do as well as they might. The *Theban* army consisted of 30000 foot, and 3000 horse; the *Lacedemonians* and their friends were short of this number, both in horse and foot, by a third part. The *Mantineans* (because the war was in their country) stood in the right wing, and with them the *Lacedemonians*: the *Athenians* had the left wing, the *Acheans*, *Eleans*, and others of less account, filled the body of the army. The *Thebans* stood in the left wing of their own battle, opposite to the *Lacedemonians*, having by them the *Arcadians*; the *Eubceans*, *Locrans*, *Sicyonians*, *Messenians*, and *Thessalians* with others, compounding the main battle; the *Argives* held the right wing, the horsemen on each part were placed in the flanks, only a troop of the *Eleans* were in rear. Before the footmen could join, the encounter of the horse on both sides was very rough, wherein finally the *Thebans* prevailed, notwithstanding the valiant resistance of the *Athenians*: who not yielding to the enemy either in courage or skill, were over-laid with numbers, and so beaten upon by *Thessalian* slings, that they were driven to forsake the place, and leave their infantry naked. But this retreat was the less disgraceful, because they kept themselves together, and did not fall back upon their own footmen; but finding the *Theban* horse to have given them over, and withal discovering some companies of foot, which had been sent about by *Epaminondas*, to charge their battle in the rear, they broke upon them, routed them, and hewed them all in pieces. In the mean season the battle of the *Athenians* had not only to do with the *Argives*, but was hardly pressed by the *Theban* horsemen, in such wise that it began to open, and was ready to turn back, when the *Elean* squadron of horse came up to the relief of it, and restored all on that part. With far greater violence did the *Lacedemonians* and *Thebans* meet, these contending for dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour; so that equal courage and equal loss on both sides made the hope and appearance of victory to either equally doubtful; unless perhaps the *Lacedemonians* being very firm abiders, might seem the more likely to prevail, as having borne the first brunt and fury of the onset, which was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by discipline, as it were by nature, to excel in patience, whereof the *Thebans*, by practice of a few years, cannot be thought to have gotten a habit so sure and general. But *Epaminondas* perceiving the obstinate stiffness of the enemies to be such, as neither the bad success of their own horse, nor all the force of the *Beotian* army, could abate so far, as to make them give one foot of ground; taking a choice company of the most able men, whom he cast into the form of a wedge, or diamond, by the advantage of that figure against a squadron, and by his own exceeding virtue, accompanied with the great strength and resolution of them which followed him, did open their ranks, and cleave the whole battle in despite of all resistance. Thus was the honour of that day won by the *Thebans*, who may justly be said to have carried the victory, seeing that they remained masters of the ground whereon the battle was fought, having driven the enemy to lodge farther off. For that which was alledged by the *Athenians*, as a token that the victory was partly theirs, the slaughter of those mercenaries upon whom they lighted by chance in their own flight, finding them behind their army,

and the retaining of their dead bodies; it was a ceremony regardable only among the *Greeks*, and served merely for ostentation, shewing that by the fight they had obtained somewhat, which the enemy could not get from them otherwise than by request. But the *Thebans* arrived at the general immediate end of battel; none daring to abide them in the field: whereof a manifest confession is expressed from them, who forsake the place which they had chosen or accepted, as indifferent for tryal of their ability and prowess. This was the last work of the incomparable virtue of *Epaminondas*, who being in the head of that warlike troop of men, which broke the *Lacedemonian* squadron, and forced it to give back in disarray, was furiously charged on the sudden by a desperate company of the *Spartans*, who all at once threw their darts at him alone; whereby receiving many wounds, he nevertheless with a singular courage maintained the fight, using against the enemies many of their darts, which he drew out of his own body; till at length by a *Spartan*, called *Anticrates*, he received so violent a stroke with a dart, that the wood of it broke, leaving the iron and a piece of the trunchion in his breast. Hereupon he sunk down, and was soon conveyed out of the fight by his friends; having by his fall somewhat animated the *Spartans* (who fain would have got his body) but much more enflamed with revengeful indignation, the *Thebans*, who raging at this heavy mischance, did with great slaughter compel their disordered enemies to leave the field; though long they followed not the chase, being wearied more with the sadness of this disaster, than with all the travel of the day. *Epaminondas* being brought into his tent, was told by the physicians, that when the head of the dart should be drawn out of his body, he must needs die. Hearing this, he called for his shield, which to have lost was held a great dishonour: it was brought unto him. He bad them tell him which part had the victory, answer was made, that the *Bootians* had won the field. Then said he, it is fair time for me to die; and withal sent for *Iolidus* and *Diophantes*, two principal men of war that were both slain; which being told him, he advised the *Thebans* to make peace, whilst with advantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to discharge the office of a general. Herewithal he willed that the head of the weapon should be drawn out of his body; comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of issue, by telling them that the victories of *Leuctra* and *Mantineia* were two fair daughters, in whom his memory should live.

So died *Epaminondas*, the worthiest man that ever was bred in that nation of *Greece*, and hardly to be matched in any age or country: for he equalled all others in the several virtues, which in each of them were singular. His justice, and sincerity, his temperance, wisdom, and high magnanimity, were no way inferior to his military virtue; in every part whereof he so excelled, that he could not properly be called a wary, a valiant, a politick, a bountiful or an industrious, and a provident captain; all these titles, and many other, being due unto him, which with his notable discipline, and good conduct, made a perfect composition of an heroic general. Neither was his private conversation unanswerable to those high parts, which gave him praise abroad. For he was grave, and yet very affable and courteous; resolute in publick business, but in his own particular easy, and of much mildness; a lover of his people, bearing with mens infirmities, witty and pleasant in speech, far from insolence, master of his own affections, and furnished with all qualities

that might win and keep love. To these graces were added great ability of body, much eloquence and very deep knowledge in all parts of philosophy and learning, wherewith his mind being enlightened, rested not in the sweetness of contemplation, but broke forth into such effects as gave unto *Thebes* which had evermore been an underling, a dreadful reputation among all people adjoining, and the highest command in *Greece*.

S E C T. VIII.

Of the peace concluded in Greece after the battel of Mantineia. The voyage of Agesilaus into Egypt. His death and qualities; with an examination of the comparison made between him and Pompey the Roman.

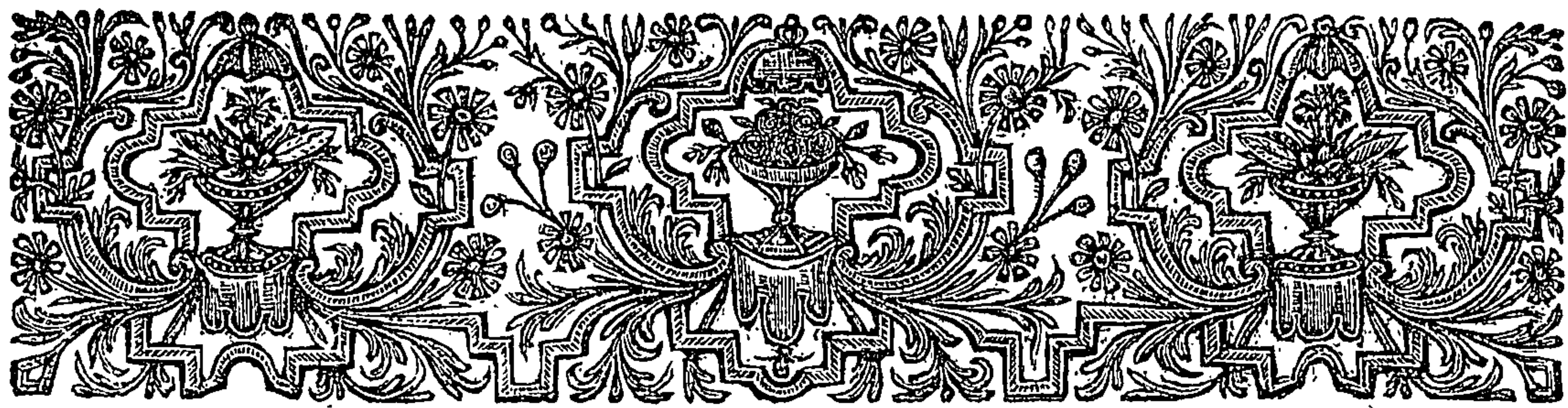
THIS battel of *Mantineia* was the greatest that ever had been fought in that country, between the naturals, and the last. For at *Marathon* and *Platea*, the populous armies of the barbarous nations gave rather a great fame, than a hard tryal to the *Grecian* valour; neither were the practice of arms and art military so perfect in the beginnings of the *Peloponnesian* war, as long continuance and daily exercise had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, those excepted which were undertaken against foreign enemies, proving for the most part unfortunate. But in this last fight, all *Greece* was interested, which never had more able foldiers, and brave commanders, nor ever contended for victory with greater care of the success, or more obstinate resolution. All which notwithstanding, the issue being such as hath been related, it was found best for every particular estate, that a general peace should be established, every one retaining what he presently had, and none being forced to depend upon another. The *Messenians* were by name comprised in this new league, which caused the *Lacedemonians* not to enter into it. Their standing out hindered not the rest from proceeding to conclusion; considering that *Sparta* was now too weak to offend her neighbours, and therefore might well be allowed to shew that anger in ceremonies which had no power to declare it self in execution. This peace, as it gave some breath and refreshing to all the country, so to the cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* it afforded leisure to seek after wealth by foreign employment in *Egypt*, whither *Agesilaus* was sent with some small forces to assist, or indeed, as a mercenary, to serve under *Tachos* king of *Egypt*, in his war upon *Syria*. *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who had before commanded under *Acoris* king of *Egypt*, went now as a voluntary, with such forces as he could raise by entreaty, and offer of good pay, to the same service. These *Egyptian* kings descended from *Amyrteus* of *Sais*, who rebelled against *Darius* *Nothus*, having retained the country notwithstanding all intestine dissensions and foreign invasions, during three generations of their own race, were so well acquainted with the valour of the *Greeks*, that by their help (easily procured with gold) they conceived great hope, not only to assure themselves, but to become lords of the provinces adjoining, which were held by the *Persian*. What the issue of this great enterprise might have been, had it not fallen by domestick rebellion, it is uncertain. But very likely it is, that the rebellion it self had soon come to nothing, if *Agesilaus* had not proved a false traitor, joyning with *Nectanebus*, who rose against his prince, and helping the rebel with that army which the money of *Tachos* had waged. This falshood *Agesilaus* executed,

fed, as tending to the good of his own country ; though it seems rather, that he grudged because the king took upon himself the conduct of the army, using his service only as lieutenant, who had made full account of being appointed the general. Howsoever it came to pass, *Tachos* being shamefully betrayed by them, in whom he had reposed his chief confidence, fled unto the *Persian*, who upon his submission gave him gentle entertainment ; and *Nectanebus* (who seems to have been the nephew of *Tachos*) reigned in his stead. At the same time the citizens of *Mendes* had set up another king, to whom all, or most of the *Egyptians* yielded their obedience. But *Agessilaus* fighting with him in places of advantage, prevailed so far, that he left *Nectanebus* in quiet possession of the kingdom ; who in recompense of his treason to the former king *Tachos*, and good service done to himself rewarded him with two hundred and thirty talents of silver, with which booty sailing homewards, he died by the way. He was a prince very temperate and valiant, and a good leader in war ; free from covetousness, and not reproached with any blemish of lust ; which praises are the less admirable in him, for that the discipline of *Sparta* was such as did endue every one of the citizens (not carried away by the violent stream of an ill nature) with all, or the chief, of these good qualities. He was nevertheless very arrogant, perverse, unjust, and vain-glorious, measuring all things by his own will, and obstinately prosecuting those courses whose ends were beyond hope. The expedition of *Xenophon* had filled him with an opinion, that by his hand the empire of *Persia* should be overthrown ; with which conceit being transported, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the *Thebans*, and their allies, he did ever after bear such hatred unto *Thebes*, as compelled that estate by mere necessity to grow warlike, and able, to the utter dis-

honour of *Sparta*, and the irreparable loss of all her former greatness. The commendations given to him by *Xenophon* his good friend, have caused *Plutarch* to lay his name in the balance against *Pompey* the Great ; whose actions (the solemn gravity of carriage excepted) are very disproportionate. Yet we may truly say, That as *Pompey* made great wars under sundry climates, and in all the provinces of the *Roman* empire, exceeding in the multitude of employments all that were before him ; so *Agessilaus* had at one time or other some quarrel with every town in *Greece* ; had made a war in *Asia*, and meddled in the business of the *Egyptians*, in which variety, he went beyond all his predecessors : yet not winning any countries, as *Pompey* did many, but obtaining large wages, which *Pompey* never took. Herein also they are very like, each of them was the last great captain which his nation brought forth in time of liberty, and each of them ruined the liberty of his country by his own lordly wilfulness. We may therefore well say, *Similia magis omnia quam paria* ; The resemblance was nearer than the equality. Indeed the freedom of *Rome* was lost with *Pompey*, falling into the hands of *Cæsar*, whom he had enforced to take arms ; yet the *Roman* empire stood, the form of government only being changed : but the liberty of *Greece*, or of *Sparta* it self, was not forfeited unto the *Thebans*, whom *Agessilaus* had compelled to enter into a victorious war ; yet the signiory, and ancient renown of *Sparta* was presently lost : and the freedom of all *Greece* being wounded in this *Theban* war, and after much blood lost, ill healed by the peace ensuing, did very soon upon the death of *Agessilaus* give up the ghost, and the lordship of the whole country was seized by *Philip* king of *Macedon*, whose actions are now on foot, and more to be regarded than the contemporary passages of things, in any other nation.

The End of the Third Book.





THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD:

INTREATING of the

*Times from the Reign of PHILIP of MACEDON,
to the establisbing of that Kingdom in the Race
of ANTIGONUS.*

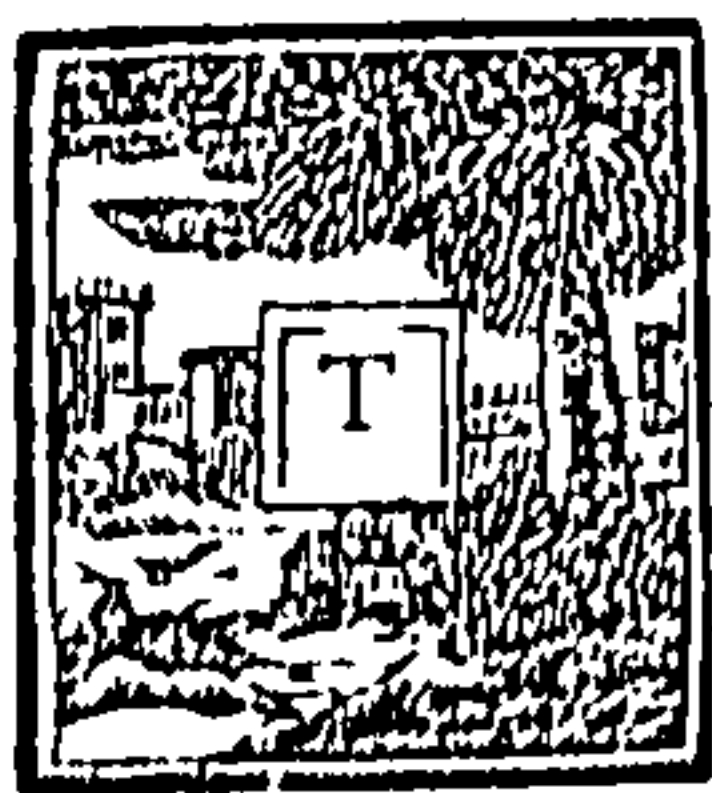
The FOURTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of Philip, the Father of Alexander the Great, King of Macedon.

SECT. I.

What kings reigned in Macedon before Philip.



THE *Greeks*, of whom we have already made large discourse, not as yet wearied with intestine war, nor made wise by their vain contention for superiority, do still, as in former times, continue the invasion and vastation of each other.

Against *Xerxes*, the greatest monarch of that part of the world, they defended their liberty with as happy success as ever nation had, and with no less honour than hath ever been acquired by deeds of arms. And having had a tryal, and experience, more than fortunate, against those nations, they so little regarded what might come from them, who had so often forfeited the reputation of their forces,

as whatsoever could be spared from their own distraction at home, they transported over the *Hellespont*, as sufficient to entertain and busy them withal.

But, as it commonly falleth out with every man of mark in the world, that they under-fall and perish by the hands and harms which they least fear; so fared it at this time with the *Greeks*. For of *Philip* of *Macedon* (of whom we are now to speak) they had so little regard, as they grew even then more violent in devouring each other, when the fast growing greatness of such a neighbour-king should, in regard of their own safeties, have served them for a strong argument of union and accord. But the glory of their *Persian* victories, wherewith they

they were pamp'rd and made proud, taught them to neglect all nations but themselves, and the rather to value at little the power and purposes of the *Macedonians*, because those kings and states, which sat nearer them than they did, had in the time of *Amyntas*, the father of *Philip*, so much weakened them, and won upon them, that they were not (as the *Grecians* perswaded themselves) in any one age, likely to recover their own, much less to work any wonders against their borderers. And indeed it was not in their philosophy to consider, that all great alterations are storm-like, sudden and violent; and that it is then over-late to repair the decayed and broken banks, when great rivers are once swollen, fast running, and enraged. No, the *Greeks* did rather imploy themselves, in breaking down those defences which stood between them and this inundation, than seek to rampare and re-enforce their own fields, which by the level of reason they might have found to have lain under it. It was therefore well concluded by *Orosius*, *Græciæ civitates dum imperare singulæ cupiunt, imperium omnes perdiderunt*; The cities of *Greece* lost their command, by striving each of them to command all.

The kingdom of *Macedon*, so called of *Macedon*, the son of *Osiris*, or, as other authors affirm, of *Jupiter* and *Ethra*, is the next region towards the north which bordereth *Greece*; it hath to the east, the *Egean* sea; it is bounded on the north and north-west, by the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*; and on the south and south-west, by *Thessaly* and *Epirus*.

Their kings were of the family of *Temenus*, of the race of *Hercules*, and by nation *Argives*; who are listed as followeth. About some six years after the translation of the *Assyrian* empire, *Arbaces* then governing *Media*, *Caranus* of *Argos*, commanded by an oracle to lead a colony into *Macedon*, departed thence with many people, and as he was marching through that country, the weather being rainy and tempestuous, he espied a great herd of goats, which fled the storm as fast as they could, hasting them to their known place of covert. Whereupon *Caranus* calling to mind, that he had also by ^b another oracle been directed to follow the first troop of beasts, that should either lead him or fly before him, he pursued these goats to the gates of *Edeffa*, and being undiscovered by the inhabitants, by reason of the darkness of the air, he enter'd their city without resistance, and possess'd it. ^c Soon after this, by the overthrow of *Cisseus*, *Caranus* became lord of the rest of *Macedon*, and held it eight and twenty years. *Cenus* succeeded *Caranus*, and reigned twelve years. *Tyrimas* followed *Cenus*, and ruled eight and twenty years.

Perdiccas the first, the son of *Tyrimas*, governed one and fifty years: a prince, for his great valour, and many other virtues, much renowned. ^d *Solinus*, *Pliny*, *Justin*, *Eusebius*, *Theophilus*, *Antiochenus*, and others affirm, that he appointed a place of burial for himself, and for all the kings of *Macedon* his successors, at *Egæ*; assuring them that the kingdom should so long continue in his line and race, as they continued to lay up their bodies in that sepulchre; wherein it is said, that because *Alexander* the great failed, therefore the posterity of the *Temenidæ* failed in him: a thing rather devised after the effect, as I conceive, than foretold by *Perdiccas*.

^e *Argæus* succeeded unto *Perdiccas*, and ruled eight and twenty years.

Philip the first, his successor, reigned twenty eight years.

Europus followed *Philip*, and governed six and twenty years: in whose infancy the *Illyrians* invaded *Macedon*, and having obtained a great victory, they pursued the same to the great danger of that state. Whereupon the *Macedonians* gathering new forces, and resolving either to recover their former loss, or to lose at once both their kingdom and their king, they carried him with them in his cradle into the field, and returned victorious; for they were either confident that their nation could not be beaten (their king being present) or rather they perswaded themselves that there was no man so void of honour and compassion, as to abandon their natural lord, being an infant, and no way (but by the hands of his servants) able to defend himself from destruction. The like is reported by *Aimanius*, of *Clotarus* the son of *Fredegunda*.

Alcetas succeeded *Eropus*, and ruled nine and twenty years.

Amyntas the first succeeded *Alcetas*, and reigned fifty years; he lived at such time as *Darius Hyastæses*, after his unprosperous return out of *Scythia*, sent *Magabazus* with an army into *Europe*, who, in *Xerxes*'s name required *Amyntas* to acknowledge him for his supreme lord, by yielding unto him earth and water. But his ambassadors, as you have heard before, were, for their insolent behaviour towards the *Macedonian* ladies, slain by the direction of *Alexander*, who was the son of *Amyntas* and his successor.

Alexander surnamed the rich, the son of *Amyntas*, governed *Macedon* three and forty years. He did not only appease the wrath of *Magabazus*, for the slaughter of the *Persian* ambassadors, by giving *Gygea* his sister, to *Bubares* of the blood of *Persia*, but by that match he grew so great in *Xerxes*'s grace, as he obtained all that region between the mountains of *Olympus* and *Hemus*, to be united to the kingdom of *Macedon*. Yet could not these benefits buy his affection from the *Greeks*. For *Xerxes* being returned into *Asia*, and *Mardonius* made general of the *Persian* army, ^b *Alexander* acquainted the *Greeks* with all his intents and purposes against them. He had three sons, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas*, and *Philip*.

Perdiccas the second, the son of *Alexander*, lived in the time of the *Peloponnesian* war, and reigned in all eight and twenty years. The wars which he made were not much remarkable: the story of them is found here and there by pieces, in *Thucydides*'s first six books. He left behind him two sons; *Perdiccas*, who was very young, and *Archelaus*, who was base born.

Perdiccas the third, being delivered to the custody and care of *Archelaus*, was at seven years of age cast into a well and drowned by his false guardian: who excusing this fact to *Cleopatra* the mother of the young king, said, that the child in following a goose hastily fell thereinto by misadventure. But *Archelaus* stayed not here: for having thus dispatched his brother, he slew both his uncle *Alcetas*, the son of *Alexander* the rich, and *Alexander* the son of this *Alcetas*, his cousin-german, and enjoyed the kingdom of *Macedon* himself four and twenty years.

This *Archelaus*, of whom both *Plato* and *Aristotle* make mention, though he made himself king

^a *Orosius*, l. 3. c. 12.
^c *Euseb.* in *Chron.*
^e *Plut.* *Euseb.* *Just.* &c.

^b *Paul.* *Dion. Chass.* *Theop.* *Antioch.* 6.
^d *Euseb.* *Justin.* *Ammian.* *The. Ant.* &c. *Aimon.* l. 3. c. 82.
^f *Plat.* in *Gorg.* *Arist.* in *Pol.* 5.

^e *Euseb.* in *Chron.*

^d *Sol.* c. 14 *Plin.* l. 4. c. 10.
^h *Her.* *Euseb.* *Justin.* &c.

by wicked murder, yet he performed many things greatly to the profit of his nation. It is said, That he fought by all means to draw *Socrates* unto him, and that he greatly loved and honoured *Euripides* the Tragedian. He had two sons, *Archelaus* and *Orestes*.

Archelaus the second succeeded his father, and having reigned seven years, he was slain in hunting, either by chance or of purpose, by *Crataeus*.

Orestes his younger son was committed to the education of *Æropus*, of the royal blood of *Macedon*, and had the same measure which *Archelaus* had measured to his pupil; for *Æropus* murdered him and usurped the kingdom, which he held some six years: the same who denied passage to *Agésilas* king of *Sparta*, who desired after his return from the *Asian* expedition, to pass by the way of *Macedon* into *Greece*.

^a This usurper left three sons, *Pausanias*, *Argæus*, and *Alexander*. *Pausanias* succeeded his father *Æropus*, and having reigned one year, he was driven out by *Amyntas* the son of *Philip*, the son of the first *Perdiccas*, the son of *Alexander* the rich; which *Philip* was then preserved, when *Archelaus* the bastard slew his brother *Perdiccas*, his uncle *Actas*, and his son *Alexander*. This *Amyntas* reigned (tho' very unquietly) 24 years; for he was not only infested by *Pausanias*, assisted by the *Thracians*, and by his brother *Argæus*; encouraged by the *Illyrians*; and by the said *Argæus*, for two years dispossest of *Macedon*: but on the other side, the *Olynthians*, his neighbours near the *Ægean* Sea, made themselves for a while masters of *Pelias*, the chief city of *Macedon*.

Amyntas the second had by his wife *Eurydice* the *Illyrian*, three sons; *Alexander* the second, *Perdiccas* the third, and *Philip* the second, father of *Alexander* the great; and one daughter called *Euryone* or *Exione*: he had also by his second wife *Gygea*, three sons; *Archelaus*, *Argæus*, and *Mene-laus*, afterwards slain by their brother *Philip*. He had more by a concubine, *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Alorites*, of the city *Alorus*, wherein he was born.

Alexander the second reigned not much above one year, in which time he was invaded by *Pausanias*, the son of *Æropus*, but defended by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*, while he was at that time about *Amphipolis*. He was also constrained (for the payment of a great sum of money) to leave his youngest brother *Philip* in hostage with the *Illyrians*, who had subjected his father *Amyntas* to the payment of tribute. After this, *Alexander* being invited by the *Alexandæ* against *Alexander* the tyrant of *Pheres* in *Thessaly*, having redeemed his brother *Philip*; to draw the *Thebans* to his assistance, entered into confederacy with *Pelopidas*, being at that time in the same country, with whom he also left *Philip*, with divers others principal persons for the gage of his promises to *Pelopidas*. But *Eurydice* his mother falling in love with her son-in-law, who had married her daughter *Euryone* or *Exione*, practised the death of *Alexander* her son, with a purpose to confer the kingdom on her paramour, which *Ptolemy Alorites* did put in execution: by means whereof he held *Macedon* for three years, but was soon after slain by *Perdiccas* the brother of *Alexander*. ^b *Diodore* hath it otherwise of *Philip's* being made pledge; and saith, That *Amyntas* his father delivered him for hostage to the *Illyrians*, by whom he was conveyed to *Thebes*, there to be kept: others report that *Philip* (while his father was yet living) was first engaged to the *Thebans*, and

delivered for hostage a second time by *Alexander* his brother.

Perdiccas the third, after he had slain *Alorites* his base brother, governed *Macedon* five years, and was then slain in battel against the *Illyrians*, according to *Diodorus*; but ^c *Justin* affirmeth, that he perished by the practice of *Eurydice* his mother, as *Alexander* did.

S E C T. II.

The beginning of Philip's reign, and how he delivered Macedon from the troubles wherein he found it entangled.

P*hilip* the second, the youngest son of *Amyntas* by *Eurydice*, having been instructed in all knowledge requisite unto the government of a kingdom, in that excellent education which he had under *Epaminondas*, ^d making an escape from *Thebes*, returned into *Macedon*, in the first year of the hundred and fifth *Olympiad*, which was after the building of *Rome* three hundred fourscore and thirteen years: and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the kingdom was environed, he took on him, not as king (for *Perdiccas* left a son, tho' but an infant) but as the protector of his nephew, and commander of the men of war. Yet his fruitful ambition soon overgrew his modesty, and he was easily persuaded by the people to accept both the title of king, and withal the absolute rule of the kingdom. And to say the truth, the necessity of the state of *Macedon* at that time required a king both prudent and active. For, besides the incursions of the *Illyrians* and *Pannonians*, the king of *Thrace* did set up in opposition *Pausanias*; the *Athenians*, *Argæus*; sons of the late usurper *Æropus*: each of these labouring to place in *Macedon* a king of their own election. These heavy burthens when *Philip* could not well bear, he bought off the weightiest by money, and by fair promises unloaded himself of so many of the rest, as he ran under the remainder happily enough. For, notwithstanding that his brother *Perdiccas* had his death accompanied with four thousand *Macedonians*, besides these that were wounded and taken prisoners; and that the *Pannonians* were destroying all before them in *Macedon*: and that the *Athenians* with a fleet by sea, and three thousand soldiers by land under *Mantias*, did beat upon him on all sides and quarters of his country: yet after he had practised the men of war of *Pannonia*; and corrupted them with gifts; and had also bought the king of *Thrace* from *Pausanias*, he forthwith made head against the *Athenians* his stiffest enemies; and, for the first, he prevented their recovery of *Amphipolis*, a city on the frontier of *Macedon*: and did then pursue *Argæus* the son of *Æropus*, set against him by the *Athenians*, and followed him so hard at the heels in his retreat from *Æges*, that he forced him to abide the battel: which *Argæus* lost, having the greatest part of his army slain in the place. Those of the *Athenians*, and others which remained unbroke, took the advantage of a strong piece of ground at hand, which tho' they could not long defend, yet avoiding thereby the present fury of the soldiers, they obtained of the vanquishers life and liberty to return into *Attica*. Whereupon a peace was concluded between him and the *Athenians* for that present, and for this clemency he was greatly renowned and honoured by all the *Greeks*.

^a Diod. Polyen. Plat. in Demet.

^b Diod. l. 13. & 16.

^c Just. l. 1.

^d Diod. l. 16.

SECT. III.

The good success which Philip had in many enterprises.

NOW had Philip leisure to look northward, and to attend the *Illyrians* and *Peonians*, his irreconcilable enemies and borderers: both which he invaded with so prosperous success, as he slew *Bardillas*, king of the *Illyrians*, with seven thousand of his nation, and thereby recovered all those places, which the *Illyrians* held in *Macedon*; and withal, upon the death of the king of *Pannonia*, he pierced that country, and, after a main victory obtained, he enforced them to pay him tribute. This was no sooner done, than (without staying to take longer breath) he halted speedily towards *Larissa*, upon the river *Peneus* in *Thessaly*, of which town he soon made himself master; and thereby he got good footing in that country, whereof he made use in time following. Now altho' he resolved either to subdue the *Thessalians*, or to make them his own against all others, because the horsemen of that country were the best, and most feared in that part of *Europe*; yet he thought it most for his safety to close up the entrances out of *Thrace*, lest while he invaded *Thessaly* and *Greece* towards the south, those ample nations, lying towards the north, should either withdraw him, or over-run *Macedon*, as in former times. He therefore attempted *Amphipolis*, seated on the famous river of *Strimon*, which parteth *Thrace* from *Macedon*, and won it. He also recovered *Pydna*; and (to the north of *Amphipolis*) the city of *Crenides* (sometime *Datus*) and called it after his own name *Philippi*: to the people whereof *St. Paul* afterward directed one of his epistles. This place, wherein *Philippi* stood, is very rich in mines of gold, out of which, greatly to the advancement of *Philip's* affairs, he drew yearly 1000 talents, which make 600000 *French* crowns.

And that he might with the more ease disburden the *Thracian* shores of the *Athenian* garrisons, to which he had given a great blow by the taking in of *Amphipolis*, he entered into league with his father's malicious enemies, the *Olynthians*; whom the better to fasten unto him, he gave them the city of *Pydna*, with the territory, meaning nothing less than that they should enjoy it, or their own estate many years.

Now that he might by degrees win ground upon the *Greeks*, he took the fair occasion to deliver the city of *Pheres* in *Thessaly*, from the tyranny of *Lycophron* and *Tisiphonus*. Who, after they had conspired with *Thebe* the wife of *Alexander*, who usurped upon the liberty of that state, they themselves (*Alexander* being murdered) held it also by the same strong hand and oppression that *Alexander* did, till by the assistance of *Philip* they were beaten out, and *Pheres* restored to her former liberty. Which act of *Philip* did for ever after fasten the *Thessalians* unto him, and, to his exceeding great advantage, bind them to his Service.

SECT. IV.

Of the Phocian war, which first drew Philip into Greece.

ABOUT this time, to wit, in the second year of the hundred and sixth *Olympiad*, eight years after the battel of *Alatinea*, and about

the eight year of *Artaxerxes Ochus*, began that war, called *Sacred*. Now, as all occasions concur towards the execution of eternal providence and of every great alteration in the world, there is some preceding preparation, tho' not at the first easily discerned; so did this revengeful hatred by the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, and *Locrians*, conceived against the *Phocians*, not only teach *Philip* how he might with half a hand wrest the sword out of their fingers; but the *Greeks* themselves beating down their own defences, to give him an easy passage, and beating themselves, to give him victory without peril, left nothing unperformed towards their own slavery, saving the title and imposition. Of this war the *Thebans* (made over-proud by their victory at *Leuctres*) were the inflamers. For at the council of the *Amphyctones*, or of the general estates of *Greece*, in which, at that time, they swayed most, they caused both the *Lacedemonians* and *Phocians* to be condemned in greater sums of money than they could well bear; the one for surprising the castle of *Cadmea* in the time of peace; the other for ploughing up a piece of ground belonging to the temple of *Delphos*. The *Phocians* being resolved not to obey this edict, were secretly set on and encouraged by the *Lacedemonians*: and for refusal were exposed as *Sacrileggers*, and accursed to all their neighbour-nations, for whom it was then lawful to invade and destroy them at their pleasures.

The *Phocians*, persuaded thereunto by *Philomelus*, a captain of their own, cast the same dice of hazard that *Cæsar* after many ages following did; but had not the same chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their own nation. And the better to bear out an ungracious quarrel, of which there was left no hope of composition, they resolved to sack the temple it self. For seeing, that for the ploughing of a piece of *Apollo's* ground, they had so much offended their neighbour-god, and their neighbour-nations, as worse could not befall them than already was intended; they resolved to take the gold with the ground, and either to perish for all, or to prevail against all that had commission to call them to account. The treasure which they took out of the temple in the beginning of the war was 10000 talents, which in those days served them to wage a great many men, and such was their success in the beginning of the war, as they won three great battels against the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, and *Locrians*, but being beaten in the fourth, their leader *Philomelus* cast himself headlong over the rocks.

In the mean while the cities of *Chersonesus*, both to defend themselves against their bad neighbour *Philip*, who encroached upon them, and to draw others into their quarrel, rendered themselves to the *Athenians*. *Philip* prepareth to get them into his hands, and at the siege of *Metone* lost one of his eyes. It is said, that he that shot him did purposely direct his arrow towards him, and that it was written on the shaft thereof: * *After Philippe, After to Philip*; for so he was called, that gave him the wound. This city he evened with the soil.

The tyrant *Lycophron* before-mentioned, while *Philip* was busied on the border of *Thrace*, and the *Thessalians* engaged in the holy war, entered *Thessaly* with new forces, being assisted by *Onomarchus*, commander of the *Phocian* army, in place of *Philomelus*. For hereby the *Phocians* hoped so to entertain the *Thessalians* at home, as they should not find leisure to invade them. Herupon was *Philip*

* Plut. Ulpian. Strab. l. 8.

the second time called into *Theffaly*; but both the *Theffalians* and *Macedonians* (*Philip* being present) were utterly overthrown by *Onomarchus*; and great numbers of both nations lost. From *Theffaly*, *Onomarchus* drew speedily towards *Bæotia*, and with the same victorious army brake the forces of the *Beotians*, and took from them their city of *Coronea*. But *Philip*, impatient of his late misadventure, after he had reinforced his army, returned with all speed into *Theffaly*, there to find again the honour which he lately lost: and was the second time encounter'd by *Onomarchus*, who brought into the field twenty thousand foot, and five hundred horse. All this great preparation sufficed not; for *Onomarchus* was by *Philip* surmounted, both in number and good fortune, his army overturned, six thousand slain, and three thousand taken; of which number, himself being one, was among others hanged by *Philip*. Those that fled were in part received by the *Athenian* gallies, which sailed along the coast, commanded by *Chares*; but the greatest number of those that took the sea, were therein devoured ere they recovered them. *Lycophron* was now again driven out of *Theffaly*, and *Pheres* made free as before.

S E C T. V.

Of the Olynthian war. The ambitious practices of Philip.

FROM hence *Philip* resolved to invade *Phocis* it self, but the *Athenians* did not favour his entrance into those parts; and therefore with the help of the *Lacedemonians* they retrench'd his passage at the streights of *Thermopylis*. Whereupon he returned into *Macedon*, and after the taking of *Micyberne*, *Torone*, and other towns, he quarrelled with the *Olynthians*, whom not long before he had wooed to his alliance, and bought his peace of them. For the *Olynthians* were very strong, and had evermore both braved and beaten the *Macedonians*. It is said, that *Philip* having put to death *Archelaus* his half-brother (for *Amyntas* had three sons by *Eurydice* the mother of *Philip*, and three other sons by *Gygæa*: but *Philip's* elder brothers by the same mother being dead, he determined to rid himself also of the rest) the two younger held themselves within *Olynthus*; and that the receiving of them by the *Olynthians* was the cause of the war, ^a *Justin* affirmeth. But just quarrels are ballanced by just princes; for to this king all things were lawful that might any way serve his turn; all his affections and passions, how diverse soever in other men, were in his ambition swallowed up, and thereinto converted. For he neither forbore the murder of his own brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelity; he esteem'd no place strong where his ass loaden with gold might enter; nor city or state unconquerable, where a few of the greatest, to be made greater, could lose the sense of other mens sorrow and subjection. And because he thought it vain to practise the winning of *Olynthus*, till he had inclosed all the power they had within their own walls, he enter'd their territory, and by the advantage of a well-compounded and trained army, he gave them two overthrows ere he sat down before the city it self: which done, he bought *Euthicrates* and *Lafthenes* from their people, and from the service of their country and common-weal; by whose treason he enter'd the town, slew his brothers therein, sack'd it, and sold the inhabitants for slaves by the drum.

By the spoil of this place he greatly enriched himself, and had treasure sufficient to buy in other cities withal, which he daily did. For so was he advised by the oracle in the beginning of his undertaking, *That he should make his assaults with silver spears*: Whereupon ^b *Horace* well and truly said,

— Diffidit urbium

*Portas vir Macedo, & subruit æmulos
Reges muneribus.* —

By gifts the *Macedon* clave gates asunder,
The kings envying his estate brought under.

And it is true that he won more by corruption and fraud, than he did by force. For, as he had in all the principal cities of *Greece* his secret workers (which way of conquest was well followed by *Philip* the second of *Spain*:) so when in the contention between the competitors for the kingdom of *Thrace*, he was chosen the arbitrator, he came not to the council accompanied with piety and justice, but with a powerful army, and having beaten and slain both kings, gave sentence for himself, and made the kingdom his own.

S E C T. VI.

How Philip ended the Phocian war.

THE war still continuing between the *Phocians* and the associates of the holy war, the *Beotians*, finding themselves unable to subsist without some present aid, sent unto *Philip* for succour, who willingly yielded to their necessities, and sent them such a proportion of men as were neither sufficient to master their enemies, nor to assure themselves; but yet to enable them to continue the war, and to waste the strength of *Greece*. They also sent to *Artaxerxes Ochus* for supply of treasure, who lent them thirty talents, which makes an hundred and fourscore thousand crowns; but when with these supplies they had still the worst in all their attempts against the *Phocians*, who held from them three of their strongest cities within *Bæotia* it self; they then besought *Philip* of *Macedon* that he would assist them in person, to whom they would give an entrance into their territory, and in all things obey his commandments in that war.

Now had *Philip* what he longed for; for he knew himself in state to give the law to both; and so quitting all his other purposes towards the north, he marched with a speedy pace towards *Bæotia*; where being arrived, *Phaltecus*, who commanded the *Phocian* army, fearing to shock with this victorious king, made his own peace, and withdrew himself with a regiment of eight thousand soldiers into *Peloponnesus*, leaving the *Phocians* to the mercy of the conqueror; and for conclusion, he had the glory of that war, called *Sacred*, which the *Grecians* with so many mutual slaughters had continued for ten years; and, besides the glory, he possess'd himself of *Orchomene*, *Coronea*, and *Corisia*, in the country of the *Beotians*, who invited him to be victorious over themselves. He brought the *Phocians* into servitude, and wasted their cities, and gave them but their villages to inhabit, reserving to himself the yearly tribute of threescore talents, which make thirty six thousand *French* crowns. He also hereby (besides the fame of piety for service of the gods) obtained the same double voice in the council of the *Amphyctiones*, which the *Phocians* had, with the superintendency of the *Pythian* games

^a Just. l. 8.

^b Hor. Carm. Od. 16

forfeited by the *Corinthians*, by being partakers in the *Phocian* sacrilege.

S E C T. VII.

How Philip with ill success attempted upon Perinthus, Byzantium, and the Scythians.

Philip, after his triumphant return into *Macedon*, by the lieutenant of his army *Parmenio*, slaughtered many thousands of the *Illyrians* and *Dardanians*, and brought the *Thracians* to pay him the tenth part of all their revenues. But his next enterprize against the *Perinthians* staid his fury. *Perinthus* was a city of *Thrace* seated upon *Propontis*, in the mid-way between *Sestos* and *Byzantium*; a place of great strength, and a people resolved to defend their liberty against *Philip*, where the *Athenians* encouraged and assisted them. *Philip* sat down before it with a puissant army, made many fair breaches, gave many furious assaults, built many over-topping and commanding towers about it. But he was repelled with equal violence. For whereas *Philip* thought by his continual assaults to weary them, and waste both their men and munition, they were supplied not only from the *Persian* with men and money, and succoured from *Byzantium*, which stood upon the same sea-coast, but they were relieved from *Athens*, *Chio*, and *Rhodes*, by the conduction of *Phocion*, with whatsoever was wanting to their necessity. But because those of *Byzantium*, by reason of their neighbourhood, and the easy passage by water, gave them often and ready help, *Philip* removed with the one half of his army and besieged it, leaving fifteen thousand foot before *Perinthus*, to force it if they could; but to be short, he failed in both attempts (as all princes commonly do that undertake divers enterprizes at one time) and returned into *Macedon* with no less dishonour than loss: whereupon he made an overture of peace with the *Athenians*, and greatly desired it; to which tho' *Phocion* perswaded them in all he could, and that by the occasion offered they might greatly advantage their conditions, yet *Demosthenes* with his eloquence prevailed in the refusal. In the mean while, *Philip* having digested his late affront, and supplied his expence by the taking of an hundred and threescore and ten merchants ships, he gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his son *Alexander*, led them into *Scythia*; but he was also unprosperous in this enterprize: for the *Triballi*, a people of *Mæsia*, set on him in his return, wounded him, and took from him the greatest part of the spoils which he had gathered.

S E C T. VIII.

How Philip, overthrowing the Greeks in the battel of Chæronea, was chosen captain-general of Greece. The death of Philip.

AMONG these northern nations (part of which he suppress'd, and part quieted) he spent some eight years; and in the ninth year, after the end of the holy war, he was to his great advantage invited again by the *Grecians* to their assistance. For the citizens of *Amphissa* having disobeyed the decree of the *Amphyetiones*, in which *Philip* had a double voice, and who, by reason that the *Thebans* and *Locrians* gave countenance and aid to the *Amphissenians*, the rest were not of themselves able to constrain them, they besought *Philip* to come in person to their assistance. Now you must think that *Philip* was not long in resolving upon this enterprize; he needed no drawing on, whom nothing

could keep back; nor other dissuasion than a mastering power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his army forthwith to march; the same being compounded of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse; and with as much expedition as could be made, he enter'd *Phocis*, won *Platæa*, and brought into subjection all that region.

The rest, and especially the *Athenians*, although they had good cause to fear that a great part of this storm would fall on themselves, yet were they dissuaded by *Demosthenes* from accepting such reasonable conditions of peace as *Philip* offered, and rather made choice (having drawn the *Thebans* to join with them) to leave the enjoying of their estates and their freedom to the chance of one battel, than to hold it either by composition, or by the grace of *Philip*. But this their orator's eloquence cost them dear. It is true, that he could far more easily mind them of the virtue of their ancestors, than make them to be such as they were. He might repeat unto them (with words moving passion) the wonders they wrought at *Marathon*, but he could not transform the *Macedonians* into *Persians*, or draw from the dead, a *Miltiades*, an *Aristides*, a *Themistocles*, or a *Cimon*, or any of those famous commanders, whose great virtues they had paid with the greatest ingratitude that ever nation did. A *Phocion* they had, but by the strength of a contrary faction he was at this time in disgrace, and not employed: in so much as when the armies of *Philip* and the confederates encounter'd, although some thousand of the *Athenians* did abide the killing, and the like number well near of the *Thebans* died with them; yet the want of worthy men on that side to hold up the rest, and to draw them on, and the many choice captains of the *Macedonians*, encouraged by a king of a growing fortune, as it gave to *Philip* so shining a victory, that *Alexander* by the light thereof found his way (in despite of all the nations interjacent) into *Persia*, *India*, and *Egypt*; so it cut to the ground, and gave end and date to all the *Grecian* glory: yea, their liberty (saith *Curtius*) with their large dominion won with so many difficulties, continued for so many ages, and so often defended against the greatest kings, was now lost in a moment, and for ever lost.

Now this advised king (never passionate to his disadvantage) to the end he might obtain the sovereignty over all *Greece*, and be acknowledged for their captain-general against the *Persians*, without any further hazard or trouble, was content to let go those *Athenians* that were taken at this battel of *Chæronea*, as he also forbore to attempt any thing against their city: but in *Thebes* (which lately by the virtue of *Epaminondas* triumphed over the rest) he lodged a garrison of *Macedonians*. And being soon after (according unto the long desire which he had nourished of this sovereignty) by the general states of *Corinth*, stiled the first commander of all the *Grecians*, and contribution of men and money granted him, he compounded an army of great strength, and under the commandment of *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, transported the same over the *Hellespont* into *Asia*, to begin the war. Of his enterprize against *Persia*, he sought the success from the oracle at *Delphos*, from whence he received such another convertible riddle, as *Cresus* did when he attempted *Cyrus*, and was in like sort mistaken in the exposition.

But as it is hard to discern and withstand the flatteries of our own appetites, so did *Philip's* ambitious desire to invade *Persia* abuse his judgment so far,

far, that the death, wherewith himself was threatened, he understood to be delivered of his enemy, whom he intended presently to invade. Before his purposed departure into *Asia*, he prepared for the marriage of his daughter *Cleopatra* with *Alexander*, king of *Epirus*; to which feast and pastimes thereat appointed, he invited all his friends and allies, with the principal persons of the *Grecian* cities, from whom he received much honour and many rich presents; but this was indeed the feast of his funeral. For having refused to do justice to one *Pausanias*, a gentleman of his guard, whom *Attalus* (greatly favoured by *Philip*) had first made drunk, and then left to be carnally abused by divers base persons, this *Pausanias* grew into so great detestation of the king's partiality in so foul a fact, as when *Philip* was passing towards the theatre, he drew a sword from under his long garment and wounded him to death, when he had lived six and forty years, and reigned five and twenty. ^a*Justin* reports it, that *Olympias* encouraged *Pausanias* to murder the king her husband, which after his death she boldly avowed, by the honour she did unto *Pausanias*, in crowning his dead body, in consecrating his sword unto *Apollo*, by building for him a monument, and other like graces.

S E C T. IX.

What good foundations of Alexander's greatness were laid by Philip. Of his laudable qualities, and issue.

NOW although he were then taken from the world, when he had mastered all opposition on that side of the sea, and had seen the fruits of his hopes and labours changing colour towards ripeness and perfection, yet he was herein happy, that he lived to see his son *Alexander* at mans estate, and had himself been an eye-witness of his resolution, and singular valour in this last battel.

The foundation of whose future greatness he had laid so soundly for him, with so plain a pattern of the buildings which himself meant to erect, as the performance and finishing was far more easy to *Alexander*, though more glorious, than the beginnings were unto *Philip*, though less famous. For besides the recovery of *Macedon* it self, in competition between him and the sons of *Eropus*, the one assisted by the *Thracians*, the other by the *Athenians*; and besides the regaining of many places possess'd by the *Illyrians*, the crushing of all those northern kings his neighbours, the overthrow of *Olynthus*, a state that despised the power of his father, the many maritime cities taken, of great strength and ancient freedom, and the subjection of that famous nation of *Greece*, which for so many ages had defended it self against the greatest kings of the world, and won upon them: he left unto his son, and had bred up for him, so many choice commanders, as the most of them both for their valour and judgment in the war, were no less worthy of crowns, than himself was that wore a crown: for it was said of *Parmenio* (whom *Alexander*, ungrateful to so great virtue, impiously murdered) that *Parmenio* had performed many things challenging eternal fame, without the king; but the king, without *Parmenio*, never did any thing worthy of renown; as for the rest of his captains, though content to obey the son of such a father,

yet did they not after *Alexander's* death endure to acknowledge any man superiour to themselves.

Of this prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more vices, than nature and his excellent education had enriched him with virtues. For besides that he was valiant, wise, learned, and master of all his affections, he had this favour of piety, that he rather laboured to satisfy those that were grieved, than to suppress them. Whereof (among many other) we find a good example in his dealing with *Arcadion* and *Nicanor*; whom when for their evil speech of *Philip*, his familiars perswaded him to put to death; he answered them, that first it ought to be considered, whether the fault were in them that gave him ill language, or in himself: secondly, that it was in every man's own power to be well spoken of; and this was shortly proved; for after *Philip* had relieved their necessities, there was none within his kingdom that did him more honour than they did. Whereupon he told those that had perswaded him to use violence, that he was a better physician for evil speech than they were.

His epistles to *Alexander* his son are remembered by ^b*Cicero* and *Gellius*; and by *Dion* and *Cbryostom* exceedingly commended. His stratagems are gathered by *Polyenus* and *Frontinus*, his wise sayings by *Plutarch*. And albeit he held *Macedon* as in his own right all the time of his reign, yet was he not the true and next heir thereof: for *Amyntas* the son of his brother *Perdiccas* (of whom he had the protection during his infancy) had the right. This *Amyntas* he married to his daughter *Cyna*, who had by him a daughter called *Eurydice*, who was married to *Philip's* base son *Arideus*, her uncle by the mother's side: both which *Olympias*, *Philip's* first wife, and mother to *Alexander* the great, put to death; *Arideus* by extream torments, *Eurydice* she strangled.

Philip had by this *Olympias*, the daughter of *Neoptolemus*, king of the *Molossians* (of the race of *Achilles*) *Alexander* the great, and *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was married to her uncle *Alexander*, king of *Epirus*, and was after her brother *Alexander's* death slain at *Sardis*, by the command of *Antigonus*.

By *Audata*, an *Illyrian*, his second wife, he had *Cyna*, married as is shewed before.

By *Nicasipolis*, the sister of *Jason*, tyrant of *Pheres*, he had *Theffalonica*, whom *Cassander*, after he had taken *Pidna*, married; but she was afterwards by her father-in-law, *Antipater*, put to death.

By *Cleopatra*, the niece of *Attalus*, he had *Caranus*, whom others call *Philip*: him, *Olympias*, the mother of *Alexander* the great, caused to be roasted to death in a copper pan. Others lay this murder to *Alexander* himself. By the same *Cleopatra* he had likewise a daughter, called *Europa*, whom *Olympias* also murdered at the mother's breast.

By *Phila* and *Meda* he had no issue.

He had also two concubines, *Arfinoe*, whom, after he had gotten with child, he married to an obscure man, called *Lagus*, who bear *Ptolemy*, king of *Egypt*, called the son of *Lagus*, but esteemed the son of *Philip*: by *Philinna*, his second concubine, a publick dancer, he had *Arideus*, of whom we shall have much occasion to speak hereafter.

^a Just. l. 9.^b Cic. Off. 2. Gell. l. 9. c. 3. Dion. 2. de Rege.^c Athen. l. 13. c. 2. Just. l. 3.

C H A P. II.

Of ALEXANDER the Great.

S E C T. I.

A brief rehearsal of Alexander's doings, before he invaded Asia.

ALEXANDER, afterwards called the great, succeeded unto *Philip* his father; being a prince no less valiant by nature, than by education; well instructed, and enriched in all sorts of learning and good arts. He began his reign over the *Macedonians* four hundred and seventeen years after *Rome* built, and after his own birth twenty years. The strange dreams of *Philip* his father, and that one of the gods, in the shape of a snake, begat him on *Olympias* his mother, I omit as foolish tales; but that the temple of *Diana* (a work the most magnificent of the world) was burnt upon the day of his birth, and that so strange an accident was accompanied with the news of three several victories, obtained by the *Macedonians*, it was very remarkable, and might with the reason of those times be interpreted for ominous, and fore-shewing the great things by *Alexander* afterwards performed. Upon the change of the king, the neighbour-nations, whom *Philip* had oppress'd, began to consult about the recovery of their former liberty, and to adventure it by force of arms. *Alexander's* young years gave them hope of prevailing, and his suspected severity increased courage in those who could better resolve to die, than to live slavishly. But *Alexander* gave no time to those swelling humours, which might speedily have endangered the health of his estate. For after revenge taken upon the conspirators against his father, whom he slew upon his tomb; and the celebration of his funerals, he first fastened unto his own nation, by freeing them from all exactions and bodily slavery, other than their service in his wars; and used such kingly austerity towards those that contemned his young years, and such clemency to the rest that persuaded themselves of the cruelty of his disposition, as all affections being passed at home, he made a present journey into *Peloponnesus*, and so well exercised his spirits among them, as by the council of the states of *Greece*, he was, according to the great desire of his heart, elected captain-general against the *Persians*, upon which war *Philip* his father had not only resolved (who had obtained the same title of general commander) but had transported under the leading of *Parmenio* and *Attalus*, a part of his army, to recover some places on *Asia* side, for the safe descent of the rest.

This enterprise against the *Persian* occupied all *Alexander's* affections; those fair marks of riches, honour, and large dominion, he now shot at both sleeping and waking: all other thoughts and imaginations were either grievous or hateful. But a contrary wind ariseth; for he receiveth advertisement that the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, and *Lacedemonians*, had united themselves against him, and, by assistance from the *Persian*, hoped for the recovery of their former freedom. Hereto they were persuaded by *Demosthenes*, himself being thereto persuaded by the gold of *Persia*; the device he used was more subtle than profitable, for he caused it to be bruited that *Alexander* was slain in a battel against the *Triballes*, and brought into the assembly a companion whom he had corrupted to affirm,

that himself was present and wounded in the battel. There is indeed a certain doctrine of policy (as policy is now adays defined by falshood and knavery) that devised rumours and lies, if they serve the turn, but for a day or two, are greatly available. It is true, that common people are sometimes mock'd by them, as soldiers are by false alarms in the wars; but in all that I have observed, I have found the success as ridiculous as the invention. For as those that find themselves at one time abused by such like bruits, do at other times neglect their duties, when they are upon true reports, and in occasions perillous, summoned to assemble; so do all men in general condemn the venters of such trumpery, and for them fear upon necessary occasions to entertain the truth it self. This labour unlooked for, and loss of time, was not only very grievous to *Alexander*, but by turning his sword from the ignoble and effeminate *Persians*, against which he had directed it, towards the manly and famous *Grecians*, of whose assistance he thought himself assured, his present undertaking was greatly disordered. But he that cannot endure to strive against the wind, shall hardly attain the port which he purposeth to recover: and it no less becometh the worthiest men to oppose misfortunes, than it doth the weakest children to bewail them.

He therefore made such expedition towards these revolvers, as that himself, with the army that followed him, brought them the first news of his preparation. Hereupon all stagger, and the *Athenians*, as they were the first that moved, so were they the first that fainted, seeking by their embassadors to pacify the king, and to be received again into his grace. *Alexander* was not long in resolving; for the *Persians* persuaded him to pardon the *Grecians*. Wise men are not easily drawn from great purposes by such occasions as may easily be taken off; neither hath any king ever brought to effect any great affair, who hath entangled himself in many enterprises at once, not tending to one and the same certain end.

And having now quieted his borderers towards the south, he resolved to assure those nations which lay on the north-side of *Macedon*, to wit, the *Thracians*, *Triballes*, *Peones*, *Getes*, *Agrians*, and other savage people, which had greatly vexed with incursions, not only others of his predecessors, but even *Philip* his father: with all which, after divers overthrows given them, he made peace, or else brought them into subjection. Notwithstanding this good success, he could not yet find the way out of *Europe*. There is nothing more natural to man than liberty; the *Greeks* had enjoy'd it overlong, and lost it too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the yoke once again. The *Thebans*, who had in their citadel a garrison of a thousand *Macedons*, attempt to force it; *Alexander* hasteth to their succour, and presents himself with thirty thousand foot, all old soldiers, and three thousand horse, before the city, and gave the inhabitants some days to resolve, being even heart-sick with the desire of passing into *Asia*. So unwilling indeed he was to draw blood of the *Grecians*, by whom he hoped to serve himself elsewhere, that he offered the *Thebans* remission, if they would only deliver into his hands *Phœnix* and *Prothytes*,

Probytes, the stirrers up of the rebellion. But they, opposing the mounting fortune of *Alexander*, (which bare all resistance before it, like the breaking-in of the ocean-sea) instead of such an answer, as men besieged and abandoned should have made, demanded *Philotas* and *Antipater* to be delivered unto them; as if *Thebes* alone, then laid in the ballance of fortune with the kingdom of *Macedon*, and many other provinces, could either have evened the scale, or swayed it. Therefore in the end they perished in their obstinacy. For while the *Thebans* oppose the army assailing, they are charged at the back by the *Macedonian* garrison, their city taken and razed to the ground, six thousand slain, and thirty thousand sold for slaves, at the price of 440 talents. This the king did, to the terror of the other *Grecian* cities.

Many arguments were used by *Cleadas*, one of the prisoners, to persuade *Alexander* to forbear the destruction of *Thebes*. He prayed the king to believe, that they were rather misled by giving hasty credit to false reports, than any way malicious; for being persuaded of *Alexander's* death, they rebelled but against his successor. He also besought the king to remember, that his father *Philip* had his education in that city; yea, that his ancestor *Hercules* was born therein: but all persuasions were fruitless; the times wherein offences are committed, do greatly aggravate them. Yet for the honour he bare to learning, he pardoned all of the race of *Pindarus* the poet, and spared, and set at liberty *Timoclea*, the sister of *Theagenes*, who died in defence of the liberty of *Greece* against his father *Philip*. This noble woman being taken by a *Thracian*, and by him ravished, he threatened to take her life, unless she would confess her treasure; she led the *Thracian* to a well, and told him that she had therein cast it; and when the *Thracian* stooped to look into the well, she suddenly thrust him into the mouth thereof, and stoned him to death.

Now, because the *Athenians* had received into their city so many of the *Thebans*, as had escaped and fled unto them for succour, *Alexander* would not grant them peace, but upon condition to deliver into his hands both their orators, which persuaded this second revolt, and their captains; yet in the end, it being a torment unto him to retard the enterprise of *Persia*, he was content that the orators should remain, and accepted of the banishment of the captains, wherein he was exceeding ill advised, had not his fortune, or rather the providence of God, made all the resistance against him unprofitable: for these good leaders of the *Grecians* betook themselves to the service of the *Persian*, whom after a few days he invadeth.

S E C T. II.

Now Alexander passing into Asia, fought with the Persians upon the river of Granicus.

W H E N all was now quieted at home, *Alexander*, committing to the trust of *Antipater*, both *Greece* and *Macedon*, in the first of the spring did pass the *Hellepont*, and being ready to disembark, he threw a dart towards the *Asian* shore, as a token of defiance, commanding his soldiers not to make any waste in their own territory, or to burn or deface those buildings, which themselves were presently, and in the future, to possess. He landed his army, consisting of two and thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, all old soldiers, near unto *Troy*, where he offer'd a

solemn sacrifice upon *Achilles's* tomb, his maternal ancestor.

But before he left his own coast, he put to death, without any offence given him, all his mother-in-law's kinsmen, whom *Philip* his father had greatly advanced, not sparing such of his own as he suspected. He also took with him many of his tributary princes, of whose fidelity he doubted; thinking by unjust cruelty to assure all things, both in the present and future. Yet the end of all fell out contrary to the policy which his ambition had commended unto him, tho' agreeing very well with the justice of God; for all that he had planted, was soon after withered, and rooted up; those whom he most trusted, were the most traitorous; his mother, friends, and children, fell by such another merciless sword as his own, and all manner of confusion followed his dead body to the grave, and left him there.

When the knowledge of *Alexander's* landing on *Asia* side was brought to *Darius*, he so much scorned the army of *Macedon*, and had so contemptible an opinion of *Alexander* himself, as having stilled him his servant in a letter which he wrote unto him, reprehending his disloyalty and audacity (for *Darius* entituled himself king of kings, and the kinsman of the gods) he gave order withal to his lieutenants of the lesser *Asia*, that they should take *Alexander* alive, whip him with rods, and then convey him to his presence: that they should sink his ships, and send the *Macedons* taken prisoners beyond the *Red* sea, belike into *Ethiopia*, or some other unhealthful part of *Africa*.

In this sort did this glorious king, confident in the glittering but heartless multitude which he commanded, dispose of the already-vanquished *Macedonians*: but the ill destinies of men bear them to the ground, by what strong confidence soever armed. The great numbers which he gathered together, and brought in one heap into the field, gave rather an exceeding advantage to his enemies, than any discouragement at all. For, besides that they were men utterly unacquainted with dangers; men, who by the name and countenance of their king, were wont to prevail against those of less courage than themselves; men, that took more care to embroider with gold and silver their upper garments, as if they intended the invasion but of the sun-beams, than they did to arm themselves with iron and steel against the sharp pikes, swords, and darts of the hardy *Macedonians*: I say, besides all these, even the opinion they had of their own numbers, of which every one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turn to fight, filled every one of them with the care of their own safety, without any intent at all to hazard any thing but their own breath, and that of their horses, in running away. The *Macedonians* as they came to fight, and thereby to enrich themselves with the gold and jewels of *Persia*, both which they needed, so the *Persians*, who expected nothing in that war but blows and wounds, which they needed not, obeyed the king, who had power to constrain them in assembling themselves for his service; but their own fears and cowardice, which in time of danger had most power over them, they only then obeyed, when their rebellion against so servile a passion did justly and violently require it. For saith *Vegetius*: *Quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles praelium cupit, ita formidat indoctus; nam sciendum est in pugna usum amplius prodesse quam vires*; As the well-practised soldier desires to come to battel, so the raw one fears it: for we must understand, that in fight it
more

more avails to have been accustomed unto the like, than only to have rude strength. What manner of men the *Persians* were, *Alexander* discovered in the first encounter, before which time it is said, by those that writ his story, that it was hard to judge, whether his daring to undertake the conquest of an empire so well peopled, with a handful of men, or the success he had, were more to be wonder'd at. For at the river of *Granick*, which severeth the territory of *Troy* from *Propontis*, the *Persians* fought to stop his passage, taking the higher ground and bank of the river to defend, which *Alexander* was forced (as it were) to climb up unto, and scale from the level of the water; great resistance (saith *Curtius*) was made by the *Persians*, yet in the end *Alexander* prevailed. But it seems to me, that the victory then gotten was exceeding easy, and that the twenty thousand *Persian* foot-men said to be slain, were rather kill'd in the back in running away, than hurt in the bosoms by resisting. For had those twenty thousand foot, and two hundred and fifty horse-men, or, after *Plutarch*, two thousand and five hundred horse-men, died with their faces towards the *Macedonians*, *Alexander* could not have bought their lives at so small a rate as with the loss of four and thirty of all sorts of his own. And if it were also true, that *Plutarch* doth report, how *Alexander* encounter'd two of the *Persian* commanders *Spithridates* and *Rhœsaces*, and that the *Persian* horse-men fought with great fury, tho' in the end scattered; and lastly, how those *Grecians* in *Darius's* pay, holding themselves in one body upon a piece of ground of advantage did (after mercy was refused them) fight it ought to the last; how doth it then resemble truth, that such resistance having been made, yet of *Alexander's* army there fell but twelve foot-men, and two and twenty horse-men.

SECT. III.

A digression concerning the defence of hard passages. Of things following the battel of Granick.

THE winning of this passage did greatly encourage the *Macedonians*, and brought such terror upon all those of the lesser *Asia*, as he obtained all the kingdoms thereof without a blow, some one or two towns excepted. For in all invasions, where the nations invaded have once been beaten upon a great advantage of the place, as in defence of rivers, streights and mountains, they will soon have persuaded themselves, that such an enemy, upon equal terms and even ground, can hardly be resisted. It was therefore *Machiavel's* counsel, that he, which resolveth to defend a passage, should with his ablest force oppose the assailant. And to say truth, few regions of any great circuit are so well fenced, that armies of such force as may be thought sufficient to conquer them can be debarred all entrance by the natural difficulty of the ways. One passage or other is commonly left unguarded: if all be defended, then must the forces of the country be distracted, and yet likely some one place will be found that is defended very weakly. How often have the *Alps* given way to armies breaking into *Italy*? Yea, where shall we find that ever they kept out an invader? Yet are they such, as (to speak briefly) afflict with all difficulties those that travel over them; but they give no security to those that lye behind them: for they are of too large extent. The towns of *Lombardy* persuaded themselves that they might enjoy their quiet, when the warlike nation of the *Switzers* had undertaken to hinder *Francis* the *French* king from descending

into the duchy of *Milan*: but whilst these patrons of *Milan*, whom their own dwelling in those mountains had made fittest of all other for such a service, were busied in custody of the *Alps*, *Francis* appeared in *Lombardy*, to so much the greater terror of the inhabitants, by how much the less they had expected his arrival. What shall we say of those mountains, which lock up whole regions in such sort, as they leave but one gate open? The streights, or (as they were called) the gates of *Taurus* in *Cilicia*, and those of *Thermopylae*, have seldom been attempted, perhaps because they were thought impregnable: but how seldom (if ever) have they been attempted in vain? *Xerxes*, and, long after him the *Romans*, forced the entrance of *Thermopylae*, *Cyrus* the younger, and after him *Alexander*, found the gates of *Cilicia* wide open; how strongly soever they had been locked and barred, yet were those countries open enough to a fleet that should enter on the backside. The defence of rivers, how hard a thing it is, we find examples in all histories that bear good witness. The deepest have many fords; the swiftest and broadest may be passed by boats, in case it be found a matter of difficulty to make a bridge. He that hath men enough to defend all the length of his own bank, hath also enough to beat his enemy; and may therefore do better to let him come over, to his loss, than by striving in vain to hinder the passage, as a matter tending to his own disadvantage, fill the heads of his soldiers with an opinion that they are in an ill case, having their means of safeguard taken from them, by the skill or valour of such as are too good for them. Certainly if a river were sufficient defence against an army, the isle of *Mona*, now called *Anglesey*, which is divided from north-*Wales* by an arm of the sea, had been safe enough against the *Romans* invading it under conduct of *Julius Agricola*. But he wanting, and not meaning to spend the time in making vessels to transport his forces, did assay the fords; whereby he so amazed the enemies attending for ships and such like provision by sea, that surely believing nothing could be hard or invincible to men, which came so minded to war, they humbly intreated for peace, and yielded the island. Yet the *Britons* were men stout enough; the *Persians* very dastards.

It was therefore wisely done of *Alexander*, to pass the river of *Granick* in face of the enemy; not marching higher to seek an easier way, nor labouring to convey his men over it by some safer means. For having beaten them upon their own ground, he did thereby cut off no less of their reputation than of their strength, leaving no hope of succour to the partakers and followers of such unable protectors.

Soon after this victory he recovered *Sardis*, *Ephesus*, the cities of the *Trallians* and *Magnesians*, which were render'd unto him. The inhabitants of which, with the people of the country, he received with great grace, suffering them to be governed by their own laws. For he observed it well; *Novum imperium inchoantibus utilis clementiae fama*: It is commodious unto such as lay the foundation of a new sovereignty to have the fame of being merciful. He then by *Parmenio* won *Miletus*, and by force master'd *Halicarnassus*, which, because it resisted obstinately, he razed to the ground. From whence he enter'd into *Caria*, where *Ada* the queen, who had been call out of all that she held (except the city of *Alinda*) by *Darius's* lieutenants, presented her self unto him, and adopted him her son and successor; which *Alexander* accepted

cepted in so gracious part, as he left the whole kingdom to her disposing. He then entered into *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, and obtained all the sea-coasts, and subjecting unto him *Pisidia*, he directed himself towards *Darius* (who was said to be advanced towards him with a marvellous army) by the way of *Phrygia*: for all the province of *Asia* the less, bordering upon the sea, his first victory laid under his feet.

While he gave order for the government and settling of *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, they sent *Cleander* to raise some new companies in *Peloponnesus*, and marching towards the north, he enter'd *Celenas*, seated on the river *Meander*, which was abandoned unto him, the castle only holding out, which also after forty days was given up: for so long time he gave them to attend succour from *Darius*. From *Celenas* he pass'd on through *Phrygia* towards the *Euxine* sea, till he came to a city called *Gordium*, the regal seat, in former times, of king *Midas*. In this city it was that he found the *Gordian* knot, which when he knew not how to undo, he cut it asunder with his sword: for there was an ancient prophecy did promise to him that could untie it, the lordship of all *Asia*; whereupon *Alexander*, not respecting the manner how, so it were done, assumed to himself the fulfilling of the prophecy, by hewing it in pieces.

But before he turned from this part of *Asia* the less towards the east, he took care to clear the sea-coast on his back, and to thrust the *Persians* out of the islands of *Lesbos*, *Scio*, and *Coos*, the charge whereof he committed unto two of his captains, giving them such order as he thought to be most convenient for that service; and delivering unto them fifty talents to defray the charge; and withal, out of his first spoil gotten, he sent threescore talents more to *Antipater* his lieutenant in *Greece*, and *Macedon*. From *Celenas* he removed to *Ancyra*, now called *Angui*, standing on the same river of *Sangarius*, which runneth through *Gordium*: there he mutter'd his army, and then enter'd *Paphlagonia*, whose people submitted themselves unto him, and obtained freedom of tribute: where he left *Catus* governour, with one regiment of *Macedonians* lately arrived.

Here he understood of the death of *Memnon*, *Darius's* lieutenant, which heartned him greatly to pass on towards him, for of this only captain he had more respect than of all the multitude by *Darius* assembled, and of all the commanders he had besides. For so much hath the spirit of some one man excelled, as it hath undertaken and effected the alteration of the greatest states and commonwealths, the erection of monarchies, the conquest of kingdoms and empires, guided handfuls of men against multitudes of equal bodily strength, contriv'd victories beyond all hope and discourse of reason, converted the fearful passions of his own followers into magnanimity, and the valour of his enemies into cowardice; such spirits have been stirred up in sundry ages of the world, and in divers parts thereof, to erect and cast down again, to establish and to destroy, and to bring all things, persons and states to the same certain ends, which the infinite spirit of the universal, piercing, moving, and governing all things hath ordained. Certainly the things that this king did were marvellous, and would hardly have been undertaken by any man else: and though his father had determined to have invaded the lesser *Asia*, it is like enough that he would have contented himself with some part thereof, and not have discovered the river of *Indus*, as this man did. The swift course of victory, where-with he ran over to large a portion of the world, in

so short a space, may justly be imputed unto this, that he was never encounter'd by an equal spirit, concurring with equal power against him. Hereby it came to pass, that his actions, being limited by no greater opposition than desert places, and the mere length of tedious journeys could make, were like the *Colossus* of *Rhodes*, not so much to be admired for the workmanship, though therein also praise-worthy, as for the huge bulk. For certainly the things performed by *Xenophon*, discover as brave a spirit as *Alexander's*, and working no less exquisitely, though the effects were less material, as were also the forces and power of command, by which it wrought. But he that would find the exact pattern of a noble commander, must look upon such as *Epaminondas*, that encountering worthy captains, and those better followed than themselves, have by their singular virtue overtopped their valiant enemies, and still prevailed over those that would not have yielded one foot to any other. Such as these are do seldom live to obtain great empires; for it is a work of more labour and longer time, to master the equal forces of one hardy and well-ordered state, than to tread down and utterly subdue a multitude of servile nations, compounding the body of a gross unweildy empire. Wherefore these *parvo potentes* men, that with little have done much upon enemies of like ability, are to be regarded as choice examples of worth; but great conquerors, to be rather admired for the substance of their actions, than the exquisite managing: exactness and greatness concurring so seldom, that I can find no instance of both in one, save only that brave *Roman Cesar*.

Having thus far digressed, it is now time that we return unto our eastern conqueror, who is traveling hastily towards *Cilicia*, with a desire to recover the streights thereof before *Darius* should arrive there. But first making a dispatch into *Greece*, he sent to those cities, in which he reposed most trust, some of the *Persian* targets which he had recovered in his first battel; upon which, by certain inscriptions, he made them partakers of his victory. Herein he well advised himself; for he that doth not as well impart of the honour which he gaineth in the wars, as he doth of the spoils, shall never be long followed by those of the better sort. For men which are either well born or well bred, and have more of wealth than of reputation, do as often satisfy themselves with the purchase of glory, as the weak in fortune, and strong in courage, do with the gain of gold and silver.

The governour of *Cilicia* hearing of *Alexander's* coming on, left some companies to keep the streights, which were indeed very defensible; and withal, as *Curtius* noteth, he began over-late to prize and put in execution the counsel of *Memnon*: who in the beginning of the wars advised him to waste all the provisions for men and horse, that could not be lodged in strong places, and always to give ground to the invader, till he found some such notable advantage as might assuredly promise him the obtaining of victory. For the fury of an invading army is best broken by delays, change of diet and want, eating sometimes too little and sometimes too much, sometimes reposing themselves in beds and oftener upon the cold ground. These and the like sudden alterations bring many diseases upon all nations out of their own countries. Therefore, if *Darius* had kept the *Macedonians* but a while from meat and sleep, and refusing to give or take battel had wearied them with his light horse, as the *Parthians* afterwards did the *Romans*, he might perchance have saved his own life and estate.

for it was one of the greatest encouragements given by *Alexander* to the *Macedonians*, in the third and last fatal battel, that they were to fight with all the strength of *Persia* at once.

Xerxes, when he invaded *Greece* and fought abroad, in being beaten, lost only his men; but *Darius* being invaded by the *Greeks*, and fighting at home, by being beaten, lost his kingdom; *Pericles*, though the *Lacedemonians* burnt all in *Attica* to the gates of *Athens*, yet could not be drawn to hazard a battel: for the invaded ought evermore to fight upon the advantage of time and place. Because we read histories to inform our understanding by the examples therein found, we will give some instances of those that have perished by adventuring in their own countries to charge an invading army. The *Romans*, by fighting with *Hannibal*, were brought to the brink of their destruction.

Pompey was well advised for a while, when he gave *Cesar* ground, but when by the importunity of his captains he adventured to fight at *Pharsalia*, he lost the battel, lost the freedom of *Rome*, and his own life.

Ferdinand, in the conquest of *Naples*, would needs fight a battel with the *French* to his confusion, tho' it was told him by a man of sound judgment, that those counsels which promise surety in all things are honourable enough.

The constable of *France* made frustrate the mighty preparation of *Charles V.* when he invaded *Provence*, by wasting the country, and forbearing the fight; so did the duke of *Alva* weary the *French* in *Naples*, and dissolve the boisterous army of the prince of *Orange* in the low countries.

The *Leigers*, contrary to the advice of their general, would needs fight a battel with the *Bourgonians*, invading their country, and could not be perswaded to linger the time, and stay their advantage; but they lost eight and twenty thousand upon the place. *Philip* of *Valois* set upon king *Edward* at *Cressy*, and king *John* (when the *English* were well near tired out, and would in short time by an orderly pursuit have been wasted to nothing) contrained the black prince with great fury, near *Poitiers* to join battel with him: But all men know what lamentable success these two *French* kings found. *Charles V.* of *France* made another kind of *Fabian* warfare; and though the *English* burnt and wasted many places, yet this king held his resolution to forbear blows, and followed his advice which told him, That the *English* could never get his inheritance by smoke; and it is reported by *Bellay* and *Herrault*, that king *Edward* was wont to say of *Charles*, that he won from him the duchy of *Guienne* without ever putting on his armour.

But where God hath a purpose to destroy, wise men grow short-lived, and the charge of things is committed unto such as either cannot see what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any sound advice. The course which *Memnon* had propounded must, in all appearance of reason, have brought the *Macedonian* to a great perplexity, and made him stand still a while at the streights of *Cilicia*, doubting whether it were more shameful to return, or dangerous to proceed. For had *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia* been wasted whilst *Alexander* was far off, and the streights of *Cilicia* been defended by *Arfenes*, governour of that province, with the best of his forces; hunger would not have suffered the enemy to stay the trial of all means that might be thought upon of forcing that passage; or if the place could not have been maintain-

ed, yet might *Cilicia* at better leisure have been so thoroughly spoiled, that the heart of his army should have been broken, by seeking out miseries by painful travel.

But *Arfenes* leaving a small number to defend the streights, took the best of his army with him, to waste and spoil the country, or rather, as may seem, to find himself some work, by pretence of which he might honestly run further away from *Alexander*. He should rather have adventured his person in custody of the streights, whereby he might perhaps have saved the province; and in the mean time, all that was in the fields would have been conveyed into strong towns. So should his army, if it were driven from the place of advantage, have found good entertainment within walled cities, and himself with his horsemen have had the less work in destroying that little which was left abroad. Handling the matter as he did, he gave the *Cilicians* cause to wish for *Alexander's* coming, and as great cause to the keepers of the passage not to hinder it. For cowards are wise in apprehending all forms of danger. These guardians of the streights, hearing that *Arfenes* made all haste to join himself with *Darius*, burning down all as he went, like one despairing of the defence, began to grow circumspect, and to think that surely their general, who gave as lost the country behind their backs, had exposed themselves unto certain death, as men that were good for nothing else but to dull the *Macedonian* swords. Wherefore not affecting to die for their prince and country (which honour they saw that *Arfenes* himself could well forbear) they speedily followed the footsteps of their general, gleaning after his harvest. Thus *Alexander* without labour got both the entrance of *Cilicia*, abandoned by the cowardise of his enemies, and the whole province that had been alienated from the *Persian* side by their indiscretion.

S E C T. IV.

Of the unwarlike army levied by Darius against Alexander. The unadvised courses which Darius took in this expedition. He is vanquished at Issus; where his mother, wife, and children are made prisoners. Of some things following the battel of Issus.

IN the mean season *Darius* approached, who (as *Curtius* reports) had compounded an army of more than two hundred and ninety thousand soldiers, out of divers nations: *Justin* musters them at three hundred thousand foot, and an hundred thousand horse; *Plutarch* at six hundred thousand.

The manner of his coming on, as *Curtius* describes it, was rather like a masker than a man of war; and like one that took more care to set out his glory and riches, than to provide for his own safety, perswading himself, as it seemed, to beat *Alexander* with pomp and sumptuous pageants. For before the army there was carried the holy fire which the *Persians* worshipped, attended by their priests, and after them three hundred and threecore and five young men, answering the number of the days of the year, covered with scarlet; then the chariot of *Jupiter*, drawn with white horses, with their riders cloathed in the same colour, with rods of gold in their hands; and after it, the horse of the sun. Next after these followed ten sumptuous chariots, inlaid and garmish'd with silver and gold; and then the vant-guard of their horse, compounded of twelve several nations, which the better to avoid confusion, did hardly understand each other's language, and these, marshalled in the head of the rest, being beaten, might serve very fitly to disorder all that

that followed them ; in the tail of these horses the regiment of foot marched, with the *Persians* called immortal, because if any died, the number was presently supplied : and these were armed with chains of gold, and their coats with the same metal embroidered, whereof the sleeves were garnished with pearls, baits either to catch the hungry *Macedonians* withal, or to persuade them that it were great incivility to cut and to deface such glorious garments. But it was well said, *Sumptuose inductus miles, se virtute superiorem aliis non existimet, cum in præliis oporteat fortitudine animi, & non vestimentis muniri, quoniam hostes vestibus non debellantur* ; Let no man think that he exceedeth those in valour, whom he exceedeth in gay garments ; for it is by men armed with fortitude of mind, and not by the apparel they put on, that enemies are beaten. And it was perchance from the *Roman Papyrius* that this advice was borrowed, who, when he fought against the *Samnites* in that fatal battel, wherein they all swore either to prevail or die, thirty thousand of them having apparelled themselves in white garments, with high crests and great plumes of feathers, bad the *Roman* soldiers to lay aside all fear : *Non enim cristas vulnera facere, & per picta atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum* ; For these plumed crests would wound nobody, and the *Roman* pile would bore holes in painted and gilded shields.

To second this court-like company, fifteen thousand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like women (belike to breed the more terror) and these were honoured with the title of the king's kinsmen. Then came *Darius* himself, the gentlemen of his guard-robe riding before his chariot, which was supported with the gods of his nation, cast and cut in pure gold ; these the *Macedonians* did not serve, but they served their turns of these, by changing their massy bodies into thin portable and current coin. The head of his chariot was set with precious stones, with two little golden idols, covered with an open-winged eagle of the same metal : the hinder part being raised high whereon *Darius* sat, had a covering of inestimable value. This chariot of the king was followed with ten thousand horsemen, their lances plated with silver, and their heads gilt ; which they meant not to embrace in the *Macedonian* blood, for fear of marring their beauty. He had for the proper guard of his own person two hundred of the blood royal, blood too royal and precious to be spilt by any valorous adventure (I am of opinion that two hundred sturdy fellows, like the *Switzers*, would have done him more service) and these were back'd with thirty thousand footmen, after whom again were led four hundred spare horses for the king, which if he had meant to have used, he would have marshalled somewhat nearer him.

Now followed the rearward, the same being led by *Sisygambis* the king's mother, and by his wife, drawn in glorious chariots, followed by a great train of ladies their attendants on horseback, with fifteen waggons of the king's children, and the wives of the nobility, waited on by two hundred and fifty concubines, and a world of nurses and eunuchs, most sumptuously apparelled : by which it should seem that *Darius* thought that the *Macedonians* had been comedians or tumblers ; for this troop was far fitter to behold those sports than to be present at battels. Between these and a company of flight-armed slaves, with a world of valets, was the king's treasure, charged on six hundred mules,

and three hundred camels, brought, as it proved, to pay the *Macedonians*. In this sort came the may-game-king into the field, incumbered with a most unnecessary train of strumpets, attended with troops of divers nations, speaking divers languages, and for their numbers impossible to be marshalled ; and for the most part so effeminate, and so rich in gold and in garments, as the same could not but have encouraged the nakedest nation of the world against them. We find it in daily experience, that all discourse of magnanimity, of national virtue, of religion, of liberty, and whatsoever else hath been wont to move and encourage virtuous men, hath no force at all with the common soldier, in comparison of spoil and riches. The rich ships are boarded upon all disadvantages, the rich towns are furiously assaulted, and the plentiful countries willingly invaded. Our *English* nation have attempted many places in the *Indies*, and run upon the *Spaniards* headlong, in hope of their royals of plate, and pistolets, which had they been put to it upon the like disadvantages in *Ireland*, or in any poor country, they would have turned their pieces and pikes against their commanders, confessing that they had been brought without reason to the butchery and slaughter. It is true, that the war is made willingly, and for the most part with good success, that is ordained against the richest nations ; for as the needy are always adventurous, so plenty is wont to shun peril ; and men that have well to live, do rather study how to live well, I mean wealthily, than care to die (as they call it) honourably. *Car où il n'y a rien à gagner que des coups volontiers, il n'y va pas* ; No man makes haste to the market, where there is nothing to be bought but blows.

Now, if *Alexander* had beheld this preparation before his consultation with his soothsayers, he would have satisfy'd himself by the outsidings of the *Persians*, and never have looked into the entrails of beasts for success. For leaving the description of this second battel (which is indeed no-where well described, neither for the confusion and hasty running away of the *Asians* could be) we have enough by the slaughter that was made of them, and by the few that fell of the *Macedonians*, to inform us what manner of resistance was made. For if it be true that threescore thousand *Persian* footmen were slain in this battel, with ten thousand of their horsemen : or (as *Curtius* saith) an hundred thousand footmen, with the same number of horsemen, and besides this slaughter, forty thousand taken prisoners, while of *Alexander's* army there miscarried but two hundred and fourscore of all sorts, of which numbers *Arianus* and other historians cut off almost the one half : I do verily believe that this small number rather died with the over-travel and pains-taking in killing their enemies, than by any strokes received from them. And surely, if the *Persian* nation (at this time degenerate, and the basest of the world) had had any favour remaining of the ancient valour of their forefathers, they would never have sold so good cheap, and at so vile a price, the mother, the wife, the daughters, and other the king's children, had their own honour been valued by them at nothing, and the king's safety and his estate at less. *Darius* by this time found it true what *Charidemus*, a banished *Grecian* of *Athens*, had told him, when he made a view of his army about *Babylon*, to wit, that the multitude which he had assembled of divers nations, richly attired, but poorly armed, would be found more terrible to the inhabitants of the country, whom in passing by

they would devour, than to the *Macedonians*, whom they meant to assail; who being all old and obedient soldiers, embattled in gross squadrons, which they call their *Phalanx*, well covered with armour for defence, and furnished with weapons for offence of great advantage, would make so little account of his delicate *Persians*, loving their ease and their palate, being withal ill armed and worse disciplined, as except it would please him to entertain (having so great abundance of treasure to do it withal) a sufficient number of the same *Grecians*, and so to encounter the *Macedonians* with men of equal courage, he would repent him over-late, as taught by the miserable success like to follow.

But this discourse was so displeasing to *Darius* (who had been accustomed to nothing so much as to his own praises, and to nothing so little as to hear truth;) as he commanded that this poor *Grecian* should be presently slain: who, while he was afundering in the tormentors hands, used this speech to the king, that *Alexander*, against whom he had given this good counsel, should assuredly revenge his death, and lay deserved punishment upon *Darius* for despising his advice.

It was the saying of a wise man: *Desperata ejus principis salus est, cujus aures ita formatae sunt, ut aspera quæ utilia, nec quicquam nisi jucundum accipiat*; That prince's safety is in a desperate case, whose ears judge all that is profitable to be too sharp, and will entertain nothing that is unpleasant.

For liberty in counsel is the life and essence of counsel; *Libertas consilii est ejus vita, & essentia, qua erepta consilium evanescit*.

Darius did likewise value at nothing the advice given him by the *Grecian* soldiers that served him, who intreated him not to fight in the straights: but had they been counsellors and directors in that war, as they were underlings and commanded by others, they had with the help of a good troop of horsemen been able to have opposed the fury of *Alexander*, without any assistance of the *Persian* footmen. For when *Darius* was overthrown with all his cowardly and confused rabble, those *Grecians*, under their captain *Amyntas*, held firm, and marched away in order, in despite of the vanquishers. Old soldiers are not easily dismay'd: we read in histories ancient and modern, what brave retreats have been made by them, tho' the rest of the army in which they have served, hath been broken.

At the battel of *Ravenna*, where the *Imperialists* were beaten by the *French*, a squadron of *Spaniards*, old soldiers, came off unbroken and undismay'd; whom when *Gaston de Foix*, duke of *Nemours*, and nephew to *Lewis* the twelfth, charged, as holding the victory not entire by their escape, he was overturn'd and slain in the place. For it is truly said of those men, who, by being acquainted with dangers, fear them not: that, *Neglecto periculo imminentis mali opus ipsum quantumvis difficile aggrediuntur*; They go about the business it self, how hard soever it be, not standing to consider of the danger, which the mischief hanging over their heads may bring: and as truly of those that know the wars but by hearsay: *Quod valentes sunt & praevalentes ante pericula, in ipsis tamen periculis discedunt*; They have ability enough, and to spare, till dangers appear; but when peril indeed comes, they get them gone.

These *Grecians* also, that made the retreat, advised *Darius* to retire his army into the plain of *Mesopotamia*, to the end that *Alexander* being entered into those large fields, and great champions, he might have environed the *Macedonians* on all

sides with his multitude; and withal they counselled him to divide that his huge army into parts, not committing the whole to one stroke of fortune, whereby he might have fought many battels, and have brought no greater numbers at once than might have been well marshalled and conducted. But this counsel was so contrary to the cowardly affections of the *Persians*, as they perswaded *Darius* to environ the *Grecians* which gave the advice, and to cut them in pieces as traitors. The infinite wisdom of God doth not work always by one and the same way, but very often in the alteration of kingdoms and estates, by taking understanding from the governors, so as they can neither give nor discern of counsels. For *Darius*, that would needs fight with *Alexander* upon a straightened piece of ground, near unto the city of *Iffus*, where he could bring no more hands to fight than *Alexander* could (who by the advice of *Parmenio* staid there, as in a place of best advantage) was utterly overthrown, his treasure lost, his wife, mother, and children (whom the *Grecians* his followers had perswaded him to leave in *Babylon*, or elsewhere) taken prisoners, and all their train of ladies spoiled of their rich garments, jewels, and honour. It is true, that both the queen, with her daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to *Alexander's* presence, were entertained with all respect due unto their birth, their honours preserved, and their jewels and rich garments restored unto them; and tho' *Darius's* wife was a most beautiful lady, and his daughters of excellent form, yet *Alexander* mastered his affections towards them all: only it is reported out of *Aristobulus* the historian, that he embraced the wife of the valiant *Memnon*, her husband lately dead, who was taken flying from *Damascus* by *Parmenio*, at which time the daughters of *Ochus*, who reigned before *Darius*, and the wives and children of all the nobility of *Persia* in effect, fell into captivity; at which time also *Darius's* treasure (not lost at *Iffus*) was seized, amounting to six thousand and two hundred talents of coin, and of bullion five hundred talents, with a world of riches besides.

Darius himself leaving his brother dead, with divers others of his chief captains (casting the crown from his head) hardly escaped.

After this overthrow given unto *Darius*, all *Phoenicia* (the city of *Tyre* excepted) was yielded to *Alexander*, of which *Parmenio* was made governour.

Aradus, *Zidon*, and *Biblos*, maritime cities of great importance, of which one *Strato* was king (but hated of the people) acknowledged *Alexander*. Good fortune followed him so fast that it trod on his heels; for *Antigonus*, *Alexander's* lieutenant in *Asia* the less, overthrew the *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, and others lately revolted; *Aristodemus*, *Darius's* admiral, had his fleet partly taken, and in part drowned by the *Macedonians* newly levied; the *Lacedemonians* that warred against *Antipater* were beaten; four thousand of those *Greeks* which made the retreat at the last battel, forsaking both the party of *Darius* and of *Alexander*, and led by *Amyntas* into *Egypt*, to hold it for themselves, were buried there; for the time was not yet come to divide kingdoms.

Alexander, to honour *Ephillion*, whom he loved most, gave him power to dispose of the kingdom of *Zidon*. A man of a most poor estate, that laboured to sustain his life, being of the royal blood, was commended by the people unto him, who changed his spade into a scepter, so as he was beheld both a begger and a king in one and the same hour.

It was a good desire of this new king, when speaking to *Alexander*, he wish'd that he could bear his prosperity with the same moderation, and quietness of heart, that he had done his adversity; but ill done of *Alexander*, in that he would not perform in himself that which he commended in another man's desire; for it was a sign that he did but accompany, and could not govern, his felicity.

While he made some stay in those parts, he received a letter from *Darius*, importing the ransom of his wife, his mother, and his children, with some other conditions of peace; but such as rather became a conqueror, than one that had now been twice shamefully beaten, not vouchsafing, in his direction, to stile *Alexander* King. It is true, that the *Romans*, after that they had received an overthrow by *Pyrrhus*, returned him a more scornful answer upon the offer of peace, than they did before the trial of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the spring, so that of *Darius* had already cast leaf; the one resolved, well armed, and disciplined nation; the other cowardly and effeminate. *Alexander* disdain'd the offers of *Darius*, and sent him word, that he not only directed his letter to a king, but to the king of *Darius* himself.

S E C T. V.

How Alexander besieged and won the city of Tyre.

ALXANDER, coming near to the city of *Tyre*, received from them the present of a golden crown, with great store of victuals, and other presents, which he took very thankfully, returning them answer, that he desired to offer a sacrifice to *Hercules*, the protector of their city, from whom he was descended. But the *Tyrians* like not his company within their walls, but tell him, that the temple of *Hercules* was seated in the old city adjoining, now abandoned and desolate. To be short, *Alexander* resolved to enter it by force, and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the island, whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the main; yet with the labour of many hands, having great store of stone from the old *Tyre*, and timber sufficient from *Libanus*, he filled the passage of the sea between the island and the main; which being more than once carried away by the strength of the sea upon a storm of wind, some time by the *Tyrians* fired, and some time torn asunder; yet with the help of his navy, which arrived (during the siege) from *Cyprus*, he overcame all difficulties, and prevailed, after he had spent seven months in that attempt. The *Tyrians*, in the beginning of the siege, had barbarously drowned the messengers sent by *Alexander*, persuading them to render the city, in respect whereof, and of the great loss of time and men, he put eight thousand to the sword, and caused two thousand of those that escaped the first fury, to be hanged on crosses on the sea-shore, and reserved for slaves (saith *Diodore*) thirteen thousand; ^a *Arianus* reckons them at thirty thousand. Many more had died, had not the *Zidonians*, that served ^b *Alexander*, conveyed great numbers away by shipping unto their own city.

Happy it was for *Apollo* that the town was taken; for one of the *Tyrians* having dreamt, that this god meant to forsake the city, they bound him fast with a golden chain to the idol of *Hercules*; but *Alexander*, like a gracious prince, loosened him again.

It is true, that it was a notable enterprise and difficult; but great things are made greater. For *Nabuchodonosor* had taken it before, and filled up the channel that lay between the island and the main.

The government of this territory he gave to *Philotas*, the son of *Parmenio*; *Cilicia* he committed to *Socrates* and *Andromachus*, lieutenant under *Parmenio*; *Ephestion* had the charge of the fleet, and was directed to find *Alexander* at *Gaza* towards *Egypt*.

S E C T. VI.

How Darius offered conditions of peace to Alexander. Alexander wins Gaza; and deals graciously with the Jews.

IN the mean while *Darius* sends again to *Alexander*, sets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the east, and layeth the loss of the last battel to the straitness of the place: he hoped to terrify him, by threatening to encompass him in the plain countries; he bids him to consider, how impossible it was to pass the rivers of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, *Araxes*, and the rest, with all such other fearful things: for he, that was now filled with nothing but fear, had arguments enough of that nature to present unto another. All the kingdoms between the river of *Alys* and the *Hellepont*, he offered him in dower with his beloved daughter. But *Alexander* answered, that he offered him nothing but his own, and that which victory and his own virtue had possess'd him of: that he was to give conditions, and not to receive any; and that he having passed the sea it self, disdain'd to think of resistance in transporting himself over rivers. It is said, that *Parmenio*, who was now old and full of honour and riches, told the king, that were he *Alexander*, he would accept of *Darius's* offers; to which *Alexander* answered, that so would he if he were *Parmenio*.

But he goes on towards *Egypt*, and coming before *Gaza*, *Betis*, a faithful servant to *Darius*, shuts the gate against him, and defends the town with an obstinate resolution, at the siege whereof *Alexander* received a wound in his shoulder, which was dangerous, and a blow on his leg with a stone: He found better men in this place than he did at the former battels; for he left so many of his *Macedonians* buried in the sands of *Gaza*, that he was forc'd to send for a new supply into *Greece*. Here it was that *Alexander* first began to change condition, and to exercise cruelty. For after that he had enter'd *Gaza* by assault, and taken *Betis* (whom ^c *Josephus* calls *Babemesis*) that was weakened with many wounds, and who never gave ground to the assailants, he bored holes through his feet, and caused him to be drawn about the streets, whilst he was yet alive; who being as valiant a man as himself, disdain'd to ask him either life, or remission of his torments. And what had he to countenance this his tyranny, but the imitation of his ancestor *Achilles*, who did the like to *Heclor*? It is true, that cruelty hath always somewhat to cover her deformity.

From *Gaza* (saith ^d *Josephus*) he led his army towards *Jerusalem*, a city, for the antiquity and great fame thereof, well known unto him while he lay before *Tyre*: He had sent for some supply thither, which *Jaddus* the high priest, being subject and sworn to *Darius*, had refused him. The *Jews* therefore fearing his revenge, and unable to resist,

^a Arian. ^b Jull. l. 18. ^c Joseph. Ant. l. 11 c. 8 ^d l. 11. c. ult

committed the care of their estates and safety to *Jaddus*, who, being taught by God, issued out of the city covered with his pontifical robes, to wit, an upper garment of purple, embroidered with gold, with his miter, and the plate of gold wherein the name of God was written, the priests and levites in their rich ornaments, and the people in white garments, in a manner so unusual, stately, and grave, as *Alexander* greatly admired it. *Josephus* reports it, that he fell to the ground before the high priest, as reverencing the name of God, and that *Parmenio* reprehended him for it: howsoever it was, I am of opinion, that he became so confident in his enterprise, and so assured of the success after the prophecy of *Daniel* had been read unto him, wherein he saw himself, and the conquest of *Persia*, so directly pointed at, as nothing thenceforth could discourage him or daunt him. He confessed to *Parmenio* (saith *Josephus*) that in *Dio*, a city of *Macedon*, when his mind laboured the conquest of *Asia*, he saw in his sleep such a person as *Jaddus*, and so apparelled, professing one and the same God, by whom he was encouraged to pursue the purpose he had in hand, with assurance of victory. This apparition, formerly apprehended only by the light of his phantasy, he now beheld with his bodily eyes; wherewith he was so exceedingly pleased and emboldened, as contrary to the practice of the *Phenicians* (who hoped to have sack'd and destroyed *Jerusalem*) he gave the *Jews* all, and more than they desired, both of liberty and immunity, with permission to live under their own laws, and to exercise and enjoy their own religion.

S E C T. VII.

Alexander wins Egypt, and makes a journey to the temple of Hammon.

FROM *Jerusalem* *Alexander* turned again towards *Egypt*, and entered it, where *Darius's* lieutenant, *Astaces*, received him, and delivered into his hand the city of *Memphis*, with eight hundred talents of treasure, and all other the king's riches. By this we see that the king of *Persia*, who had more of affection than of judgment, gave to the valiantest man he had but the command of one city, and to the veriest coward the government of all *Egypt*. When he had set things in order in *Egypt*, he began to travel after *Godhead*, towards *Jupiter Hammon*; so foolish had prosperity made him. He was to pass over the dangerous and dry sands, where, when the water which he brought on his camel's back was spent, he could not but have perished, had not a marvellous shower of rain fallen upon him, when his army was in extreme despair. All men that know *Egypt*, and have written thereof, affirm, that it never rains there; but the purposes of the mighty God are secret, and he bringeth to pass what it pleaseth him; for it is also said, that when he had lost his way in those vast deserts, that a flight of crows flew before the army; who making faster wing when they were followed, and fluttering slowly when the army was cast back, guided them over those pathless sands to *Jupiter's* temple.

^a *Arianus*, from the report of *Ptolemy*, the son of *Logus*, says, that he was led by two dragons, both which reports may be alike true; but many of those wonders and things prodigious, are feigned by those that have written the story of *Alexander*; as, that an eagle lay hovering directly over his head at the battel of *Iffus*; that a swallow flew about his head when he slept, and could not be affrighted from

him, till it had wakened him, at *Halicarnassus*; fore-shewing the treason of *Eropus*, practised by *Darius* to have slain him; that from the iron bars, of which the *Tyrians* made their defensive engines when *Alexander* besieged them, there fell drops of blood; and that the like drops were found in a loaf of bread, broken by a *Macedonian* soldier, at the same time; that a turf of earth fell on his shoulder, when he lay before *Gaza*, out of which there flew a bird into the air. The *Spaniards*, in the conquest of the *West-Indies*, have many such pretty tales; telling how they have been assisted in battel, by the presence of our lady, and by angels riding on white horses, with the like *Romish* miracles, which I think themselves do hardly believe. The strangest things that I have read of in this kind, being certainly true, was, that the night before the battel of *Novara*, all the dogs which followed the *French* army; ran from them to the *Switzers*, leaping and fawning upon them, as if they had been bred and fed by them all their lives; and in the morning following, *Trivulzi* and *Tremoville*, generals for *Lewis* the twelfth, were by these *Imperial Switzers* utterly broken and put to ruin.

The place of this idol of *Jupiter Hammon* is ill described by *Curtius*; for he bounds it by the *Arabian* troglodites on the south, between whom and the territory of *Hammon*, the region *Thebais*, or the superior *Egypt*, with the mountains of *Libya*, and the river of *Nilus*, are interjacent, and on the north he joins it to a nation, called *Nassamones*, who bordering the sea-shore, live (saith he) upon the spoils of shipwreck; whereas the temple or grove of this idol hath no sea near it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the south part of ^b *Libya*; these *Nassamones* being due west from it, in the south part of *Marmarica*.

When *Alexander* came near the place, he sent some of his parasites before him to practise the priests attending the oracle, that their answer might be given in all things agreeable to his mad ambition, who affected the title of *Jupiter's* son. And so he was saluted *son of Jupiter*, by the devil's prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as some think) defective in the *Greek* tongue; for whereas he meant to say *O-pai-dion*, he said *O-pai-dios*; that is, *O son of Jupiter*, instead of, *O dear son*: For which grammatical error he was richly rewarded, and a rumour presently spread, that the great *Jupiter* had acknowledged *Alexander* for his own.

He had heard that *Perseus* and *Hercules* had formerly consulted with this oracle; the one, when he was employed against *Gorgon*; the other, against *Anteus* and *Busiris*; and seeing these men had derived themselves from the gods, why might not he? By this it seems, that he hoped to make his followers and the world fools, though indeed he made himself one, by thinking to cover from the world's knowledge his vanities and vices; and the better to confirm his followers in the belief of his deity, he had practised the priests to give answer to such as consulted with the oracle, that it should be pleasing to ^c *Jupiter* to honour *Alexander* as his son.

Who this *Ammon* was, and how represented, either by a boss carried in a boat, or by a ram, or a ram's head, I see that many wise men have troubled themselves to find out; but, as *Arianus* speaks of *Dionysius*, or *Liber Pater* (who lived, saith *St. Augustine*, in *Moses's* time) *Ida quæ de deis veteras fabulis suis conscripsere, non sunt nimium curiose per-*

^a Arian. l. 3. ^b Ptol. *Asie Tab.* 3. ^c Curt. l. 4.

vestiganda ; We must not over-curiously search into the fables which the ancients have written of their gods.

But this is certain and notable, that after the gospel began to be preached in the world, the devil in this and in all other idols became speechless. For that this *Hammon* was neglected in the time of *Tiberius Cesar*, and in the time of *Trajan* altogether forgotten, *Strabo* and *Plutarch* witness.

There is found near this temple a fountain, called *Fons solis* (though *Ptolemy* in his third *African* table sets it farther off) that at midnight it is as hot as boiling water, and at noon as cold as any ice, to which I cannot but give credit, because I have heard of some other wells of like nature, and because it is reported by St. *Augustine*, by *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, *Mela*, *Solinus*, *Arianus*, *Curtius*, and others ; and indeed our baths in *England* are much warmer in the night than in the day.

S E C T. VIII.

How Alexander marching against Darius, was opposed very unskilfully by the enemy.

FROM the temple of *Hammon* he returned to *Memphis*, where among many other learned men he heard the philosopher *Pfammones*, who, belike understanding that he affected the title of *Jupiter's* son, told him, that God was the father-king of all men in general ; and, refining the pride of this haughty king, brought him to say, that God was the Father of all mortal men, but that he acknowledged none for his children save good men.

He gave the charge of the several provinces of *Egypt* to several governours, following the rule of his master ^a*Aristotle*, That a great dominion should not be continued in the hands of any one : whom therein the *Roman* emperors also followed, not daring to commit the government of *Egypt* to any of their senators, but to men of meaner rank and degree. He then gave order for the founding of *Alexandria* upon the westernmost branch of *Nilus*. And having now settled (as he could) the estate of *Egypt*, with the kingdoms of the lesser *Asia*, *Phenicia*, and *Syria* (which being but the pawns of *Darius's* ill fortune, one happy victory would readily have redeemed) he led his army towards *Euphrates*, which passage, though the same was committed to *Mazeus* to defend, yet was it abandoned, and *Alexander* without resistance passed it. From thence he marched towards *Tigris*, a river for the swiftness thereof called by the *Persians*, the arrow. Here, as ^b*Curtius* and reason it self tells us, might *Darius* easily have repelled the invading *Macedonian* : for the violent course of the stream was such, as it drove before it many weighty stones, and those that moved not, but lay in the bottom, were so round and well polished by continual rolling, that no man was able to fight on so slippery a footing ; nor the *Macedonian* footmen to wade the river, otherwise than by joining their hands and interlacing their arms together, making one weighty and entire body to resist the swift passage and furious race of the stream. Besides this notable help, the channel was so deep towards the eastern shore, where *Darius* should have made head, as the foot-men were enforced to lift their bows and arrows and darts over their heads, to keep them from being moistened and made unserviceable by the waters. But it was truly and understandingly said of *Homer*,

*Talis est hominum terrestrium mens,
Qualem quotidie ducit pater virorumq; Deorumq;*

The minds of men are ever so affected,
As by God's will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all estates of the world by the surfeit of misgovernment have been subject to many grievous, and sometimes mortal diseases. So had the empire of *Persia* at this time brought it self into a burning and consuming fever, and thereby become frantick and without understanding, forebiewing manifestly the dissolution and death thereof.

But *Alexander* hath now recovered the eastern shores of *Tigris*, without any other difficulty than that of the nature of the place ; where *Mazeus* (who had charge to defend the passage both of *Euphrates* and it) presented himself to the *Macedonians*, followed with certain companies of horsemen, as if with uneven forces he durst have charged them on even ground, when as with a multitude far exceeding them he forsook the advantage, which no valour of his enemies could easily have overcome. But it is commonly seen, that fearful and cowardly men do ever follow those ways and counsels, whereof the opportunity is already lost.

It is true, that he set all provisions a fire where-with the *Macedonians* might serve themselves over *Tigris*, thinking thereby greatly to have distressed them ; but the execution of good counsel is fruitless when unseasonable. For now was *Alexander* so well furnished with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competency of the army which he conducted. Those things also which he sought to waste, *Alexander* being now in fight, were by his horse-men saved and recovered. This *Mazeus* might have done some days before at good leisure ; or at this time with so great a strength of horsemen, as the *Macedonians* durst not have pursued them, leaving the strength of their foot out of fight, and far behind.

S E C T. IX.

The new provisions of Darius. Accidents foregoing the battel of Arbela.

DARIUS, upon *Alexander's* first return out of *Egypt*, had assembled all the forces, which those regions next him could furnish, and now also were the *Arians*, *Scythians*, *Indians*, and other nations arrived ; nations (saith *Curtius*) that rather served to make up the names of men, than to make resistance. *Arianus* hath numbered them with their leaders, and finds of foot-men of all sorts ten hundred thousand, and of horse four hundred thousand, besides armed chariots, and some few elephants. *Curtius*, who musters the army of *Darius* at two hundred thousand foot, and near fifty thousand horse, comes (I think) nearer to the true number ; and yet seeing that he had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his vassals, it is like enough that he had gathered together of all sorts some three or four hundred thousand, with which he hoped in those fair plains of *Assyria* to have overborne the few numbers of the invading army. But it is a rule in the philosophy of the war.

^c *In omni praelia non tam multitudo, & virtus in docta, quam ars & exercitum, solent præstare vittoriam* ; In every battel skill and practice do more towards the victory, than multitude and rude audacity.

While *Alexander* gave rest to his army after their passage over *Tigris*, there happened an eclipse of the moon, of which the *Macedonians*, not knowing the cause and reason, were greatly affrighted. All

^a *Arist. Pol. l. 5*

^b *Curt. l. 4.*

^c *Veget*

that were ignorant (as the multitude always are) took it for a certain presage of their overthrow and destruction, insomuch as they began not only to murmur, but to speak it boldly, that for the ambition of one man, a man that disdained *Philip* for his father, and would needs be called the son of *Jupiter*, they should all perish; for he not only enforced them to make war against worlds of enemies, but against rivers, mountains, and the heavens themselves.

Hereupon *Alexander* being ready to march forward, made a halt; and, to quiet the minds of the multitude, he called before him the *Egyptian* astrologers, which followed him thence, that by them the soldiers might be assured that this defection of the moon was a certain presage of good success; for that it was natural they never imparted to the common people, but reserved the knowledge to themselves, so as a sorry almanack-maker had been no small fool in those days.

Of this kind of superstitious observation *Cesar* made good use, when he fought against *Arivissus* and the *Germans*: for they being persuaded by the casting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the moon, they should certainly lose the battle, *Cesar* forced them to abide it, though they durst not give it; wherein having their minds already beaten by their own superstition, and being resolutely charged by the *Romans*, the whole army in effect perished.

These *Egyptians* gave no other reason than this, that the *Grecians* were under the aspect of the sun, the *Persians* of the moon; and therefore the moon failing and being darkened, the state of *Persia* was now in danger of falling, and their glory of being obscured. This judgment of the *Egyptian* priests being noised through all the army, all were satisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the war, which, though devised since, was well observed then: *Exercitum terrore plenum dux ad pugnam non ducat*; Let not a captain lead his army to the fight, when it is possessed with matter of terror. It is truly observed by *Curcius*, that the people are led by nothing so much as by superstition; yea, we find it in all stories, and often in our own, that by such inventions, devised tales, dreams and prophecies, the people of this land have been carried head-long into many dangerous tumults and insurrections, and still to their own loss and ruin.

As *Alexander* drew near the *Persian* army, certain letters were surpris'd written by *Darius* to the *Grecians*, persuading them for great sums of money, either to kill or betray *Alexander*. But these, by the advice of *Parmenio*, he suppressed.

At this time also *Darius's* fair wife, oppressed with sorrow, and wearied with travel, died. Which accident *Alexander* seemed no less to bewail than *Darius*, who upon the first bruit suspected that some dishonourable violence had been offered her; but being satisfied, by an eunuch of his own that attended her, of *Alexander's* kingly respect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he desired the immortal Gods, that if they had decreed to make a new master of the *Persian* empire, then it would please them to confer it on so just and continent an enemy as *Alexander*, to whom he once again, before the last tryal of battle, offered these conditions of peace.

That with his daughter in marriage he would deliver up and resign all *Asia* the less, and with *Egypt*, all those kingdoms between the *Phenician* sea, and the river of *Euphrates*; that he would pay him for the ransom of his mother, and his other daughters, thirty thousand talents, and that for the perfor-

No. 30.

mance thereof, he would leave his son *Oecbus* in hostage: to this they sought to persuade *Alexander* by such arguments as they had. *Alexander* causing the ambassadors to be removed, advised with his council, but heard no man speak but *Parmenio*, the very right hand of his good fortune; who persuaded him to accept of these fair conditions. He told him, that the empire between *Euphrates* and *Tellepsus* was a fair addition to *Macedon*; that the retaining of the *Persian* prisoners was a great cumber, and the treasure offered for them of far better use than their persons, with divers other arguments; all which *Alexander* rejected. And yet it is probable, that if he had followed his advice, and bounded his ambition within those limits, he might have lived as famous for virtue as for fortune, and left himself a successor of able age to have enjoyed his estate, which afterward, indeed, he much enlarged, rather to the greatning of others than himself: who, to assure themselves of what they had usurped upon his issues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few years after. The truth is, that *Alexander*, in going so far into the east, left behind him the reputation which he brought out of *Macedon*; the reputation of a just and prudent prince, a prince temperate, advised, and grateful: and, being taught new lessons by abundance of prosperity, became a lover of wine, of his own flattery, and of extreme cruelty. Yea, as *Seneca* hath observed, the taint of one unjust slaughter, amongst many, defaced and withered the flourishing beauty of all his great acts and glorious victories obtained. But the *Persian* ambassadors stay his answer, which was to this effect: that whatsoever he had bestowed on the wife and children of *Darius*, proceeded from his own natural clemency and magnanimity, without all respect to their master; thanks to an enemy was improper; that he made no wars against adversity, but against those that resisted him; not against women and children, but against armed enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of *Darius* to corrupt his soldiers, and by great sums of money to persuade his friends to attempt upon his person, he had reason to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant; yet he could not (were it otherwise and faithful) resolve in haste to accept the same, seeing *Darius* had made the war against him, not as a king with royal and overforce, but as a traitor by secret and base practice: that for the territory offered him, it was already his own, and if *Darius* could beat him back again over *Euphrates*, which he had already paid he would then believe that he offered him somewhat in his own power: otherwise he propounded to himself for the reward of the war which he had made, all those kingdoms as yet in *Darius's* possession, wherein, whether he were abused by his own hopes or no, the battle which he meant to fight in the day following should determine. For in conclusion, he told them, that he came into *Asia* to give, and not to receive; that the heavens could not hold two suns: and therefore if *Darius* could be content to acknowledge *Alexander* for his superior, he might perchance be persuaded to give him conditions fit for a second person and his inferior.

SECT. X.

The battle of Arbela, and that it could not be so strongly fought as report hath made it.

WITH this answer the ambassadors return; *Darius* prepares to fight, and sends *Mazæus* to defend a passage, which he never yet dared to much

much as to hazard. *Alexander* consults with his captains; *Parmenio* persuades him to force *Darius's* camp by night, so that the multitude of enemies might not move terror in the *Macedonians*, being but few. *Alexander* disdains to steal the victory, and resolves to bring with him the day-light, to witness his valour. But it was the success that made good *Alexander's* resolution, tho' the counsel given by *Parmenio* was more sound: for it is a ground in war, *Si pauci necessario cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, consilium est noctis tempore belli fortunam tentare*. Notwithstanding, upon the view of the multitude at hand, he staggers and entrenches himself upon a ground of advantage, which the *Persian* had abandoned: and whereas *Darius*, for fear of surprise, had stood with his army in armour all the day, and forborn sleep all the night; *Alexander* gave his men rest and store of food, for reason had taught him this rule in the war: *In pugna milites validius resistunt, si cibo potuque refecti fuerint, nam fames intrinsecus magis pugnat, quam ferrum exterius*; Soldiers do the better stand to in fight, if they have their bellies full of meat and drink; for hunger within fights more eagerly than steel without.

The numbers which *Alexander* had, saith *Arianus*, were forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse; these belike were of the *European* army; for he had besides both *Syrians*, *Indians*, *Egyptians*, and *Arabians*, that followed him out of those regions. He used but a short speech to his soldiers to encourage them, and I think that he needed little rhetoric; for by the two former battels upon the river of *Granick* and in *Cilicia*, the *Macedonians* were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true saying; *Victoria victoriam parat, animumque victoribus auget, & adversariis aufert*; One victory begets another, and puts courage into those that have already had the better, taking spirit away from such as have been beaten.

Arianus and *Curtius* make large descriptions of this battel, fought at *Gaugamela*; they tell us of many changes and re-changes; that the victory inclined sometimes to the *Persians*, sometimes to the *Macedonians*; that *Parmenio* was in danger of being overthrown, who led the left wing; that *Alexander's* rear-guard was broken, and his carriages lost; that for the first and valorous encounters on both sides, *Fortune* herself was long unresolved on whom to bestow the garland: and lastly, that *Alexander* in person wrought wonders, being charged in his retreat. But, in conclusion, *Curtius* delivers us in account but three hundred dead *Macedonians*, in all this terrible days work; saying, that *Ephestion*, *Perdiccas*, and others of name, were wounded. *Arianus* finds not a third part of this number slain; of the *Persians* there fell forty thousand (saith *Curtius*) thirty thousand, according to *Arianus*: ninety thousand, if we believe *Diodore*. But what can we judge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former battels, the *Persians* upon the first charge ran away, and that the *Macedonians* pursued? for if of these four or five hundred thousand *Asians* brought into the field by *Darius*, every man had cast but a dart, or a stone, the *Macedonians* could not have bought the empire of the east at so easy a rate, as six or seven hundred men in three notorious battels. Certainly, if *Darius* had fought with *Alexander* upon the banks of *Euphrates*, and had armed but fifty or three score thousand of this great multitude, only with spades (for the most

of all he had were fit for no other weapon) it had been impossible for *Alexander* to have pass'd that river so easily, much less the river of *Tigris*. But, as a man whose empire God in his providence had determined, he abandoned all places of advantage, and suffered *Alexander* to enter so far into the bowels of his kingdom, as all hope and possibility of escape by retreat being taken from the *Macedonians*, they had presented unto them the choice, either of death or victory; to which election *Darius* could no way constrain his own, seeing they had many large regions to run into from those that invaded them.

S E C T. XI.

Of things following the battel of Arbela. The yielding of Babylon and Susa.

Darius, after the rout of his army, recovered *Arbela* the same night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded unto them that ran after him his purpose of making a retreat into *Media*, persuading them that the *Macedonians*, greedy of spoil and riches, would rather attempt *Babylon*, *Susa*, and other cities, filled with treasure, than pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his nobility rather obeyed than approved.

Alexander, soon after *Darius's* departure, arrives at *Arbela*, which, with a great mass of treasure and princely ornaments, was rendered unto him: for the fear which conducted *Darius* took nothing with it but shame and dishonour. He, that had been twice beaten, should rather have sent his treasure into *Media*, than brought it to *Arbela*, so near the place where he did abide the coming of his enemies; if he had been victorious, he might have brought it after him at leisure; but being overcome, he knew it impossible to drive mules and camels laden with gold from the pursuing enemy, seeing himself, at the overthrow he had in *Cilicia*, cast the crown from his head to run away with the more speed. But errors are then best discerned, when most incurable; *Et præterita magis reprehendi possunt, quam corrigi*; It is easier to reprehend, than amend what is pass'd.

From *Arbela* *Alexander* took his way towards *Babylon*, where *Mazeus*, in whom *Darius* had most confidence, rendered himself, his children, and the city. Also the captain of the castle, who was keeper of the treasure, strewed the streets with flowers, burnt frankincense upon altars of silver as *Alexander* passed by, and delivered unto him whatsoever was committed to his trust. The *Magi* (the *Chaldean* astrologers) followed this captain in great solemnity to entertain their new king: after these came the *Babylonian* horsemen, infinite rich in attire, but exceeding poor in warlike furniture. Between these (though not greatly to be feared) and himself, *Alexander* caused his *Macedonian* footmen to march. When he entered the castle, he admired the glory thereof, and the abundance of treasure therein found, amounting to fifty thousand talents of silver uncoined. The city it self I have elsewhere described, with the walls, the towers, the gates, and the circuit, with the wonderful place of pleasure about two miles in circuit, surrounded with a wall of fourscore foot high, and on the top thereof (being under-borne with pillars) a grove of beautiful and fruitful trees, which it is said that one of the kings of *Babylon* caused to be built, that the queen and other princesses might walk privately therein. * In this city, rich in all things, but most of all in vo-

* An. b. Alex.

luptuous pleasures, the king rested himself and the whole army four and thirty days, consuming that time in banqueting, and in all sorts of effeminate exercise, which so much softened the minds of the *Macedonians*, not acquainted till now with the like delicacies, as the severe discipline of war, which taught them the sufferances of hunger and thirst, of painful travel, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgotten, than neglected.

Here it was that those bands of a thousand soldiers were erected, and commanders appointed over them, who thereupon were stiled *Chiliarchi*. This new order *Alexander* brought in, was to honour those captains which were found by certain selected judges to have deserved best in the late war. For before this time the *Macedonian* companies consisted but of five hundred. Certainly the drawing down of the footbands in this latter age hath been the cause (saith the marshal *Monluc*) that the title and charge of a captain hath been bestowed on every *Picque Bœuf* or spurn-cow; for when the captains of foot had a thousand soldiers under one ensign, and after that five hundred, as in the time of *Francis* the first, the title was honourable, and the kings were less charged, and far better served. King *Henry* the eighth of *England* never gave the commandment of any of his good ships, but to men of known valour, and of great estate; nay, sometimes he made two gentlemen of quality commanders in one ship: but all orders and degrees are fallen from the reputation they had.

While *Alexander* was yet in *Babylon*, there came to him a great supply out of *Europe*, for *Antipater* sent him six thousand foot, and five hundred horse; out of *Macedon*, of *Thracians* three thousand foot, and the like number of horse; and out of *Greece*, four thousand foot, and four hundred horse; by which his army was greatly strengthened: for those that were infected with the pleasures of *Babylon*, could hardly be brought again, *De quitter la plume pour dormir sur la dure*; To change from soft beds to hard boards.

He left the castle and city of *Babylon* with the territories about it in charge with three of his own captains, to wit, *Agathon*, *Minetus*, and *Appolidorus*; to supply all wants a thousand talents: but to grace *Mazeus*, who rendered the city unto him, he gave him the title of his lieutenant over all, and took with him *Bagislus* that gave up the castle, and having distributed to every soldier a part of the treasure, he left *Babylon*, and entered into the province *Satrapene*: from thence he went on towards *Susa* in *Persia*, the same which *Ptolemy*, *Herodotus*, and *Elanus* call *Memnonia*, situate on the river *Euleus*, a city sometime governed by *Daniel* the prophet. *Abulites* also, governour of this famous city, gave it up to the conqueror with fifty thousand talents of silver in bullion, and twelve elephants for the war, with all other the treasures of *Darius*. "In this sort did those vassals of fortune, lovers of the king's prosperity, not of his person (for so all ambitious men are) purchase their own peace and safety with the king's treasures. And herein was *Alexander* well advised, that whatsoever titles he gave to the *Persians*, yet he left all places of importance in trust with his own captains; to wit, *Babylon*, *Susa*, and *Persepolis*, with other cities and provinces by him conquered; for if *Darius* (as yet living) had beaten the *Macedonians* but in one battel, all the nobility of *Persia* would have returned to their natural lord. Those that are traitors to their own kings, are never to be used

alone in great enterprizes by those princes that entertain them, nor ever to be trusted with the defences of any frontier town, or fortrefs of weight, by the rendering whereof they may redeem their liberty and estates lost. Hereof the *French* had experience, when *Don Pedro de Navarra*, being banished out of *Spain*, was trusted with *Fonterabe*, in the year 1523.

While *Alexander* spoiled *Arbela*, *Mazeus* might have furnished the king from *Babylon*, and while he staid four and thirty days at *Babylon*, *Abulites* might have holpen him from *Susa*: and while he feasted there, *Tiridates* from *Persepolis* might have reliev'd him, for the great mass of treasure was laid up in that city. But who hath sought out and friended fearful adversity? it is certain, that benefits bind not the ambitious, but the honest: for those that are but greedy of themselves, do in all changes of fortune only consult the conservation of their own greatness.

The government of *Susa*, with the castle and treasure, he committed to his own *Macedonians*, making *Abulites*, who rendered it unto him, his lieutenant, as he had done *Mazeus* and others, in giving them titles, but neither trust nor power; for he left three thousand old soldiers in garrison to assure the place, and *Darius's* mother and her children to repose themselves.

It is said, that *Charles* the fifth, having promised *Charles* of *Bourbon* the government of *Marseilles*, if he could have forc'd it, and whereof he made sure account, told some of his nearest counsellors, that he meant nothing less than the performance of that promise, because he should thereby have left the duke (revolted from his master) very well wherewithal to have recovered his favour.

SECT. XII.

How Alexander came to Persepolis, and burnt it.

FROM *Susa* *Alexander* leadeth his army toward *Persepolis*, and when he sought to pass those mountains which under *Sufana* and *Persia*, he was soundly beaten by *Ariobarzanes*, who defended against him those streights, called *Pylæ Persidis*, or *Susæide*; and after the loss of many companies of his *Macedonians*, he was forced to save himself by retreat, causing his foot to march close together, and to cover themselves with their targets from the stones tumbled on them from the mountain-top. Yet in the end he found out another path, which a *Lycian*, living in that country, discovered unto him, and came thereby suddenly in view of *Ariobarzanes*, who being inforc'd to fight upon even ground, was by *Alexander* broken, whereupon he fled to *Persepolis*, but (after that they of *Persepolis* had refused to receive him) he returned and gave a second charge upon the *Macedonians*, wherein he was slain. In like manner did king *Francis* the first, in the year 1515, find a way over the *Alps*, the *Switzers* undertaking to defend all the passages, who, if their footmanship had not saved them upon the king's descent on the other side, they had been ill paid for their hard lodging on those hills.

Four thousand *Greeks*, saith *Curtius* (*Justin* numbers them but at eight hundred) having been taken prisoners by the *Persians*, presented themselves to *Alexander* now in sight of *Persepolis*. These had the barbarous *Persians* so maimed and delaced, by cutting off their hands, noses, ears, and other members, as they could no way have been known to their countrymen, but by their voices;

Diodore speaketh of more than 40 thousand talents in bullion, and of 9 millions of gold. Sub dorica forma excidi.

to each of these *Alexander* gave three hundred crowns, with new garments, and such lands as they liked to live upon.

Tiridates, one of *Darius's* false-hearted grandees, hearing of *Alexander's* approach, made him know that *Persepolis* was ready to receive him, and prayed him to double his pace, because there was a determination in the people to spoil the king's treasure. This city was abandoned by many of her inhabitants upon *Alexander's* arrival, and they that staid, followed the worst counsel; for all was left to the liberty of the soldiers, to spoil and kill at their pleasure. There was no place in the world at that time, which, if it had been laid in the balance with *Persepolis*, would have weighed it down. *Babylon*, indeed, and *Susa*, were very rich; but in *Persepolis* lay the bulk and main store of the *Persians*. For after the spoil that had been made of money, curious plate, bullion, images of gold and silver, and other jewels, there remained to *Alexander* himself one hundred and twenty thousand talents. He left the same number of three thousand *Macedonians* in *Persepolis*, which he had done in *Susa*, and gave the same formal honour to the traitor *Tiridates*, that he had done to *Abulites*; but he that had the trust of the place was *Nicarides*, a creature of his own. The body of his army he left here for thirty days, of which the commanders were *Parmenio* and *Craterus*, and, with a thousand horse, and certain troops of chosen foot, he would needs view in the winter-time those parts of *Persia* which the snow had cover'd, a fruitless and foolish enterprise; but, as *Seneca* says, *Non ille ire vult, sed non potest stare*; He hath not a will to go, but he is unable to stand still. It is said and spoken in his praise, that when his soldiers cried out against him, because they could not endure the extreme frost, and make way, but with extreme difficulty, through the snow, that *Alexander* forsook his horse, and led them the way. But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremity, thereby to shew how well himself can endure it? His walking on foot did no otherwise take off their weariness that followed him, than his sometimes forbearing to drink did quench their thirst that could less endure it. For mine own little judgment, I shall rather commend that captain that makes careful provision for those that follow him, and that seeks wisely to prevent extreme necessity, than those witless arrogant fools, that make the vaunt of having endured equally with the common soldier, as if that were a matter of great glory and importance.

We find in all the wars that *Cesar* made, or the best of the *Roman* commanders, that the provision of victuals was their first care. For it was a true saying of *Coligni*, admiral of *France*, *That who so will shape that beast* (meaning war) *must begin with his belly*.

But *Alexander* is now returned to *Persepolis*, where those historians that were most amorous of his virtues, complain, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberality, of his clemency towards the vanquished, and all other his kingly conditions, were drowned in drink; * that he smothered in carousing cups all the reputation of his actions past; and that, by descending, as it were, from the reverend throne of the greatest king, into the company and familiarity of base harlots, he began to be despised both of his own and all other nations. For being persuaded, when he was inflamed with wine, by the infamous strumpet *Thais*, he caused the most sumptuous and goodly castle and city of *Persepolis* to be

consumed with fire, notwithstanding all the arguments of *Parmenio* to the contrary, who told him, that it was a dishonour to destroy those things by the persuasions of others, which by his proper virtue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most strong persuasion to the *Asians*, to think hardly of him, and thereby alienate their hearts: For they might well believe that he, which demolished the goodliest ornaments they had, meant nothing less than (after such vastation) to hold their possession: ^b *Fere vinolentiam crudelitas sequitur*; Cruelty doth commonly follow drunkenness: For so it fell it out soon after, and often, in *Alexander*.

SECT. XIII.

The treason of Bessus against Darius. Darius's Death.

ABOUT this time he received a new supply of soldiers out of *Cilicia*, and goes on to find *Darius* in *Media*. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and last army, which he meant to have increased in *Bactria*, had he not heard of *Alexander's* coming on, with whom (trusting to such companies as he had, which was numbred at thirty or forty thousand) he determined once again to try his fortune. He therefore calls together his captains and commanders, and propounds unto them his resolution, who being desperate of good success, used silence for a while. *Artabazus*, one of his eldest men of war, who had sometime lived with *Philip* of *Macedon*, brake the ice, and protesting that he could never be beaten by any adversity of the king's, from the faith which he had ever ow'd him, with firm confidence, that all the rest were of the same disposition (whereof they likewise assured *Darius* by the like protestation) he approved the king's resolution. Two only, and those the greatest, to wit, *Naburzanes* and *Bessus*, whereof the latter was governor of *Bactria*, had conspired against their master, and therefore advised the king to lay a new foundation for the war, and to pursue it by some such person for the present, against whom neither the gods nor fortune had in all things declar'd themselves to be an enemy: This preamble *Naburzanes* used, and in conclusion, advised the election of his fellow-traytor *Bessus*, with promise that, the wars ended, the empire should again be restored to *Darius*. The king, swollen with disdain, press'd towards *Naburzanes* to have slain him; but *Bessus*, and the *Bactrians*, whom he commanded, being more in number than the rest, withheld him. In the mean while, *Naburzanes* withdrew himself, and *Bessus* followed him, making their quarter apart from the rest of the army. *Artabazus*, the king's faithful servant, persuaded him to be advised, and serve the time, seeing *Alexander* was at hand; and that he would at least make shew of forgetting the offence made; which the king, being of a gentle disposition, willingly yielded unto. *Bessus* makes his submission, and attends the king, who removes his army. *Patron*, who commanded a regiment of four thousand *Greeks*, which had in all the former battels served *Darius* with great fidelity, and always made the retreat in spite of the *Macedonians*, offered himself to guard his person, protesting against the treason of *Bessus*; but it was not his destiny to follow their advice, who from the beginning of the war gave him faithful counsel; but he inclined still to *Bessus*, who told him, that the *Greeks*, with *Patron* their captain, were corrupted by *Alexander*, and practised the division of his faith-

* Curt. l. 5.

^b Sen. Epist. 84

ful servants. *Bessus* had drawn unto him thirty thousand of the army, promising them all those things, by which the lovers of the world and themselves are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, safety, and honour.

Now the day following *Darius* plainly discover'd the purposes of *Bessus*, and being overcome with passion, as thinking himself unable to make head against these ungrateful and unnatural traitors, he pray'd *Artabazus*, his faithful servant, to depart from him, and to provide for himself. In like sort, he discharged the rest of his attendants; all, save a few of his eunuchs; for his guards had voluntarily abandoned him. His *Persians* being most base cowards, durst not undertake his defence against the *Bactrians*, notwithstanding that they had four thousand *Greeks* to join with them, who had been able to have beaten both nations. But it is true, that him which forsakes himself, no man follows. It had been far more man-like and king-like, to have died at the head of those four thousand *Greeks*, which offered him the disposition of their lives, (to which *Artabazus* perswaded him) than to have lain bewailing himself on the ground, and suffering himself to be bound like a slave by those ambitious monsters that laid hands on him, whom neither the consideration of his former great estate, nor the honours he had given them, nor the trust reposed in them, nor the world of benefits bestowed on them, could move to pity: no, nor his present adversity, which above all things should have moved them, could pierce their viperous and ungrateful hearts. Vain it was indeed to hope it, for infidelity hath no compassion.

Now *Darius*, thus forsaken, was bound and laid in a cart, covered with hides of beasts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not be discovered; and to add despight and derision to his adversity, they fastened him with chains of gold, and so drew him on among their ordinary carriages and carts. For *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes* perswaded themselves to redeem their lives and the provinces they held, either by delivering him a prisoner to *Alexander*, or if that hope failed, to make themselves kings by his slaughter, and then to defend themselves by force of arms. But they failed in both. For it was against the nature of God, who is most just, to pardon so strange villany, yea, though against a prince purely heathenish, and an idolater.

Alexander, having knowledge that *Darius* was retired towards *Bactria*, and durst not abide his coming, hastened after him with a violent speed; and because he would not force his foot-men beyond their powers, he mounted on horseback certain selected companies of them, and best armed, and with six thousand other horse, rather ran than marched after *Darius*. Such as hated the treason of *Bessus*, and secretly forsook him, gave knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Bessus* took, and how near he was at hand; for many men of worth daily ran from him. Hereupon *Alexander* again doubled his pace, and his vanguard being discovered by *Bessus's* rear, *Bessus* brought a horse to the cart where *Darius* lay bound, perswading him to mount thereon, and to save himself. But the unfortunate king refusing to follow those that had betray'd him, they cast darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the beasts that drew him, and slew two poor servants that attended his person. This done, they all fled that could, leaving the rest to the mercy of the *Macedonian* swords.

No. 30.

Polystratus, a *Macedonian*, being by pursuit of the vanquished press'd with thirst, as he was refreshing himself with some water that he had discover'd, espying a cart with a team of wounded beasts breathing for life, and not able to move, searched the same, and therein found *Darius* bathing in his own blood. And by a *Persian* captive which followed this *Polystratus*, he understood that it was *Darius*, and was informed of this barbarous tragedy; *Darius* also seem'd greatly comforted (it dying men, ignorant of the living God, can be comforted) that he cast not out his last sorrows unheard; but that by this *Macedonian*, *Alexander* might know, and take vengeance on those traitors, which had dealt no less unworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their revenge to *Alexander* by this messenger, which he besought him to pursue, not because *Darius* had desired it, but for his own honour, and the safety of all that did, or should after wear crowns. He also, having nothing else to present, rendered thanks to *Alexander* for the kingly grace used towards his wife, mother, and children, desiring the immortal gods to submit unto him the empire of the whole world. As he was thus speaking, impatient death pressing out his few remaining spirits, he desired water, which *Polystratus* presented him; after which he lived but to tell him, that of all the best things which the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath, wherewith to desire the gods to reward his compassion.

SECT. XIV.

How Alexander pursued Bessus, and took into his grace Darius's captains.

IT was now hoped by the *Macedonians*, that their travels were near an end, every man preparing for his return. When *Alexander* had knowledge thereof, he was greatly grieved; for the bounded earth sufficed not his boundless ambition. Many arguments he therefore used to draw on his army farther into the east; but that which had most strength was, that *Bessus*, a most cruel traitor to his master *Darius*, having at his devotion the *Hyrcanians* and *Bactrians*, would, in short time (if the *Macedonians* should return) make himself master of the *Persian* empire, and enjoy the fruits of all their former travels. In conclusion, he won their consent to go on; which done, leaving *Craterus* with certain regiments of foot, and *Amyntas* with six thousand horse, in *Parthia*, he enters, not without some opposition, into *Hyrcania*; for the *Mardons*, and other barbarous nations, defended certain passages for a while. He passed the river of *Zioboris*, which taking beginning in *Parthia*, dissolves it self in the *Caspian* sea: it runneth under the ledge of mountains which bound *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*, where, hiding it self under-ground for three hundred furlongs, it then riseth again, and followeth its former course. In *Zadracarta*, or *Zendracarta*, the same city which *Ptolemy* writes *Hyrcania*, the metropolis of that region, he rested fifteen days, banqueting and feasting therein.

Phataphernes, one of *Darius's* greatest commanders, with other of his best followers, submit themselves to *Alexander*, and were restored to their places and governments. But of all others, he graced *Artabazus* most highly, for his approved and constant faith to his master *Darius*. *Artabazus* brought with him ten thousand and five hundred *Greeks*, the remainder of all those that had served *Darius*; he treats with *Alexander* for their pardon, before

before they were yet arrived ; but in the end they surrender themselves simply without promise or composition. He pardons all but the *Lacedemonians*, whom he imprisoned, their leader having slain himself: he was also wrought (though to his great dishonour) to receive *Nabarzanes*, that had joined with *Bessus* to murder *Darius*.

S E C T. XV.

Of Thalestris, Queen of the Amazons ; where, by way of digression, it is shewed, that such Amazons have been, and are.

HERE it is said, that *Thalestris*, or *Minothea*, a queen of the *Amazons*, came to visit him, and her suit was (which she easily obtained) that she might accompany him till she were made with child by him ; which done (refusing to follow him into *India*) she returned into her own country.

Plutarch citeth many historians, reporting this meeting of *Thalestris* with *Alexander*, and some contradicting it. But, indeed, the letters of *Alexander* himself to *Antipater*, recounting all that befell him in those parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this *Amazonian* business, may justly breed suspicion of the whole matter as forged. Much more justly may we suspect it as a vain tale, because an historian of the same time reading one of his books to *Lyfimachus* (then king of *Thrace*) who had followed *Alexander* in all his voyage, was laugh'd at by the king for inserting such news of the *Amazons*, as *Lyfimachus* himself had never heard of. One that accompanied *Alexander*, took upon him to write his acts ; which to amplify, he told how the king had fought single with an elephant, and slain it. The king hearing such stuff, caught the book, and threw it into the river of *Indus*, saying, that it were well done to throw the writer after it, who, by inserting such fables, disparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet, as we believe and know that there are elephants, though it were false that *Alexander* fought with one ; so may we give credit unto writers, making mention of such *Amazons*, whether it were true or false that they met with *Alexander* ; as *Plutarch* leaves the matter undetermined. Therefore I will here take leave to make a digression, as well to shew the opinions of the ancient historians, cosmographers, and others, as also of some modern discoverers, touching these warlike women ; because, not only *Strabo*, but many others of these our times, make doubt, whether or no there were any such kind of people. ^a *Julius Solinus* seats them in the north parts of *Asia* the less. *Pomp. Mela* finds two regions filled with them ; the one on the river *Thermodoon*, the other near the *Caspian* sea ; ^b *Quas* (saith he) *Sauromatidas* appellant ; which the people call *Sauromatidas*. The former of these two had the *Cimerians* for their neighbours ; *Certumeſt* (saith *Vadianus*, who hath commented upon *Mela*) illos proximos *Amazonibus* fuisse ; it is certain that the *Cimerians* were the next nations to the *Amazons*. ^c *Ptolemy* sets them further into the land northwards, near the mountains *Hippaci*, not far from the pillars of *Alexander*. And that they had dominion in *Asia* it self toward *India*, *Solinus* and *Pliny* tell us ; where they governed a people called the *Pandeans*, or *Padeans*, so called after *Pandea* the daughter of *Hercules*, from whom all the rest derive themselves. ^d *Claudian* affirms, that they com-

manded many nations: for he speaks (largely perhaps as a poet) thus :

*Medis levibusque Sabæis
Imperat hic sextus : Reginarumque sub armis,
Barbarie pars magna jacet.*

Over the *Medes*, and light *Sabeans*, reigns
This female sex: and under arms of queen,
Great part of the *Barbarian* land remains.

^e *Diodorus Siculus* hath heard of them in *Libya*, who were more ancient (saith he) than those which kept the banks of *Thermodoon*, a river falling into the *Euxine* sea near *Heraclium*.

Herodotus doth also make report of these *Amazons*, whom he tells us that the *Scythians* call *Æon-patas*, which is as much as *Viricidas*, or men-killers. And that they made incursion into *Asia* the less, sack'd *Ephesus*, and burnt the temple of *Diana*, *Manethon* and *Aventinus* report, which they performed forty years after *Troy* was taken. At the siege of *Troy* it self we read of ^f *Penthesilea*, that she came to the succour of *Priamus*.

^g *Am. Marcellinus* gives the cause of their inhabiting upon the river of *Thermodoon*, speaking confidently of the wars they made with divers nations, and of their overthrow.

Plutarch, in the life of *Theseus*, out of *Philochorus*, *Hellanicus*, and other ancient historians, reports the taking of *Antiopa*, queen of the *Amazons*, by *Hercules*, and by him given to *Theseus*, though some affirm, that *Theseus* himself got her by stealth when she came to visit him aboard his ship. But in substance there is little difference ; all confessing, that such *Amazons* there were. The same author, in the life of *Pompey*, speaks of certain companies of the *Amazons*, that came to aid the *Albanians* against the *Romans*, by whom, after the battel, many targets and buskins of theirs were taken up : and he saith farther, that these women entertain the *Geleæ* and *Lelages* once a year, nations inhabiting between them and the *Albanians*.

But, to omit the many authors, making mention of *Amazons* that were in the old times, ^h *Fran. Lopez*, who hath written the navigation of *Orellana*, which he made down the river of *Amazons* from *Peru*, in the year 1542. (upon which river, for the divers turnings, he is said to have sailed six thousand miles) reports from the relation of the said *Orellana*, to the council of the *Indies*, that he both saw those women, and fought with them, where they sought to impeach his passage towards the east sea.

It is also reported by *Ulricus Schmidel*, that in the year 1542, when he sailed up the rivers of *Paragna* and *Parabol*, that he came to a king of that country, called *Scherues*, inhabiting under the tropic of *Capricorn*, who gave his captain *Ernando Rieffere* a crown of silver, which he had gotten in fight from a queen of the *Amazons* in those parts.

Ed. Lopez, in his description of the kingdom of *Congo*, makes relation of such *Amazons*, telling us, that (agreeable to the reports of elder times) they burn off their right breast, and live apart from men, save at one time of the year, when they feast and accompany them for one month. These (saith he) possess a part of the kingdom of *Monomotapa* in *Africa*, nineteen degrees to the southward of the line: and that these women are the

^a Solin. c. 27, & 65.

^b Ther. l. 1.

^c Ptol. l. 6. Afrie Tab. 2. Plin. l. 6. c. 20.

^d Claud. de cap. Proserpinæ.

^e Diod. l. 2.

^f Æneid. l. 1. 3.

^g Mar. l. 22. c. 7.

^h Histor. Ind. part 1. c. 28.

strongest guards of this emperor, all the *East-Indian Portugals* know.

I have produced these authorities, in part, to justify mine own relation of these *Amazons*, because that which was delivered me for truth by an ancient *Casique* of *Guiana*, how upon the river of *Papamena* (since the *Spanish* discoveries called *Amazons*) that these women still live and govern, was held for a vain and unprofitable report.

S E C T. XVI.

How Alexander fell into the Persian luxury: and how he further pursued Bessus.

NOW, as *Alexander* had begun to change his conditions after the taking of *Persepolis*: so at this time his prosperity had so much over-wrought his virtue, as he accounted clemency to be but baseness, and the temperance which he had used all his life-time, but a poor and dejected humour, rather becoming the instructors of his youth, than the condition and state of so mighty a king, as the world could not equal. For he perswaded himself, that he now represented the greatness of the Gods; he was pleased that those that came before him, should fall to the ground and adore him; he wore the robes and garments of the *Persians*, and commanded that his nobility should do the like; he entertained in his court, and camp, the same shameless rabble of curtifans, and sodomitical eunuchs, that *Darius* had done, and imitated in all things the proud, voluptuous, and detested manners of the *Persians*, whom he had vanquished. So licentious is felicity, as notwithstanding that he was fully perswaded that the Gods, whom he served (detesting the vices of the invaded) assisted him in all attempts against them, he himself, contrary to the religion he professed (which how idolatrous soever it were, could not be but fearful unto him by neglecting it) became by imitation, and not by ignorance or education, a more foul and fearful monster than *Darius*, from whose tyranny he vaunted to have delivered so many nations. Yea those, that were dearest and nearest unto him, began to be ashamed of him, entertaining each other with this, and the like scornful discourse, that *Alexander* of *Macedon* was become one of *Darius's* licentious courtiers; that by his example the *Macedonians* were in the end of so many travels more impoverished in their virtues, than enriched by their victories; and that it was hard to judge whether the conquerors, or the conquered were the baser slaves. Neither were these opinions so reserved, but that the noise of them came to his ears. He therefore with great gifts sought to pacify the better sort, and those of whose judgments he was most jealous; and making it known to the army that *Bessus* had assumed the title of a king, and called himself *Artaxerxes*; and that he had compounded a great army of the *Bactrians*, and other nations, he had arguments enough to perswade them to go on, to the end that all already gotten might not with themselves (so far engaged) be cast away. And because they were pestered with the spoils of so many cities, as the whole army seemed but the guard of their carriages (not much unlike the warfare of the *French*) having commanded every man's fardels to be brought into the market-place, he, together with his own, caused all to be consumed with fire. Certainly, this could not but have proved most dangerous to him, seeing the common soldiers had more interest in these things, which they had bought with their painful travels, and with their blood, than in the king's ambition; had not (as *Seneca* often observed) his happy te-

merity overcome all things. As he was in his way news came to him that *Satribarzanes*, whom he had established in his former government over the *Arians*, was revolted; whereupon leaving the way of *Bactria*, he sought him out; but the rebel hearing of his coming, fled to *Bessus* with two thousand horse. He then went on towards *Bessus*, and by setting a great pile of wood on fire with the advantage of a strong wind, won the passage over a high and inaccessible rock, which was defended against him with thirteen thousand foot. For the extremity of the flame and smoke forced them from the place, otherwise invincible. I saw in the third civil war of *France* certain caves in *Languedoc*, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high rocks, which we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at last by certain bundles of straw let down by an iron chain, and a weighty stone in the midst, those that defended it were so smothered; as they render'd themselves with their plate, money, and other goods therein hidden. There were also, some three years before my arrival in *Guiana*, three hundred *Spaniards* well mounted, smothered to death, together with their horses, by the country people, who did set the long dry grass on fire to the eastward of them (the wind in those parts being always east) so as, notwithstanding their flying from the smoke, there was not any one that escaped. Sir *John Borroves* also, with an hundred *English*, was in great danger of being lost at *Margarita*, in the *West-Indies*, by having the grass fired behind him, but the smoke being timely discovered, he recovered the sea-shore with the loss of sixteen of his men. I remember these things, but to give caution to those that shall in times to come invade any part of those countries, that they always, before they pass into the land, burn down the grass and sedge to the east of them; they may otherwise, without any other enemy than a handful of straw set on fire, die the death of honey-bees, burnt out of the hive.

S E C T. XVII.

A conspiracy against Alexander. The death of Philotas and Parmenio.

ALEXANDER was, after he parted hence, no-where resisted, till he came into *Aria*, to the east of *Bactria*, where the chief city of that province, called *Artacoana*, was a while defended against him, by the revolt of *Satribarzanes*, but in the end he received the inhabitants to mercy. At this place his army was re-enforced with a new supply of five thousand and five hundred foot, and near five hundred horse, out of *Greece*, *Thessaly*, and other places. His journey out of *Persia* into these parts, is very confusedly described. For having (as all his historians tell us) a determination to find *Bessus* in *Bactria*, he leaves it at the very entrance, and takes the way of *Hyrcania*; from thence he wanders northward towards the obscure *Mardi*, upon the *Caspian* sea, and thence over the mountains *Coronus* into *Aria* and *Drangiana*.

At this time it was that the treason of *Dimnus* broke out, of which *Philotas* the son of *Parmenio* was accused, as accessory, if not principal. This *Dimnus*, having (I know not upon what ground) conspired with some others against the life of *Alexander*, went about to draw *Nicomachus*, a young man whom he loved, into the same treason. The youth, altho' he was first bound by oath to secrecy, when he heard so foul a matter uttered, began to protest against it so vehemently, that his friend was like

like to have slain him for security of his own life. So constrained by fear, he made shew as if he had been won by perswasion, and by seeming at length to like well of the business, he was told more at large what they were, that had undertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of rank; whose names *Dimnus* (to countenance the enterprize) reckoned up to *Nicomachus*. *Nicomachus* had no sooner freed himself from the company of this traitor *Dimnus*, than he acquainted his own brother *Ceballinus* with the whole history: whereupon it was agreed between them, that *Ceballinus* (who might with least suspicion) should go to the court and utter all. *Ceballinus*, meeting with *Philotas*, told him the whole business, desiring him to acquaint the king therewith; which he promised to do, but did not. Two days passed, and *Philotas* never brake with the king about the matter; but still excused himself to *Ceballinus* by the king's want of leisure. This his coldness bred suspicion, and caused *Ceballinus* to address himself to another, one *Metron*, keeper of the king's armory, who forthwith brought him to *Alexander's* presence. *Alexander*, finding by examination what had passed between *Ceballinus* and *Philotas*, did fully perswade himself that his concealment of the treason, argued his hand to have been in the business. Therefore, when *Dimnus* was brought before him, he asked the traitor no other question than this: *Wherein have I so offended thee, that thou shouldest think Philotas more worthy to be king than I?* *Dimnus* perceiving, when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had so wounded himself, that he lived no longer than to give his last groan in the king's presence. Then was *Philotas* called, and charged with the suspicion which his silence might justly breed. His answer was, that when the practice was revealed unto him by *Nicomachus*, he judging it to be but frivolous, did forbear to acquaint *Alexander* therewithal, until he might have better information. This error of his (if it were only an error) altho' *Alexander*, for the notorious services of his father *Parmenio*, of his brother *Nicanor* lately dead, and of *Philotas* himself, had freely pardoned and given him his hand for assurance; yet by the instigation of *Craterus*, he again swallowed his princely promise, and made his enemies his judges: *Curtius* gives a note of *Craterus* in this business; how he perswaded himself, that he could never find a better occasion to oppress his private enemy, than by pretending piety and duty towards the king. Hereof a poet of our own hath given a note as much better, as it is more general in his *Philotas*.

See how these great men cloath their private hate,
In these fair colours of the publick good;
And to effect their ends, pretend the state,
As if the state by their affection stood;
And arm'd with power and princes jealousies,
Will put the least conceit of discontent
Into the greatest rank of treacheries,
That no one action shall seem innocent:
Yea, valour, honour, bounty, shall be made
As accessaries unto ends unjust;
And even the service of the state must lade
The needfull'st undertaking with distrust:
So that base vileness, idle luxury,
Seem safer far, than to do worthily, &c.

Now, although it were so that the king, following the advice of *Craterus*, had resolved the next day to put *Philotas* to torment, yet in the very evening of the same night in which he was apprehended, he called him to a banquet, and dis-

coursed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But, when in the dead of the night *Philotas* was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him began to bind him, he cried out upon the king in those words: *O Alexander, the malice of mine enemies hath surmounted thy mercy, and their hatred is far more constant than the sword of a king.* Many circumstances were urged against him by *Alexander* himself (for the kings of *Macedon* did in person examine the accusations of treason), and this was not the least (not the least offence, indeed, against the king's humour, who desired to be glorified as a god.) That when *Alexander* wrote unto him concerning the title given him by *Jupiter Hammon*; he answer'd, that he could not but rejoice that he was admitted into that sacred fellowship of the gods; and yet he could not but withal grieve for those that should live under such a one as would exceed the nature of man. This was (saith *Alexander*) a firm perswasion unto me, that his heart was changed, and that he held my glory in despite. See what a strange monster flattery is, that can perswade kings to kill those that do not praise, and allow those things in them, which are, of all others, most to be abhorred. *Philotas* was brought before the multitude to hear the king's oration against him: he was brought forth in vile garments, and bound like a thief; where he heard himself, and his absent father, the greatest captain of the world, accused, his two other brothers, *Hector* and *Nicanor*, having been lost in the present war. He was so greatly oppress'd with grief, that, for a while, he could utter nothing but tears; and sorrow had so wasted his spirits, that he sunk under those that led him. In the end, the king asked him in what language he would make his defence: he answered, in the same wherein it had pleased the king to accuse him, which he did, to the end that the *Persians*, as well as the *Macedonians*, might understand him. But hereof the king made his advantage, perswading the assembly, that he disdained the language of his own country; and so withdrawing himself, left him to his merciless enemies.

This proceeding of the king's, *Philotas* greatly lamented, seeing the king, who had so sharply inveighed against him, would not vouchsafe to hear his excuse. For, not his enemies only were emboldened thereby against him; but all the rest having discovered the king's disposition and resolution, contended among themselves which of them should exceed in hatred towards him. Among many other arguments which he used in his own defence, this was not the weakest, that when *Nicomachus* desired to know of *Dimnus* what men of mark and power were his partners in the conspiracy (as seeming unwilling to adventure himself with mean and base companions) *Dimnus* named unto him *Demetrius* of the king's chamber, *Nicanor*, *Amyntas*, and some others; but spake not a word of *Philotas*, who, by being commander of the horse, would greatly have valued the party, and have encouraged *Nicomachus*. Indeed, as *Philotas* said well for himself, it is likely that *Dimnus*, thereby the better to have heartned *Nicomachus*, would have named him, though he had never dealt with him in any such practice. And for more certain proof that he knew nothing of their intents that practised against the king, there was not any one of the conspirators, being many, enforced by torments, or otherwise, that could accuse him; and it is true, that adversity being seldom able to bear her own burden, is, for the most part, found so malicious, that she rather desires to draw others (not always deserving it) into the same danger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet

at the last, howsoever it were, to avoid the extremity of restless and unnatural torments, devised by his profess'd enemies, *Craterus*, *Cenus*, *Epheslion*, and others, *Philotas* accused his own self; being perswaded that they would have slain him forthwith. But he failed even in that miserable hope, and suffering all that could be laid upon flesh and blood, he was forced to deliver, not what he knew, but what-soever best pleased their ears, that were far more merciless than death it self.

Of this kind of judicial proceeding *St. Augustin* greatly complaineth, as a matter to be bewailed, saith he, with fountains of tears. *Quid cum in sua causa quisque torquetur: Et cum queritur utrum sit nocens cruciatur: Et innocens luit pro incerto scelere certissimas pœnas: non quia illud commississe detegitur, sed quia non commississe nescitur;* What shall we say to it, when one is put to torture in his own case; and tormented, whilst yet it is in question whether he be guilty; and being innocent, suffers assured punishment for a fault, of which there is no certainty; not because he is known to have committed the offence, but because others do not know that he hath not committed it.

It had been enough for *Alexander's* safety, if *Philotas* had been put to death without torment, the rest would not much have grieved thereat, because he was greatly suspected. But *Hemolaus*, who afterwards conspired against him, made the king's cruelty and delight in blood the greatest motive of his own ill intent. Therefore *Seneca*, speaking of *Alexander*, saith thus, *Crudelitas minime humanum malum est, indignum tam miti animo; ferina ista rabies est sanguine gaudere Et vulneribus, Et abjecto homine, in silvestre animal transire;* Cruelty is not a human vice; it is unworthy of so mild a spirit. It is even a beastly rage to delight in blood and wounds, and casting away the nature of man, to become a savage monster.

For the conclusion of this tragedy, *Curtius* makes a doubt, whether the confession that *Philotas* made, were to give end to the torments which he could no longer endure, or that the same was true indeed: For (saith he) in this case, they that speak truly, or they that deny falsely, come to one and the same end. Now while the king's hands were yet in blood, he commanded that *Lynceſtes*, son-in-law to *Antipater*, who had been three years in prison, should be slain: The same dispatch had all those that *Nicomachus* had accused. Others there were that were suspected, because they had followed *Philotas*; but when they had answer'd for themselves, that they knew no way so direct to win the king's favour, as by loving those whom the king favoured, they were dismiss'd. But *Parmenio* was yet living; *Parmenio*, who had served with great fidelity, as well *Philip* of *Macedon*, the king's father, as himself; *Parmenio*, that first opened the way into *Asia*; that had depress'd *Attalus*, the king's enemy; that had always, and in all hazards, the leading of the king's vanguard, that was no less prudent in counsel, than fortunate in all attempts; a man beloved of the men of war, and, to say the truth, he that had made the purchase for the king of the empire of the east, and of all the glory and fame he had: That he might not therefore revenge the death of his son, though not upon the king (for it was unlikely that he would have dishonoured his fidelity in his eldest age, having now lived threescore and ten years;) yet upon those, that, by the witchcraft of flattery, had possess'd themselves of his affection, it was resolved that he should be dispatch'd. *Polydamas*

was employ'd in this business; a man, whom, of all others, *Parmenio* trusted most, and loved best; who (to be short) finding him in *Medea*, and having *Cleander* and other murderers with him, slew him walking in his garden, whilst he was reading the king's letters. *Hic exitus Parmenionis fuit, multæ domique clari viri; multa sine rege prosperè, rex sine illo nihil magnæ rei gesserat;* This was the end of *Parmenio* (saith *Curtius*) who had performed many notable things without the king; but the king, without him, did never effect any thing worthy of praise.

SECT. XVIII.

How Alexander subdued the Bactrians, Sogdians, and other people. How Bessus was deliver'd into his hands. How he fought with the Scythians.

WHEN these things had an end, *Alexander* went on with his army, and brought under his obedience the *Araspians*, or *Ezergitans*; he made *Emenides* (sometime *Darius's* secretary) their governor; then he subdued the *Arachosians*, and left *Menon* to command over them. Here the army, sometimes led by *Parmenio*, finds him, consisting of twelve thousand *Macedons* and *Greeks*, with whom he passed through some cold regions with difficulty enough. At length he came to the foot of the mountain *Taurus*, towards the east, where he built a city, which he honoured with his own name, and peopled it with seven thousand of his old *Macedons*, worn with age and with travels of the war. The *Arians*, who, since he left them, were revolted, he subdued again, by the industry and valour of *Caranus* and *Erigius*; and now he resolves to find out the new king *Bessus* in *Bactria*. *Bessus*, hearing of his coming, prepares to pass over the great river of *Oxus*, which divides *Bactria* from *Sogdiana*; *Artabazus* is made governor of *Bactria*, abandon'd by *Bessus*; the *Macedonian* army suffereth for want of water, inasmuch as when they came to the river of *Oxus*, there died more of them by drinking inordinately, than *Alexander* had lost in any one battle against the *Persians*. And it may well be; for (as *Clytus* did afterwards object unto him) he fought against women, not against men, and not against their persons, but their shadows. He found on the banks of this great river no manner of timber, or other materials, to make either boats, bridges, or rafts; but was forced to sew together the hides that covered his carriages, and stuff them with straw, and on them in six days to pass over his army; which *Bessus* might easily have distress'd, if he had dared but to behold the *Macedonian* army afar off. He had formerly complained against *Darius*, for neglecting to defend the banks of *Tigris*, and other passages; and yet now, when this traitorous slave had stiled himself king, he durst not perform any thing worthy of a slave. And therefore those, who were nearest unto him, and whom he most trusted, to wit, *Spitamenes*, *Dataphernes*, *Catanes*, and others, the commanders of his army, moved both by the care of their own safety, and by the memory of *Bessus's* treason and cruelty against *Darius*, bound him in the like manner that he had done his master; but with this difference, that he had the chain closed about his neck like a mastiff dog, and so was dragg'd along to be presented to his enemy.

In the mean while, *Alexander* was arrived at a certain town inhabited with *Greeks* of *Miletum*, brought thither by *Nerxes*, when long before he re-

^a Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 19. c. 6.

^b Sen. de Clem. l. 1.

^c Lib. 7.

the last, howsoever it were, to avoid the extremity of resistless and unnatural torments, devised by his profess'd enemies, *Craterus*, *Cenus*, *Epheslion*, and others, *Philotas* accused his own self; being persuaded that they would have slain him forthwith. But he failed even in that miserable hope, and suffering all that could be laid upon flesh and blood, he was forced to deliver, not what he knew, but whatever best pleased their ears, that were far more mercilefs than death it self.

Of this kind of judicial proceeding St. *Augustin* greatly complaineth, as a matter to be bewailed, saith he, with fountains of tears. *Quid in sua causa quisque torquetur: Et cum quaeritur utrum sit nocens cruciatur: Et innocens luit pro certo scelere certissimas pœnas: non quia illud commississe detegitur, sed quia non commississe nescitur;* What shall we say to it, when one is put to torture in his own case; and tormented, whilst yet it is in question whether he be guilty; and being innocent, suffers assured punishment for a fault, of which there is no certainty; not because he is known to have committed the offence, but because others do not know that he hath not committed it.

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turned out of *Greece*, whose issues had well-near forgotten their country language. These most cruelly (after they had received him with great joy) he put to the sword, and destroyed their city. At this place he received *Bessus*, and, having rewarded *Spitamenes*, with the rest that delivered him, he gave the traitor into the hands of *Oxatres*, *Darius's* brother, to be tormented.

But while he now thought himself secure, some twenty thousand mountainers assaulted his camp; in repelling whom, he received a shot in the leg, the arrow-head sticking in the flesh; so that he was carried in a horse-litter, sometimes by the horsemen, sometimes by the foot.

Soon after he came unto *Maracanda*, which *Petrus Perondinus* takes to be *Samarchand*, the regal city of the great *Tamerlain*. It had in compass threescore and ten furlongs (*Curtius* saith.) Here he received the ambassadors of the *Scythians* (called *Avians*) who offered to serve him.

The *Bactrians* are shortly again, with the *Sogdians*, stirred to rebellion by the same *Spitamenes* and *Catanes*, who had lately delivered into his hands the traitor *Bessus*. Many cities were resolutely defended against him; all which, after victory, he defaced and rased, killing all therein. At one of these he received a blow on the neck, which struck him to the ground, and much disabled him for many days after. In the mean while, *Spitamenes* had recovered *Maracanda*, against whom he employed *Menedemus*, with three thousand foot and eight hundred horse.

In the heat of these tumults, *Alexander* marched on (if we may believe *Curtius* and others) till he came to the river of *Tanais*; upon whose bank he built another *Alexandria*, threescore furlongs in compass, which he beautified with houses within seventeen days after the walls were built. The building of this city is said to have been the occasion of a war between him and the *Scythians*; the *Scythian* king perswading himself, that this new town was fortified on purpose to keep him under. I do not well understand why the *Scythians*, offering war in such terrible manner, that *Alexander* was judged by his own soldiers to counterfeit sickness for very fear, should nevertheless make suit for peace: neither find I the reason why *Alexander* (not intending the conquest of those northern desarts, but only the defence of his own bank) should refuse to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further than they should agree to suffer him. Yet hereof is made a great matter, and a victory described; in pursuit of which, the *Macedons* ran beyond the bounds and monuments of *Bacchus's* expedition.

The truth is, that *Curtius* and *Trogus* have greatly mistaken this river, which they call *Tanais*; for it was the river of *Iaxartes*, that runs between *Sogdiana* and *Scythia*, which *Alexander* pass'd over, while *Menedemus* was employed in the recovery of *Samarchand*: But *Tanais*, which divides *Asia* from *Europe*, is near two thousand miles distant from any part of *Bactria* or *Sogdiana*, and the way desert and unknown. So that *Alexander* had (besides *Iaxartes*) the great river of *Volga*, and many others, to swim over, ere he could recover *Tanais*, which (from the place where he was) he could hardly have discover'd with the army that followed him, if he had employ'd all the time that he lived in *Asia* in that travel.

Wherefore it is enough to believe, that the *Asiatic Scythians*, making some offer to disturb the erection of this new city, which was like to give some hindrance to their excursions, were driven away by the *Macedonians*; and being naked of defensive arms, easily chased some ten or twelve

miles, which is the substance of *Curtius's* report. As for the limits of *Bacchus's* journey; like enough it is, that *Bacchus* (if in his life-time he were as sober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken god) went not very far into that waste country, where he could find nothing but trees and stones, nor other business than to set up a monument.

Threescore of the *Macedons* are said to have been slain, and one thousand one hundred hurt in this fight, which might easily be, in passing a great river, defended against them by good archers. Of *Scythian* horses one thousand eight hundred were brought into the camp, and many prisoners. It is forbidden by some historians, and indeed it is hardly possible to set down the numbers of such as perish in battle; yet *Cesar* commonly did it. And where the diligence of the victors hath been so inquisitive into the greatness of their own success, that writers have been able to deliver such particulars by credible report; I hold it not unlawful to set down what we find; especially when it serves to give light to the business in hand. The small number which the *Macedonians* lost; the omission of the number which they slew (a thing not usual in *Curtius*, who forbears nothing that may set out the greatness of *Alexander*) and the little booty that was gotten, do make it probable, that this war was no better than the repulsion of a few roving *Tartars* (the like being yearly performed by the *Muscovite*, without any boast) and therefore better omitted by some historians, than so highly extolled as a great exploit by others.

While *Alexander* was assuring himself of those *Scythians* bordering upon *Iaxartes*, he received the ill news that *Menedemus* was slain by *Spitamenes*, the army (by him led) broken, and the greatest numbers slain, to wit, two thousand foot, and three hundred horse. He therefore, to appease the rebellion, and to take revenge of *Spitamenes*, makes all the haste he can; but *Spitamenes* flies into *Bactria*. *Alexander* kills, burns, and lays waste all before him; not sparing the innocent children, and so departs, leaving a new governour in that province.

To repair this loss, he received a great supply of nineteen thousand soldiers out of *Greece*, *Lycia*, and *Syria*; with all which and the old army, he returns towards the south, and passeth the river of *Oxus*; on the south side whereof he built six towns near each other for mutual succour. But he finds a new start-up-rebel, called *Arimazes* (a *Sogdian*) followed with thirty thousand soldiers that defended against him a strong piece of ground on the top of a high hill; whom, when *Alexander* had sought in vain to win by fair words, he made choice of three hundred young men, and promised ten talents to the first, nine to the second, and so in proportion to the rest, that could find a way to creep up to the top thereof. This they performed with the loss of some two and thirty of their men, and then made a sign to *Alexander*, that they had performed his commandment. Hereupon he sent one *Cophes* to perswade *Arimazes* to yield the place; who, being shewed by *Cophes* that the army of *Macedon* was already mounted up, yielded simply to *Alexander's* mercy, and was (with all his kindred) scourged and crucified to death; which punishment they well deserved for neglecting to keep good watch in so dangerous a time. For the place, as seems by the description, might easily have been defended against all the armies of the world. But what strength cannot do, man's wit, being the most forcible engine, hath often effected;

of which I will give you an example in a place of our own.

The island of *Sarke*, joining to *Guernsey*, and of that government, was in queen *Mary's* time surprized by the *French*, and could never have been recovered again by force, having cattel and corn enough upon the place to feed so many men as will serve to defend it; and being every way so inaccessible, that it might be held against the great *Turk*. Yet by a stratagem of a gentleman of the *Netherlands*, it was in this sort regained. He anchored in the road with one ship of small burden; and pretending the death of his merchant, besought the *French*, being some thirty in number, that they might bury their merchant in hallowed ground, and in the chapel of that isle, offering a present to the *French* of such commodities as they had on board; whereto (on condition that they should not come ashore with any weapon, no, not so much as with a knife) the *Frenchmen* yielded. Then did the *Flemmings* put a coffin into their boat, not filled with a dead carcass, but with swords, targets, and harquebusses. The *French* received them at their landing, and searching all of them so narrowly, that they could not hide a penknife, gave them leave to draw their coffin up the rocks with great difficulty; some part of the *French* took the *Flemish* boat and rowed aboard their ship, to fetch the commodities promised, and what else they pleased; but being entered, they were taken and bound. The *Flemmings* on the land, when they had carried their coffin into the chapel, shut the door to them; and taking their weapons out of the coffin, set upon the *French*: they run to the cliff, and cry to their company aboard the *Flemmings* to come to their succour; but finding the boat charged with *Flemings*, yielded themselves and the place. Thus a fox-tail doth sometimes help well to piece out the lion's skin, that else would be too short.

S E C T. XIX.

How Alexander slew his own friends.

AFTER these *Sogdian* and *Scythian* wars, we read of *Alexander's* killing of a lion, and other frivolous matters, and that he committed the government of *Maracanda*, and the country about it, to *Clytus*; and how he slew him soon after, for valuing the virtue of *Philip* the father, before that of *Alexander* the son; or rather, because he objected to the king the death of *Parmenio*, and derided the oracle of *Hammon*; for therein he touch'd him to the quick, the same being delivered in publick, and at a drunken banquet. *Clytus*, indeed, had deserved as much at the king's hands as any man living had done, and had, in particular, saved his life, which the king well remember'd, when he came to himself, and when it was too late. Yet, to say the truth, *Clytus's* insolency was intolerable. As he, in his cups, forgot whom he offended; so the king in his (for neither of them were themselves) forgot whom he went about to slay; for the grief whereof, he tore his own face, and lamented so inordinately, that, but for the persuasions of *Calisthenes*, it is thought he would have slain himself.

Wine beget fury, fury matter of repentance; but preceding mischiefs are not amended by succeeding bewailings. *Omne vitium ebrietas & incendit, & detegit; obstantem malis conatibus verocundiam removet; ubi possedit animum nimia vis vini, quicquid mali latebat, emergit: non facit ebrietas vitia, sed protrahit.* Drunkenness both kindles and lays open every vice; it removes out of the way that

shame which gives impediment unto bad attempts; where wine gets the mastery, all the ill that before lay hidden breaks out: drunkenness, indeed, rather discovers vices, than makes them.

Soon after this, *Spitamenes*, who slew *Bessus*, and had lately revolted from *Alexander*, was murdered by his wife, and his head presented to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* being taken away, the *Dabans* also seized upon his fellow-conspirator *Dataphernes*, and delivered him up. So *Alexander*, being now freed from all these petty rebels, disposed of the provinces which he passed over, and went on with his army into *Gabaza*, where it suffered so much hunger, cold, lightning, thunder, and storm, that he lost, in one tempest, a thousand of his train. From hence he invaded the *Sacans*, and destroyed their country. Then came he into the territory of *Cobortanes*, who submitted himself unto him, feasted him greatly, and presented him with thirty beautiful virgins, among whom *Roxane*, afterwards his wife, was one; which, although all the *Macedonians* disdained; yet none of them durst use any freedom of speech after *Clytus's* death. From hence he directed his course towards *India*, having so increased his numbers, that they amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand armed men.

In the mean while he would needs be honoured as a god; whereto, that he might allure the *Macedonians*, he employed two pernicious parasites, *Hagis* and *Cleo*, whom *Calisthenes* opposed: For, among many other honest arguments used to the assembly, he told *Cleo*, that he thought that *Alexander* would disdain the gift of godhead from his vassals; that the opinion of sanctity, though it did sometimes follow the death of those, who, in their life-time, had done the greatest things; yet it never accompanied any one, as yet, living in the world. He further told him, that neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* were deified at a banquet, and upon drink (for this matter was propounded by *Cleo* at a carousing feast;) but that, for the more than manly acts by them performed while they lived, they were in future and succeeding ages numbered among the gods. *Alexander* stood behind a partition, and heard all that was spoken; waiting but an opportunity to be revenged on *Calisthenes*, who, being a man of free speech, honest, learned, and a lover of the king's honour, was yet soon after tormented to death; not for that he had betrayed the king to others, but because he never would condescend to betray the king to himself, as all his detestable flatterers did. For in a conspiracy against the king, made by one *Hermolau*, and others (which they confessed) he caused *Calisthenes*, without confession, accusation, or trial, to be torn asunder upon the rack: This deed, unworthy of a king, *Seneca* thus censures. *Hec est Alexandri crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet. Nam quoties quis dixerit, occidit Persarum multa millia; opponitur, & Calisthenem: quoties dictum erit, occidit Darium; opponitur, & Calisthenem. Quoties dictum erit, omnia oceano tenuis vicit, ipsum quoque tentavit novis classibus, & imperium ex angulo Thracie usque ad orientis terminos protulit, dicetur, sed Calisthenem occidit. Omnia licet antiqua ducum regumque exempla transferit, ex his que fecit nihil tam magnum erit quàm scelus Calisthenes:* This is the eternal crime of *Alexander*, which no virtue nor felicity of his in war shall ever be able to redeem. For as often as any man shall say, he slew many thousand *Persians*; it shall be replied, he did so, and he slew *Calisthenes*. When it shall be said, he slew *Darius*; it shall be replied, and *Calisthenes*. When it shall be said, he won as far as to the very ocean, thereon also he adventured with unusual navies, and extended his empire

pire from a corner of *Thrace* to the utmost bounds of the orient; it shall be said withal, but he killed *Calisthenes*. Let him have outgone all the ancient examples of captains and kings, none of all his acts makes so much to his glory, as *Calisthenes* to his reproach.

S E C T. XX.

Of Alexander's journey into India. The battel between him and Porus.

WITH the army before remember'd, of one hundred and twenty thousand foot and horse, *Alexander* did enter the borders of *India*, where such of the princes, as submitted themselves unto him he entertained lovingly, the rest he constrained; killing man, woman, and child, where they resisted. He then came before *Nisa*, built by *Bacchus*, which after a few days was render'd unto him. From thence he removed to a hill at hand, which on the top had goodly gardens filled with delicate fruits and vines, dedicated to *Bacchus*, to whom he made feasts for ten days together. Now, when he had drunk his fill, he went on towards *Dadala*, and from thence to *Acadera*, countries spoiled and abandoned by the inhabitants, by reason whereof, victuals failing, he divides his army: *Ptolemy* led one part, *Cenon* another, and himself the rest. They take many towns, whereof that of greatest fame was *Mazage*, which had in it three hundred thousand men; but after some resistance, it was yielded unto him by *Cleopbe* the queen, to whom again he restored it; at the siege of this city he received a wound in the leg. After this *Nora* was taken by *Polyperchon*, and a rock of great strength by himself: he won also a passage upon one *Eryx*, who was slain by his company, and his head presented to *Alexander*. This is the sum of *Alexander's* doings in those parts, before such time as he arrived at the river *Indus*. Coming to *Indus*, he found there *Ephestion*, who (being sent before) had prepared boats for the transportation of his army, and ere *Alexander's* arrival had perswaded *Omphis*, king of that part of the country, to submit himself to this great conqueror. Therefore, soon upon *Alexander's* coming, *Omphis* presented himself with all the strength of his country, and six and fifty elephants unto him, offering him his service and assistance. He made *Alexander* know that he was an enemy to the next two great kings of that part of *India*, named *Abisares* and *Porus*, wherewith *Alexander* was not a little pleased, hoping by this disunion to make his own victory by far the more easy. He presented *Alexander* with a crown of gold, so did he the rest of his commanders, and withal fourscore talents of silver coin, which *Alexander* not only refused, but, to shew that he was covetous of glory, not of gold, he gave *Omphis* a thousand talents of his own treasure, besides other *Persian* rarities. *Abisares* having heard that *Alexander* had received his enemy *Omphis* into his protection, resolved to make his own peace also: for knowing that his own strength did but equal that of *Omphis*, and that there was no other difference between them, than that which the change of war gave, he thought it an ill match when *Alexander*, who had already beaten under foot all the greatest princes of *Asia*, should make himself a party and head of the quarrel. So had *Alexander* none now to stand in his way but *Porus*, to whom he sent a commandment, that he should attend him at the border of his kingdom, there to do him homage. But from *Porus* he received this manly answer, that he would satisfy him in his first de-

mand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgment he was resolved to take counsel of his sword. To be short, *Alexander* resolves to pass over the river *Hydaspes*, and to find *Porus* at his own home. *Porus* attends him on the farther bank with thirty thousand foot, fourscore and ten elephants, three hundred armed chariots, and a great troop of horse. If *Darius* had done the like on *Tigris*, *Alexander* had surely staid somewhat longer ere he had seen *India*. The river was four furlongs broad, which makes half a mile, and withal deep and swift. It had in it many islands, among which there was one well shadowed with wood, and of good capacity. *Alexander* sent *Ptolemy* up the river with a great part of the army, shrowding the rest from the view of *Porus*, who by this device being drawn from his first incamping, sets himself down opposite to *Ptolemy*, supposing that the whole army of *Macedon* meant to force their passage there. In the mean while *Alexander* recovers the farther shore without resistance. He orders his troops, and advanceth towards *Porus*, who at first rather believes that *Abisares* his confederate (but now the confederate of fortune) had been come over *Hydaspes* to his aid than that *Alexander* had pass'd it. But he finds it otherwise, and sends his brother *Hagis* with four thousand horse, and a hundred armed waggons to entertain him. Each waggon had in it four to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little use: for there had fallen so much rain, and thereby the fields were so moisten'd, as the horses could hardly trot. The *Scythians* and *Dabans* had the vant-guard, who so galled these *Indians*, as they broke their reins, and other furniture, overturning the waggons and those in them. *Perdiccas* also gave up the *Indian* horse-men, and the one and the other were forced to recoil. *Porus* moves forward with the gross of his army, that those of his vant-guard scattered might recover his rear: *Alexander*, being followed with *Ephestion*, *Ptolemy*, and *Perdiccas*, took on him to charge the *Indian* horse-men on the left wing, commanding *Cenus* or *Cenon* to invade the right; *Antigonus* and *Leonatus*, he directed to break upon *Porus's* battel of foot, strengthened with elephants, *Porus* himself being carried upon one of them of the greatest stature. By these beasts the *Macedonian* foot were most offended; but the archers and darters, being well guarded with the long and strong pikes of the *Macedonians*, so galled them, as being enraged, they turned head, and ran over the foot that followed them. In the end, and after a long and doubtful fight, by the advantage of weapon, and by the courage and skilfulness of the *Macedonian* captains, the victory fell to *Alexander*, who also far exceeded *Porus* in number: for, beside the *Macedonians*, and other eastern and northern nations, *Porus* was assailed by his own confederate and country people. Yet for his own person he never gave ground otherwise than with his sword towards his enemies, till being weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his army, he became a prisoner to the conqueror, from whom again he received his estate with a great enlargement.

S E C T. XXI.

How Alexander finished his expedition, and returned out of India.

I Forbear to trouble my self and others with a frivolous discourse of serpents, apes, and peacocks, which the *Macedonians* found in these their travels: or of those petty wars which *Alexander* made

made between the overthrow of *Porus*, and his sailing down the river of *Indus*. The descriptions of places about the head and branches thereof are better known unto us in this age, by means of our late navigations into those parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of those kings we could in no sort be persuaded to believe, till our own experience had taught us, that there were many stranger things in the world, than are to be seen between *London* and *Stanes*.

Our great traveller *Mandevile*, who died in the year 1372, and had seen so much of the world, and of the *East-Indies*, we account the greatest fabler of the world; yet had he another reputation among other nations, as well able to judge as we; witness the monument made of him in the convent of the friers * *Guillimins* in *Liege*, where the religious of that place keep some things of his, *Comme pour honorable memoire de son excellence; for an honourable memory of his excellency*, faith *Guichardine*.

The countries towards the springs of *Indus*, and where those many rivers of *Hydaspes*, *Zaradris*, *Acesines*, and the rest, fall into the main stream, are now possess'd by the great *Mogor*, the ninth from *Tumberlain*, who commands all that tract between *Persia* and *Indus* towards the west, as also a great extent of country towards *Ganges*. In the mouth of *Indus*, the *Ascension*, a ship of *London*, suffered shipwrack in the year 1609, and some of the company travelled over land till they came to *Agra*, the same great city (as I take it) which our later cosmographers call *Nagra*, being named of old *Dionysopolis*.

Philostratus, in the life of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, speaking of the expedition of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* into the *East-Indies*, tells us, that those two great captains (whom *Alexander* fought by all means to out-fame) when they endeavoured to subject unto them the *Oxydracæ*, a people inhabiting between the rivers of *Hypbasis* and *Ganges*, they were beaten from the assault of their cities with thunder and lightnings. This may well be understood by the great ordnance that those people had then in use. For it is now certainly known, that the great kings of the uttermost east, have had the use of the cannon, many hundreds of years since, and even since their first civility and greatness, which was long before *Alexander's* time. But *Alexander* pierc'd not so far into the east. It sufficed, that having already over-wearied his army, he discovered the rest of *India* by fame. The *Indian* kings whom he had subdued, informed him, that a prince called *Aggramenes*, who commanded many nations beyond the river of *Ganges*, was the powerfullest king of all those regions, and that he was able to bring into the field two hundred thousand foot, three thousand elephants, twenty thousand horse, and two thousand armed chariots. With this report, though *Alexander* were more inflamed than ever to proceed in this discovery and conquest, yet all the art he had could not persuade the soldiers to wander over those great desarts beyond *Indus* and *Ganges*, more terrible unto them than the greatest army that the east could gather. Yet at the last contented they were, after many persuasive orations, to follow him towards the south, to discover such part of the ocean sea, as was nearer at hand, whereunto the river of *Indus* was their infallible guide. *Alexander*, seeing that it would be no otherwise, devised a pretty trick, wherewith he hoped to beguile posterity, and make himself seem greater

than he was. He enlarged his camp, made greater trenches, greater cabins for the soldiers, greater horse-stalls, and higher mangers than his horses could feed in. He caused all furniture of men and horses to be made larger than would serve for use; and scattered these armours and bridles about his camp to be kept as reliques, and wonder'd at by the savages. Proportionable to these, he raised up twelve great altars to be the monument of his journey's end. This was a ready way to increase the fame of his bigness; to his greatness it could add nothing, save a suspicion that it was less than is thought, seeing he strove so earnestly to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned again to the bank of *Acesines*, and there determined to set up his fleet where *Acesines* and *Hydaspis* encounter, where, to testify by a surer monument how far he had past towards the east, he built by those rivers two cities; the one he called *Nicæa*, and the other *Bucephalon*, after the name of his beloved horse *Bucephalus*. Here again he received a fourth Supply of six thousand *Thracian* horsemen, seven thousand foot; and from his lieutenant at *Babylon* five and twenty thousand armors, garnished with silver and gold, which he distributed amongst his soldiers. About these rivers he won many towns, and committed great slaughter on those that resisted: It is then written of him, that assaulting a city of the *Oxydracans*, he leapt from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, against all the inhabitants; tales like those of *Bevis of Southampton*, frivolous and incredible. Finally, he past down the river with his fleet, at which time also the news came unto him of a rebellion in *Bactria*, and then of the arrival of an hundred ambassadors from a king of *India*, who submitted himself unto him. He feasted these ambassadors upon a hundred beds of gold, with all the sumptuosity that could be devised, who soon after their dispatch returned again with a present of three hundred horse, one hundred and thirty waggons, and to each four horses, a thousand targets, with many other things rare and rich.

Their entertainments ended, he sailed towards the south, passed through many obscure nations, which did all yield unto him either quietly, or compelled by force: among these he built another *Alexandria*. Of many places which he took in this passage, *Samus* was one, the inhabitants whereof fought against him with poisoned swords, with one of which *Ptolemy* (afterwards King of *Egypt*) was wounded, and cured by an herb which *Alexander* dreamt that he had seen in the mouth of a serpent.

When he came near the out-let of *Indus* (being ignorant of the tides of the sea) his gallies, as they were on a sudden shuffled one upon another by the flood, so on the ebb they were left on the dry ground and on the sandy banks of the river, wherewith the *Macedonians* were much amazed; but after he had a few days observed well the course of the sea, he pass'd out of the river's mouth some few miles, and, after sacrifices offered to *Nephtune*, returned: and, the better to inform himself, he sent *Nearchus* and *Onesicritus*, to discover the coast towards the mouth of *Euphrates*. *Arianus*, in the beginning of his sixth book, hath written this passage down the river *Indus* at length, with the manner of the vessels, in which he transported his army, the commanders that were used therein, and other the marvellous provisions made.

Near the out-lets of this river he spent some part of the winter, and in eighteen days march from thence recovered *Gedrosia*, in which passage his army suffered such misery for want of food, that of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, which he carried into *India*, not the fourth part returned alive.

S E C T. XXII.

Of Alexander's riot, cruelty, and death.

FROM *Gedrosia* Alexander led his army into *Carmania*, and so drawing near to *Persia*, he gave himself wholly to feasting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this swinish vice being hateful enough in itself, yet it always inflamed this king to cruelty. For (saith *Curtius*) the hangman followed the feast, for *Aspastes*, one of his provincial governors, he commanded to be slain; so as neither did the excess of voluptuousness qualify his cruelty, nor his cruelty hinder in ought his voluptuousness.

While he refreshed his army in these parts, a new supply of five thousand foot, and a thousand horse was brought him by *Cleander* and his fellows, that had been employed in the killing of *Parmenio*. Against these murderers great complaint was made by the deputies of the provinces in which they had commanded; and their offences were so outrageous, as *Alexander* was persuaded, that, had they not altogether despaired of his return out of *India*, they durst not have committed them. All men were glad of the occasion, remembering the virtue of him whom they had slaughtered. The end was, that *Cleander* and the other chief, with six hundred soldiers by them employed, were delivered over to the hangman: every one rejoicing that the ire of the king was at last executed on the ministers of his ire.

Nearchus and *Onesicritus* were now returned from the coast, and made report of an island rich in gold, and of other strange things; whereupon they were commanded to make some farther discovery: which done, that they should enter the mouth of *Euphrates*, and find the king at *Babylon*.

As he drew near to *Babylon*, he visited the sepulchre * of *Cyrus* in *Pasargada*, now called *Chel-quera*: where he was presented with many rich gifts by *Orsines*, one of the princes of *Persia*, of the race of *Cyrus*. But because *Bagoas*, an *Eunuch*, in especial favour with the king, was neglected, he not only practised certain loose fellows to witness against *Orsines*, that he had robbed *Cyrus's* tomb, for which he was condemned to die; but he assisted the hangman with his own hands in tormenting him. At which time also *Alexander* caused *Phradites* to be slain, suspecting his greatness. *Cæperat* (saith *Curtius*) esse præceptum ad representanda supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda; he began headlongly to shed blood, and to believe false reports. It is true, that he took a way to make all men weary of his government, seeing cruelty is more fearful than all the adventures that can be made against it.

At this time it is said that *Calanus* the philosopher burnt himself, when he had lived threescore and thirteen years. Whether herein he followed the custom of his country, being an *Indian*, or sought to prevent the grief and incommodity of elder age, it is uncertain: but in this the historians agree, that foreseeing and foreshewing *Alexander's*

death, he promised to meet him shortly after at *Babylon*.

From *Pasargada* he came to *Susa*, where he married *Statira*, *Darius's* eldest daughter, giving her youngest sister to his beloved *Epheslion*, and fourscore other *Persian* ladies to his captains. There were six thousand guests invited to the feast, to each of which he gave a cup of gold. Here there came unto him three thousand young soldiers out of his conquered provinces, whereat the *Macedonians* greatly murmured. *Harpalus*, his treasurer in *Babylon*, having lavishly consumed the monies in his keeping, got him going with five thousand talents, and six thousand hired soldiers, but he was rejected in *Greece*, and there slain. *Alexander* greatly rejoiced at the fidelity of the *Greeks*, whom *Harpalus* with these forces and treasures could not stir: yet he sent commandment that they should again receive their banished men, whereunto (scarful of his indignation) all submitted themselves (except the *Armenians*) though they resolved that it was a manifest preparation towards their bondage. After this, there followed a marvellous discontentment in his army, because he had resolved to send into *Macedon* all those old soldiers which could no longer endure the travel of war, and to keep the rest in *Asia*. He used many orations to satisfy them, but it was in vain during the tempest of their fury. But afterwards, as whales are drawn to the land with a twine thread, when they have tumbled a while, so are the inconsiderate multitude easily conducted when their first passions are evaporate. With such as were licensed to depart, he sent *Craterus*, to whom he gave the lieutenantship of *Macedon*, *Thessaly*, and *Thrace*, which *Antipater* had held from his first departure out of *Europe*, who had beaten the rebellious *Greeks* in his absence, discharged the trust committed unto him with great fidelity, and sent him so many strong supplies into *Asia* from time to time. Certainly, if *Alexander* had not taken counsel of his cups, he would have cast some better colour on this alteration, and given *Antipater* a stronger reason for his remove, than to have employed him in the conduction of a new supply to be brought him to *Babylon*, the war being now at an end. For *Antipater* saw nothing in this remove, but the king's disposition to send him after *Parmenio* and the rest. With this *Antipater*, the king, notwithstanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: princes, tho' jealous, do not stand in doubt of every man ill-affected, tho' valiant; but there is a kind of kingly courage, compounded of hardiness and understanding, which is many times so fearful unto them, as they take leave both of law and religion, to free themselves thereof.

After he had sent for *Antipater*, he made a journey into *Media* to settle things there; where *Epheslion*, whom he favoured most of all men, dies. The king, according to the greatness of his love, laments his loss, hangs his physician, and bestows upon his monument twelve thousand talents: after which he returns to *Babylon*. Thither *Antipater* came not, but sent; and not to excuse himself, but to free himself. For if we believe *Curtius* (whom *Plutarch* and others gainsay) *Antipater*, by his sons, *Cassander*, *Philip*, and *Iolla*, who waited on *Alexander's* cup, gave him poison, *Theophilus* (who was of the conspiracy) having invited him to a drinking feast of purpose. For after he had taken a carouse in *Hercules's* cup, a draught of drink stronger than *Hercules* himself, he quitted the world within a few days.

* *Strabo* hath a far different description of *Cyrus's* tomb.

Certainly the princes of the world have seldom found good by making their ministers over-great; and thereby suspicious to themselves. For he that doth not acknowledge fidelity to be a debt, but is perswaded that kings ought to purchase it from their vassals, will never please himself with the price given. The only restorative, indeed, that strengthens it, is the goodness and virtue of the prince, and his liberality makes it more diligent; so as proportion and distance be observed. It may be, that *Antipater*, having commanded two or three kingdoms ten or twelve years, knew not how to play any other part; no more than *Cesar* did, after he had so long a time governed the *Gauls*, where he utterly forgot the art of obedience. A most cruel and ungrateful traitor *Antipater* was, if *Curtius* do not belie him: for though he feared some ill measure upon his remove (the tragedies of *Parmenio*, *Clytus*, and *Callisthenes*, having been so lately acted;) yet he knew nothing to the contrary, but that the king had resolved to have given him some other great government in *Asia*: the old soldiers thence returned, having perchance desired to be governed by *Craterus*, whom they had followed in all the former war.

SECT. XXIII.

Of Alexander's person and qualities.

Howsoever it were, *Alexander's* former cruelties cannot be excused, no more than his vanity to be esteemed the son of *Jupiter*, with his excessive delight in drink and drunkenness, which others make the cause of his fever and death. In that he lamented his want of enterprizing, and grieved to consider what he should do when he had conquered the world, *Augustus Cesar* found just cause to deride him, as if the well-governing of so many nations and kingdoms, as he had already conquered, could not have offer'd him matter more than abundant, to busy his brains withal. That he was both learned, and a lover of learning, it cannot be doubted. Sir *Francis Bacon*, in his first book of the advancement of learning, hath proved it sufficiently. His liberality I know not how to praise, because it exceeded proportion. It is said, that when he gave a whole city to one of his servants, he, to whom it was given, did, out of modesty, refuse it, as disproportionate to his fortune: to whom *Alexander* replied, that he did not enquire what became him to accept, but the king to give: of which *Seneca*;
^a *Animosa vox videtur & regia, cum sit stultissima:*

nihil enim per se quæquam decet. Refert quid, cui, quando, quare, ubi, &c. sine quibus facti ratio non constabit; habeatur personarum & dignitatum proportio, & cum sit ubique virtutis modus, æque peccat quod excedit, quàm quod deficit; It seems a brave and royal speech, whereas indeed it is very foolish; for nothing, simply consider'd by it self, becomes a man. We must regard what, to whom, when, why, where, and the like; without which considerations; no act can be approved. Let honours be proportion'd unto the persons; for whereas virtue is ever limited by measure, the excess is as faulty as the defect.

For his person, it is very apparent, that he was as valiant as any man; a disposition, taken by it self, not much to be admired; for I am confident, that he had ten thousand in his army as daring as himself. Surely, if adventurous natures were to be commended simply, we should confound that virtue with the hardness of thieves, ruffians, and mastiff dogs. For certainly, it is no ways praise-worthy but in doing good things, and in the performance of those lawful enterprizes, in which we are employed for the service of our kings and common-wealths.

If we compare this great conqueror with other troubles of the world, who have bought their glory with so great destruction, and effusion of blood, I think him far inferior to *Cesar*, and many others that lived after him, seeing he never undertook any warlike nation, the naked *Scythians* excepted, nor was ever encountered with any army, of which he had not a most mastering advantage, both of weapons and of commanders, every one of his father's old captains, by far, exceeding the best of his enemies. But it seemeth, fortune and destinies (if we may use those terms) had found out and prepared for him, without any care of his own, both heaps of men, that willingly offered their necks to the yoke, and kingdoms that invited and called in their own conquerors. For conclusion, we will agree with *Seneca*; who, speaking of *Philip* the father, and *Alexander* the son, gives this judgment of them. ^b *Quod non minores fuere pestes mortalium quàm inundatio, qua planum omne persusum est, quàm conflagratio qua magna pars animantium exaruit;* That they were no less plagues to mankind, than an overflow of waters drowning all the level; or some burning drought, whereby a great part of living creatures is scorched up.

^a L. 2. de Ben. c. 1.

^b Natural. Quæst. l. 3. q. 1.

C H A P. III.

The Reign of A R I D Æ U S.

SECT. I.

Of the question about succession to Alexander.

THE death of *Alexander* left his army (as *Demades*, the *Athenian*, then compared it) in such case, as was that monstrous giant *Polyphemus*, having lost his only eye. For, that which is reported in fables of that great *Cyclops*, might well be verified of the *Macedonians*: their force was intolerable, but for want of good guidance, ineffectual, and harmful chiefly to themselves. The

causes whereof (under the divine ordinance) were, partly the uncertainty of title to succession in the kingdom of *Macedon*, partly the stubborn pride of *Alexander* himself, who, thinking none worthy to be his heir, did refuse to establish the right in any one, leaving every one to his own fortune; but especially the great ambition of his followers, who all had learned of their master to suffer no equals; a lesson soon taught unto spirits reflecting upon their own worth, when the reverence of a greater object faileth.

It hath formerly been shewed, that *Philip* (the father of *Alexander*) governing in *Macedon* as protector, assumed unto himself the kingdom, not rendring it unto *Amyntas* (the son of his elder brother *Perdiccas*) when he grew to man's estate; but only bestowing upon him in marriage a daughter of his own: by which bond, and much more by his own proper strength, he assured the crown unto himself: *Amyntas* never attempting ought against *Philip*, tho' (with price of his life) he did against *Alexander* in the beginning of his reign. Wherefore *Eurydice*, the sole issue of his marriage, ought in reason to have been acknowledged queen after *Alexander*; as having better title thereto, than either he or *Philip* had, when they lived, unless, peradventure, some law of that nation forbade the reign of women. But the excellent virtue of these two princes had utterly defaced the right of all pretenders, not claiming from their own bodies: and so great were their conquests, that *Macedon* itself was (in regard of them) a very small appendix, and no way deserving to be laid in balance against the demand of their posterity, had they left any able to make challenge of the royal seat.

Alexander, having taken many wives, had issue by none of the principal of them. *Barsine*, the daughter of *Artabazus* a *Persian*, had born unto him a young son: and *Roxane*, the daughter of *Oxyartes* (whom he had more solemnly married) was left by him great with child. But the baseness of the mothers, and contempt of the conquered nations, was generally alledged in bar of the plea made for them, by some that would (perhaps) have wrought out their own ends, under the name of *Alexander's* children.

Cleopatra, a sister of *Alexander*, widow to the king of *Epirus*, and *Arideus* his base brother (son to *Philip* by a concubine of no account) who had married the lady *Eurydice* before mentioned, were next in course. Of *Cleopatra* there was no speech, which may give suspicion, that either law or custom had made that sex incapable of the sovereignty; *Arideus* (besides his bastardy) was neither for person nor quality fit to rule as king; yet upon him the election fell, but slowly, and (as happeneth often) for lack of a better: when the counsellors having over-laboured their disagreeing wits in devising what was best, were content for very weariness to take what came next to hand.

Ptolemy (soon after king of *Egypt*) concurring with them who rejected all mention of the half-*Persian* brood, king *Alexander's* children, was of opinion, that the rule of all should be given to the captains, that going for law which by the greater part of them should be decreed: so far was he from acknowledging any one as true heir to the crown.

This *Ptolemy* was called the son of *Lagus*, but reputed of *Philip*: who having used the company of *Arfinoe*, *Ptolemy's* mother, delivered her in marriage to *Lagus*, being great with child. Therefore, whether it were so, that he hoped well to work his own fortune out of those dissensions, which are incident unto the consultations of many ambitious men, equal in place, forcing them at length to redeem their quiet with subjection to one, deserving regard by his blood, and trust for his even carriage; or whether he desired only to get a share to himself, which could not have come to pass had all been given to one: plain enough it is, that he thought not on preferring *Arideus* before himself; and therefore gave such counsel as fitted his own and other men's purposes. Yea, this device of his took place indeed, tho' not in form as he had propound-

ed it: For, it was in effect all one, to have assembled at *Alexander's* empty chair, as *Ptolemy* had conceived the form of their consultations, or to set in the chair such a king as *Arideus*, no wiser than the chair it self. Also the controversies arising were determined by the greater part of the captains; by the greater part, if not in number, yet in puissance.

But as these counterfeit shews of dissembling aspirers, do often take check by the plain dealing of them, who dare to go more directly to work: so was it like to have fared with *Ptolemy* and the rest, when *Aristonous*, another of the captains, interpreted the very words of *Alexander*; saying, that he left his kingdom to the worthiest, as designing *Perdiccas*, to whom (lying at the point of death) he delivered his ring. It seemeth good in reason, that *Alexander* should be disposer of his own purchases; and those tokens of *Alexander's* purpose appeared plain enough, so long as no man would interpose another's construction: every one being uncertain how the secret affections of the rest might be inclined. Many therefore, either out of their love, or because they would not be of the latest, urged *Perdiccas* to take upon him the estate royal. He was no stranger to the royal blood; yet his birth gave him not such reputation, as the great favour of his dead king, with whom he had been very inward, and that especially since the death of *Epehestion* (a powerful minion) into whose place he was chosen. For his own worth he might well be commended, as a good man of war, and one that had given much proof of his private valour. But very furly he was: which quality (joined with good fortune) carried a shew of majesty: being check'd with misadventure, it was called by a true name *Pride*; and rewarded with death.

In the present business a foolish over-weening did him as great harm, as it had been great happiness to have succeeded *Alexander*. For not content to have the acclamation of the soldiers approving the sentence of *Aristonous*, he would needs counterfeit modesty; thinking that every one of the princes would have entreated him to take the weighty burden of an empire, which would be the less envious, the more solemnity he used in the acceptance. It is truly said, he that feigneth himself a sheep, may chance to be eaten by a wolf. *Meleager* (a man by nature envious, and bearing a particular hatred to *Perdiccas*) took advantage of his irresolute behaviour, and very bitterly inveighed against him. In conclusion he pronounced, that whosoever was heir to the crown, the soldiers ought to be heirs to the treasure; and therefore he invited them, who were nothing slow, to share it. This disturbed all the consultation. The captains were left alone, far enough from agreeing, and not able to have brought any conclusion to good effect without consent of the soldiers, who greedy of spoil thronged about *Meleager*.

S E C T. II.

The election of Arideus, with the troubles thereabout arising; the first division of the empire.

DURING this uproar, mention was made of *Arideus* by some one, and entertained with good liking of many, until at last it grew to the voice of the army. *Meleager*, having withdrawn himself tumultuously from the company of the lords, was glad of so fair an occasion to make himself great: therefore he produced *Arideus*, commended him to the soldiers, who called him by his father's name *Philip*, and brought him into the palace, invested him

him in *Alexander's* robes; and proclaiming him king. Many of the nobles withstood this election, but in vain; for they could not resolve what course to follow, rejecting this. Only *Pythen*, a hot-headed man, took upon him to proclaim the son of *Alexander* by *Roxana*, according to the counsel which *Perdiccas* at first had given, appointing *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus* his protectors: but this child was not yet born, which made that attempt of *Pythen* vain. Finally, *Perdiccas*, with six hundred men, and *Ptolem*, with the king's pages, took upon them to defend the place where *Alexander's* body lay: but the army, conducted by *Meleager*, who carried the new king about whither he listed, easily brake in upon them, and inforced them to accept *Arideus* for their sovereign lord. Then, by the intercession of the ancient captains, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither side faithfully meant.

Leonatus, who was of royal blood, a goodly gentleman, and valiant, issued out of *Babylon*, being followed by all the horse, which consisted (for the most part) of the nobility. *Perdiccas* abode in the city (but standing upon his guard) that he might be ready to take the opportunity of any commotion that should happen among the infantry. The king (who was governed by *Meleager*) commanded, or gave leave to have *Perdiccas* made away; which attempt succeeded ill, being neither secretly carried, nor committed to sure executioners. Their coming was not unexpected, and they were by *Perdiccas* rebuked with such gravity, that they departed honest rather than they came; being sorry for their bad enterprise. Upon the news of this attempt, the camp was in an uproar, which the king seeking to pacify, wanted authority, as having newly gotten the crown by them, and holding it by their courtesy. The matter it self afforded no good excuses, and his indiscretion made them worse. He said, that no harm was done, for *Perdiccas* was alive: but their exclamations were against the tyrannous enterprise, which he imputed to *Meleager*; abandoning the surest of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeased, until the king, by offering to resign his estate unto them, renewed, out of their pity, that favourable affection, which had moved them to set him up at the first.

Perdiccas, having now joined himself with *Leonatus*, kept the fields, intending to cut off all provision of victuals from the city. But, after sundry embassies passing between the king and the nobles (they requiring to have the authors of sedition given up into their hands; the king, that *Meleager* might be joined with *Leonatus* and *Perdiccas*, as a third in government of the army) things were compounded according to the king's desire. *Meleager* should have done well to consider, that such men as had one day demanded his head, were not like, the day following, to give him a principal place among them, without any new occasion offered, had not some purpose of treachery lurked under their great facility. General peace was renewed, and much love protested, where little was intended. The face of the court was the same which it had been in *Alexander's* time: but no longer now did the same heart give it life; and windy spirits they were which moved in the arteries. False reports were given out by appointment of *Perdiccas*, tending to his own disgrace; but in such terms, as might seem to have proceeded from *Meleager*, who, finding part of the drift, but not all, took it as an injury done to himself; and (as desirous of a true friendship)

desired of *Perdiccas*, that such authors of discord might be punished. *Perdiccas* (as a lover of peace) did well approve the motion; and therefore agreed, that a general muster should be made, at which time the disturbers of the common quiet should receive their punishment (as was the manner for soldiers offending) in pretence of the army. The plot was mischievously laid: Had *Meleager* given way to seditious rumours, he must needs have incurred the general hatred of all, as a sower of dissension; and thereby, with publick approbation, might have been cut off, as having often offended in that kind; his prince being too weak a patron. Now, seeking redress of these disorders, he hastened his own ruin, by a less formal, but more speedy way. This kind of muster was very solemn, and practised with many ceremonies, as for cleansing of the army. The horsemen, the elephants, the *Macedonian* foot, the mercenaries, were each, according to their quality, set in array, apart from others, as if they had been of sundry sorts, met at adventure; which done, the manner was to skirmish (as by way of exercise) according to direction of their several captains. But at that time the great battel of *Macedonian* pikes, which they called the *Phalanx*, led by *Meleager*, was on purpose bestowed in a ground of disadvantage; and the countenance of the horse and elephants beginning to give charge upon them, was such, as discovered no jesting pastime nor good intent. Kings were always wont to fight among the horsemen; of which custom *Perdiccas* made great use that day, to the utter confusion of his enemies: for *Arideus* was always governed by him, which, for the present, had him in possession. Two or three days before, he had sought the death of *Perdiccas*, at the instigation of *Meleager*; now he rides with *Perdiccas* up and down about the footmen, commanding them to deliver unto the death all such as *Perdiccas* required. Three hundred they were who were cast unto the elephants, and by them slain, in the presence of the king, who should have defended them, and their affrighted companions. But these three hundred were not the men whose punishment *Meleager* had expected; they were such as had followed him, when he disturbed the first consultation that was held about the election of a new king, and some of them his especial friends. Having therefore kept himself quiet a while, as unwilling to give offence to them who had the advantage; when he saw their proceedings tend very manifestly to his destruction, he fled away into a temple, which he found no sanctuary; for thither they sent, and slew him.

The army being thus corrected, was led into the city, where a new council of the princes was held, who, finding what manner of man their king was, divided all the provinces of the empire among themselves; leaving to *Arideus* the office of a visitor, and yet making *Perdiccas* his protector, and commander of the forces remaining with him. Then were the funerals of *Alexander* thought upon, whose body, having been seven days neglected, was opened and embalmed by the *Egyptians*; no sign of poison appearing, how great soever the suspicion might be. The charge of his burial was committed to *Arideus*; one of the captains, who was two years preparing of a great and costly shew, making a stately chariot, in which the corps was laid; many coffins of his friends being laid in the ground, before that of *Alexander* was bestowed in *Alexandria*, a city of his own building in *Egypt*.

S E C T. III.

The beginning of the Lamian war.

WHILST these things were in doing, or presently after, *Antipater* and *Craterus*, two principal noblemen, and inferior to none of *Alexander's* followers, if not greater than any of the rest, were busied in *Greece* with a war, which the *Athenians* more bravely than wisely had begun in *Alexander's* life, but now did prosecute more boldly than before, upon the courage which they had taken by his death. *Alexander*, not long before he died, had commanded, that all the banished *Greeks* (few excepted) should be restored unto their former places. He knew the factious quality of the *Grecian* estates, and therefore thought so to provide, that in every city he would have a sure party. But it fell out otherwise; for he lost the hearts of many more than he won, by this proud injunction: his pleasure, indeed, was fulfilled; yet not without great murmuring of the whole nation, as being against all order of law, and a beginning of open tyranny. The *Athenians*, greatly decayed in estate, but retaining more than was needful, of their ancient spirits, forbade the execution of this decree in their dominions; so did also the *Etolians*, who were valiant men, and inhabited a region well fortified by nature; yet neither of them took arms, but seemed to bear themselves, as men that had done no more than they might well justify by reason: nevertheless, to prevent the worst, the *Athenians* gave secret instructions to *Leosthenes*, a captain of theirs, willing him to levy an army, but in his own name, and to keep it in a readiness for their use. This was no hard thing for *Leosthenes* to do, great numbers of *Greek* soldiers being lately returned from the *Asian* war in poor estate, as defrauded of their pay by the captains. Of these he gathered up eight thousand, when the certain news were brought of *Alexander's* death; at which the city of *Athens* declared it self, and more honourably than wisely, proclaimed open war against the *Macedonians*, for the liberty of *Greece*. Hereupon *Leosthenes* drew in the *Etolians*, and some other estates; gave battel to the *Beotians*, who sided with *Antipater*, and overthrew them; growing so fast in reputation, and so strong in adherents, that *Antipater* (arming in all haste, yet suspecting his own strength) was forced to send into *Asia* to *Craterus* for succour.

Nothing is more vain than the fears and hopes of men, shunning or pursuing their destinies afar off, which deceive all mortal wisdom, even when they seem near at hand. One month was scarcely passed, since nothing so heavily burthened the thoughts of *Antipater*, as the return of *Craterus* into *Macedon*; which he then feared as death, but now desired, as the most likely assurance of his life. *Craterus*, whom *Alexander* held, as of all men, the most assured unto him, was sent into *Macedon*, to convey home the old soldiers (that was the pretence) and to succeed *Antipater* in the government of *Macedon* and *Greece*. The suspicions were strong, that he had a privy charge to put *Antipater* to death; neither did that which was commonly published, sound much better; which was, that *Antipater* should be sent unto the king, as captain of the young soldiers, newly to be levied in *Europe*. For *Alexander* was much incensed against him by his mother *Olympias*; and would sometimes give out speeches, testifying his own jealousy and hatred of him; but yet he strove to smother it, which in a cruel prince betokeneth little good. Few of *Alexander's* lieutenants had escaped with life; most of them, indeed, were mean persons in regard of those who followed him in his

Indian expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) removed, to make place for their betters. But if the king's rigor was such, as could find rebellious purposes (for so he interpreted even lewd government) in base persons; little might *Antipater* hope for, who, having sat viceroy ten years in the strongest part of the empire, was called away to the presence of so fell a master, and the envy of a court, wherein they had been his inferiors, which would now repine to see him their equal. Therefore, whether his fear drew him to prevention, working first the king's death by poison, given by his son *Iolaus*, *Alexander's* cup-bearer; or whether it brake not forth until opportunity had changed it into the passion of revenge, which was cruelly performed by his son *Cassander*; great cause of much fear he had, which I note in this place, as the ground of effects to be produced in very few years.

At the present *Craterus* was sent for, and all the captains of companies lying near solicited to make haste. Not without cause; for in *Macedon*, there could not, at that time, be raised more than thirteen thousand foot, and six hundred horse; which muster was of raw soldiers, all the force of the country being emptied into *Asia*. The *Thessalians*, indeed, who had long stood firm for *Philip* and *Alexander*, who also were the best horsemen of *Greece*, furnished him with very brave troops, that might have done great service, had their faith held out, which they changed for the liberty of *Greece*. With these forces did *Antipater*, in *Thessaly*, try the fortune of a battel with *Leosthenes*; rather (as may seem) fearing the increase of his enemies power, and rebellion of the *Greeks* (were they not check'd at the first) than presuming on his own strength. For *Leosthenes* had of *Athenians*, *Etolians*, and mercenaries, two and twenty thousand foot, besides the assistance of many petty signories, and of some *Illyrians*, and *Thracians*: of horse he brought into the field about two thousand and five hundred; but over-strong he was that way also, when once the *Thessalians* had revolted unto him. So *Antipater* lost the day; and his loss was such, that he neither was able to keep the field, nor to make a safe retreat into his own country: therefore he fled into the town of *Lamia*, which was well fortified, and well provided of all things necessary to bear out a siege. Thither did *Leosthenes* follow him, present him battel again, and upon refusal close up the town with earth-works, and a wall. There will we leave him for a while, travelling in the last honourable enterprize that ever was undertaken by that great city of *Athens*.

S E C T. IV.

How Perdicas employed his Army,

KING *Aridens* living under the rule of *Perdicas*, when all the princes were gone each to his own province, kept a naked court; all his greatness consisting in a bare title, supported by the strength of his protector, who cared not for him, otherwise than to make use of him. *Perdicas* had no province of his own peculiar, neither was he like to be welcome to any whom he should visit in his government. A stronger army than any of the rest he had, which he might easily hope, in that unsettled condition of things, to make better worth to him than many provinces could have been. The better to accomplish his desires, he closely sought the marriage of *Cleopatra*, the sister of *Alexander*; yet about the same time, he either married *Nicca*, the daughter of *Antipater*, or made such love to her as blinded their eyes, who did not somewhat narrowly search into his doings.

Arianathes,

Ariarathes the *Cappadocian*, the second of that name, and tenth king of that country, had continued faithful to the *Persian* empire as long as it stood, following the example of his forefathers, even from *Pharnaces* I. that reigned in *Cappadocia*, who married *Atossa*, sister to the great *Cyrus*. Some of his ancestors had (indeed) been oppressed by the *Persians*, but what fortune took from them at one time, virtue restored at another, and their faithful princes had much increased all. But now in the fatal period of so great an empire, with much wisdom, and (*Darius* being slain) with sufficient honour, he might have acknowledged the *Macedonian* in the *Persian's* room. This he did not, neither did *Alexander* call him to account, being occupied with greater cares. But *Perdiccas*, who had no greater business wherein to entertain his army, found it expedient both for the honour of the empire, to take in that inland kingdom, surrounded with provinces of the *Macedonian* conquest, and for his own particular to have one opportune place of sure retreat, under the government of a steadfast friend. Therefore he enter'd *Cappadocia*, fought with *Ariarathes*, who drew into the field thirty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse (a strong army, had it not encounter'd a stronger, and better trained) won the victory, and thereby the whole kingdom. But with much cruelty did he use the victory: for having taken *Ariarathes* prisoner with many others, he crucified him, and as many of his kindred as he could light upon: and so delivered that province to *Eumenes*, whom of all men living he trusted most.

Another part of his forces he had committed to *Python*, rather as to the most honourable of such as remained about him, than as to the most assured. *Python* was to subdue the *Greeks*, rebelling in the high countries of *Asia*. About twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse they were (all old soldiers) who, planted in colonies by *Alexander*, to bridle the barbarous nations, were soon weary of their unpleasant habitations, and the rude people among whom they lived: and therefore took advantage of the present troubles to seek unto themselves a better fortune. Against these *Python* went, more desirous to make them his own, than to destroy them: which intent of his *Perdiccas* discovering, did both give him in charge to put all those rebels to the sword, giving the spoils of them to his soldiers, and further enjoined it unto *Python's* captains (his own creatures) that they should see this command executed. These directions for use of the victory might have proved needless; so uncertain was the victory itself. A captain of the rebels commanding over three thousand, corrupted by *Python*, did in the heat of the fight (which was very doubtful) retire without necessity to a hill not far off. This dismayed the rest, and gave the day to *Python*, who being far enough from *Perdiccas*, offered composition to the vanquished, granting unto them their lives and liberty, under condition of laying down their arms; and hereupon he gave them his faith. Being master of these companies, he might well have a good opinion of his own power: all power being then valued by strength in followers, when as none could vaunt himself as free lord of any territory. He had thirteen thousand foot, and eight thousand eight hundred horse, besides these new companions, whom needless fear without great loss had caused to leave the field: but in true estimation, all the greatness whereof *Python* might think himself assured, was (and soon appeared to be) inherent in *Perdiccas*. For by his command were ten thousand foot, and eight thou-

sand horse, of those which followed *Python*, levied; the rulers of the provinces carefully obeying the letters of *Perdiccas*, by which they were enjoined to give assistance to that business: and by virtue of the precept given unto them by *Perdiccas*, did the *Macedonians* cut in pieces all those poor men who had yielded themselves, leaving *Python* as naked as he came forth to return unto his great master.

Now was *Perdiccas* mighty above the mighty, and had fair leisure to pursue his hopes of marriage with *Gleopatra*, and thereby to make himself lord of all: but this must be secretly carried for fear of opposition. How it succeeded will appear when the *Lamian* war taketh ending.

S E C T. V.

The process of the Lamian war.

WE left *Antipater* hardly besieged, wanting means to free himself without succours from his friends in *Asia*. Those helps not appearing so soon as he expected, he came to parley with *Leosthenes*, and would have yielded unto any terms of reason, wherewith men possessed with hope of victory do seldom limit their desires. *Leosthenes* willed him without further circumstance to submit himself to discretion. This was too much for him that had once commanded over them, who now required of him such a dishonourable composition. Wherefore, knowing that the extremities, from which as yet he was far enough, could bring no worse with it, *Antipater* prepared for the defence, and the other for winning the town, which felt great want of victuals. In this lingering war, the *Etolians* (whether weary of sitting still at a siege, or having business which they pretended at home) took their leave, and returned into their own country. Their departure left the trenches so thinly manned, that *Antipater* found means to fall out upon his enemies to their great loss: for many were slain, and *Leosthenes* himself among them, ere he could be repulsed into the town. Yet hereby the *Macedonians* were nothing relieved; their victuals wasted, and they were not strong enough to deal with the *Greeks* in open fight. *Craterus* was long in coming. *Lysimachus*, who was nearest at hand in *Thrace*, had too much work of his own, leading no more than four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, against *Scuthas* their king, who brought into the field above four times that number; and though *Lysimachus*, not without loss, had gotten one victory, yet the enemy, abounding in multitude, felt not the blow so much as might abate his courage. Therefore *Leonatus* was earnestly solicited by *Antipater's* friends, to make all haste to the rescue. He had the government of *Phrygia* the less, and was able to raise an army of more than twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, whether levied out of his province, or appointed unto him out of the main army, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that he was more willing to take in hand the journey into *Greece*, than *Antipater* was to have him come. For *Gleopatra* had written unto him, desiring his presence at *Pella*, the chief city of *Macedon*, and very kindly offering herself to be his wife; which letters he kept not so close as had been requisite, and therefore brought himself into great suspicion, that soon ended with his life. *Antipbilus*, chosen general by the *Athenians*, in place of *Leosthenes*, hearing of this, forsook the siege of *Lamta*, and took the ready way to these great conquerors of *Asia*, with purpose to give them an evil welcome home, before:

before *Antipater* and they should join in one. He had (notwithstanding the departure of the *Etolians*) the advantage of *Leonatus* in horse, by the odds of two thousand *Theffalians*; in other things he was equal to him; in cause he thought himself superior; in the fortune of that day he proved so: for he won a great victory (chiefly by virtue of the *Theffalians*) which appeared the greater by the end of *Leonatus* himself; who fighting valiantly, was driven into a piece of marshy ground, where he found his death, which he desperately had sought among the *Indians*, but it waited for him at home, not far from the place of his nativity. He was the first of *Alexander's* captains which died in battel, but all, or most of the rest shall follow him the same way. After this day the *Athenians* did never any thing suitable to their ancient glory. The vanquished *Macedonians* were too weak to renew the fight, and too proud to fly. They betook themselves to high grounds, unfit for service on horseback, and so abode in the sight of the enemy that day; the day following, *Antipater* with his men came into their camp, and took the charge of all. The *Athenians* perceiving their strength to be at the greatest, and fearing lest that of the enemies should increase, did earnestly seek to determine the matter quickly by another battel. But still *Antipater* kept himself on ground of advantage: which gave more than reasonable confidence to the *Greeks*, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the enemy to be vanquished. This wretchedness (incorrigible in an army of volunteers) was very inexcusable; seeing that the victories by land were very much defaced by losses at sea, where the *Athenians*, labouring to have made themselves once again masters, were put to the worst.

But now the fatal captivity of *Greece* came on, of which she never could be delivered unto this day. *Craterus*, with a strong army, having made great marches from *Cilicia*, passed over into *Europe*, and coming into *Theffaly*, joined himself with *Antipater*. The forces of *Leonatus*, *Antipater*, and *Craterus*, being joined in one, contained forty thousand weightily armed, three thousand light-armed men, and five thousand horse, of which numbers the *Greeks* wanted a thousand and five hundred in horse, in foot eighteen thousand. Carefully therefore did *Antipater* labour to avoid the necessity of a battel, until such time as the towns confederate should return unto the camp those bands which had straggled from it. But those companies were so slow in coming, and *Antipater* so urgent upon the *Greeks*, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more help they had carried away the victory; for the *Theffalians* had the upper hand, and held it, until such time as they perceived their battels (overlaid with multitude) retire unto the higher ground, which caused them also to fall back. So the *Macedonians* became lords of the field, having little else to boast of, considering, that with the loss of an hundred and thirty men, they had purchased only the death of some five hundred enemies. Yet hereof was great use made. For the *Greeks*, as not subject unto the full command of one general, and being every one desirous to preserve his own estate and city, concluded to make a treaty of peace with *Antipater*; who being a subtle artificer, and well understanding their aptness to division, refused to hearken to any general composition, but willed every city to deal apart for itself. The intent of his device was so apparent, that it was rejected; the *Greeks* chusing rather to abide the coming of their assailants,

whose unreasonable carelessness betrayed the cause. *Antipater* and *Craterus* besieging and winning some towns in *Theffaly*, which the army of the confederates wanted means and courage to relieve, wearied that nation from attending any longer upon other mens unlikely hopes, with their own assured and present calamity.

SECT. VI.

Of the peace granted to Athens by Antipater. Of Demosthenes's death.

THE *Theffalians* falling off, all the rest soon followed severally, and sued for peace; the gentle conditions given to the most forward, inviting such as were slack. Only the *Athenians* and *Etolians* held out. Little favour could they hope for, having been authors of this tumult; and their fear was not great; the seat of the war being far from them. But the celerity of *Antipater* confounded all their imaginations, who sat still at *Athens*, devising upon courses of prosecuting the war to come, which came to their doors before their consultation could find issue. He was ready to enter upon their frontiers; they had no ability to resist, and were as heartless as friendless. All that remained was to send ambassadors desiring peace upon some good terms: necessity enforcing them to have accepted even the very worst. *Phocion*, with *Demades* the Orator, and *Xenocrates* the philosopher, were chief of this embassy; *Phocion* as the most honourable, *Demades* as a strong perswader (both of them well respected by *Antipater*) and *Xenocrates* as one admired for wisdom, gravity of manners, and virtue; but all these ornaments consisting in speculation, and therefore of less regard, when their admiration was to cost much in real effects.

Antipater calling to mind the pride of *Leosthenes*, required of the *Athenians* that they should wholly submit themselves to his pleasure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to defray the charges of the war past, to pay a fine, and entertain a garrison. Further, he abrogated the popular estate, committing the government of the city to those of most wealth, depriving of the right of suffrage all such as wanted a convenient proportion of riches.

About nine thousand they were, all men of good substance, to whom the administration of the common-wealth was given, a number sufficient to retain the name and form of a *Democracy*. But the rascal multitude of beggarly persons, accustomed to get their livings out of the common troubles, being now debarred from bearing offices and giving their voices, cry'd out that this was a meer *Oligarchy*, the violent usurpation of a few inroaching upon the publick right. These turbulent fellows (of whom king *Philip* had been wont to say, that war to them was peace, and peace war) *Antipater* planted in *Thrace*, and gave them lands to manure, leaving as few of them as he could to molest the quiet of *Athens*.

To the same end (yet withal for satisfying his own suspicions and hatred) he caused *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides*, famous orators, with some others to be slain. Had the death of these two, especially of *Demosthenes*, been forborn, the rest of his proceedings in this action might well have passed for very mild: whereas now all such, as either delighted with the orations of *Demosthenes*, or have surrender'd their judgments to authors justly admiring him, as the most eloquent of all that ever did speak and write, condemn him utterly, calling

ling him a bloody tyrant. Such grace and reputation do the learned arts find in all civil nations, that the evil done to a man, famous in one of them, is able to blemish any action, how good soever otherwise it be, or honourably carried.

Demosthenes had taken sanctuary in the temple of *Neptune*, in the isle of *Calauria*; there did *Archias* (sent with soldiers by *Antipater* for the purpose) find him, and gently persuade him to leave the place, but not so prevailing, he threatened violence. Then *Demosthenes*, entreating a little respite, as it had been to write something, secretly took poison, which he had kept for such a necessity, and so died, rather chusing to do the last execution upon himself, than to fall into the hands of such as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable, perhaps, in a heathen man) argued some valour in him, who was otherwise too much a coward in battle, howsoever valiant in persuading to enterprizes, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through passages exceedingly dangerous. He loved money well, and had great sums given him by the *Persians*, to encourage him in finding work for the *Macedonians* at home. Neither did he ill (methinks) in taking from the *Persians* which loved not his country, great rewards, for speaking such things as tended to his country's good; which he did not cease to procure, when the *Persians* were no longer able to give him recompence. Such as in tender contemplation of his death can endure no honourable, though true mention of *Antipater*, may (if they can) believe *Lucian*, who tells us, that it was *Antipater's* purpose to have done him great honour. Sure it is, that he was a steadfast enemy to the *Macedonians*; therefore discretion required that he should be cut off.

The matters of *Athens* being thus ordered, the chief command was left in the hand of *Phocion*, a virtuous man, and lover of his country, yet applying himself to the necessity of the times, by which commendations he had both at other times done the city much good, and now procured this peace, which (though grievous to freemen, yet favourable to the vanquished) he endeavoured carefully to preserve.

S E C T. VII.

How Craterus and Antipater were drawn from their Etolian wars into Asia. The grounds of the first civil war between the Macedonian lords.

SO *Antipater* with *Craterus* returned into *Macedonia*, where they strengthened their friendship with a new alliance, *Craterus* taking *Phila*, the daughter of *Antipater*, to wife.

Shortly after they went against the *Etolians*, whose poverty was not so easily daunted, as the luxurious wealth of the more powerful state of *Athens* had been. Their country was rough and mountainous, having many places of great fastness, into which they conveyed such of their goods as they most esteemed, and of their people as were least fit for war, with the rest they fortified the strongest of their cities, and so abode the coming of the *Macedonians*, whom they manfully resisted. With great obliquity did the *Macedonians* contend against the difficulties of the places, which the *Etolians* made good as long as their victuals held out. But when *Craterus* had shut up all passages, and utterly debarred them of relief, then were they put to a miserable choice, either to descend from their strong holds and fight upon equal ground with unequal numbers, or to endure the miseries of hun-

ger and cold, against which they could make no long resistance, or to yield themselves to the *Macedonians*; who, incensed by the loss of many good soldiers, were not like to leave so stubborn enemies in places which might give confidence to rebellion. In cases of extremity, much fineness of wit apprehending all circumstances of danger commonly doth more hurt, than a blunt consideration of that only, which at the present is in hand. These *Etolians* did not as yet want meat, but their enemies daily molested them, wherefore as yet they thought upon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their courage. For such news came out of *Asia* into the *Macedonian* camp, as made *Antipater* and *Craterus* think every hour a month till they had rid their hands of these *Etolians*, giving them whatsoever conditions they would ask, yet with purpose to call them to severe account; yea, to root them out of *Greece* by death, or by captivity, when once they should have settled the affairs of *Asia*, as they hoped and desired. But of mens purposes God is the disposer: in whose high counsel it was ordained, that this poor nation should continue a troublesome bar to the proceedings of *Macedon* and *Greece*, and (when time had ripened the next monarchy) an open gate to let the *Roman* conquerors into those and other provinces. Likewise concerning the matters of *Asia*, the reformation intended by *Antipater* and *Craterus* was so far from taking effect, that it served merely as an introduction to all the civil wars ensuing.

The grounds of the *Asiatic* expedition, which did set the world in an uproar, were these. *Antipater* and *Craterus* were of *Alexander's* captains the mightiest in reputation: the one, in regard of his ancient precedency, and the present rule which he bore in the parts of *Europe*; the other, as of all men the best beloved, and most respected, both of *Alexander* and of the whole army. Next unto these had *Perdiccas* been, whom the advantage of his presence at the king's death did make equal, or superior to either of these, if not to both together. The first intents of *Perdiccas* were to have consorted with these two, and to have been with them a third partner in the government of all: to which purpose he entertained the discourse of marriage with one of *Antipater's* daughters. But feeling in short space the strength of that gale of wind which bore him up, he began to take wind, and soar quite another way. *Arideus* was a very simple man, yet served well enough to wear the title of that majesty, whereof *Perdiccas* being administrator, and hoping to become proprietary, the practice was more severe than had been in the days of *Alexander*: the desire to seem terrible being very familiar with weak princes and their ambitious officers, who know no other means of preserving themselves from contempt, and of giving such a fiery lustre to their actions, as may dazzle the eyes of the beholders. How cruelly the poor *Greeks* in the higher *Asia* were all put to the sword, and how tyrannously the king and princes of *Cappadocia* were crucified, hath already been shewed. The *Pisidians* were the next who felt the wrath of these counterfeit *Alexanders*. One city of theirs was utterly razed, the children sold for slaves, and all the rest massacred. The *Hamians*, by this example grown desperate, when after two or three days trial they found themselves unable to continue the defence, lock'd themselves into their houses, and set the town on fire, into the flame whereof the young men did throw themselves, after that they had a while repelled the *Macedonians* from the walls.

These exploits being performed, the army had no other work than to sift the ashes of the burnt city for gold and silver; but *Perdiccas* had business of greater importance troubling his brains. Nothing was more contrary to his ends, than to sit still without employment, letting his soldiers grow idle about him, whilst others grew great, and took deep root in their several provinces. He purposed therefore to transport his forces into *Europe*, under pretence of bringing the king into *Macedonia*, the seat of his ancestors, and head of the empire. The king's presence would make the offices of his viceroys (during the time) actually void; *Antipater* with *Craterus* being once in case of private men, and only *Perdiccas* holding authority, the match with *Cleopatra* might easily be made. So should greatness meet with a good title, and what more could be wished? Some impediment the power of *Ptolemy* might give, who held *Egypt* well fortified with men, but much better with love of the people; yet, if the business prospered in *Macedonia*, like enough it was that either *Ptolemy* would follow of himself, or be driven to come to reason. *Antigonus* likewise then governing in *Phrygia*, a busy-headed man, and ill affected to the side, was to be looked into and made away, for fear of further trouble. So thought *Perdiccas*, and was deceived in so thinking. *Antigonus* was as good a man of war, of as deep a judgment, as high a spirit, and as great undertaking, as any of *Alexander's* captains. His employments had been less than some of theirs, which made him also the less respected; but his thoughts were as proud as theirs; for he valued himself by his own worth, not by the opinions of other men; with careful attention had he watched *Perdiccas*, and sounded the depth of his purposes, which it was now high time to discover. For *Perdiccas*, having with a jealous eye pryed into the demeanour of *Antigonus*, and finding him no way fit for his turn, caused him to be charged with such accusations as might suffice to take away his life, especially by a judge that sought his death. This device *Antigonus* would not seem to perceive, but prepared himself in secret to make answer, indeed to make escape, which easily he did, putting himself and his son *Demetrius* aboard of some *Athenian* galleys that carried him to *Antipater*, laden with such tidings as finished the *Etolian* war before mentioned.

As the coming of *Antigonus* made *Craterus* and *Antipater* manifestly perceive their own danger: so his flight gave *Perdiccas* to understand that his intentions were laid open, and must now be justified by the sword. Therefore he prepared as fast as he could, not only for defence, but (as having on his side the king's name) to meet with them at home, who were nothing slack in providing to encounter him. *Ptolemy* being advertised of these proceedings, and considering how nearly they concerned him, sided with *Antipater*. To his government of *Egypt* he had annexed the dominion of *Cyrene*, not without consent of the chief citizens; and now in the midst of these garboils he celebrated the funeral of *Alexander* with great solemnity, purchasing thereby to himself much good will and many partakers, notwithstanding the terrible report of the king's army coming against him.

SECT. VIII.

Perdiccas's voyage into Egypt, and his death.

PERDICCAS, uncertain which way to bend his main power, at length resolved to set upon *Ptolemy*; leaving *Eumenes* to keep to his ale,

against *Craterus* and *Antipater*, the parts of *Asia* bordering upon *Europe*.

It may seem strange, that he did not rather make head against those who were to come out of *Greece* with a great number, and of more able men than *Ptolemy* could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quick end with *Ptolemy*; or believed that *Craterus* would not be ready for him soon enough. Sure it is that he took a bad course, and made it worse with ill handling.

Ptolemy by his sweet behaviour allured many to his party, without help of any bad arts. *Perdiccas* contrariwise was full of insolency, which never failed to be rewarded with hatred; that is truly defined, An affectation founded upon opinion of an unjust contempt. The whole story of his proceedings in *Egypt* is not worth relating: for he did nothing of importance; but (as a wilful man) tired his followers, and wasted them in hard enterprises without success. His most forcible attempt was upon a little town called the *Camels Wall*: thither he marched by night, with more haste than good speed; for *Ptolemy* preventing him, did put himself into the place, where behaving himself not only as a good commander, but as a stout soldier, he gave the foil to *Perdiccas*, causing him to retire with loss, after a vehement, but vain assault continued one whole day. The night following, *Perdiccas* made another journey (which was his last) and came to the divisions of *Nilus*, over against *Memphis*. There with much difficulty he began to pass over his army into an island where he meant to encamp. The current was strong, the water deep, and hardly fordable. Wherefore he placed his elephants above the passage, to break the violence of the stream, and his horsemen beneath it, to take up such as were carried away by swiftness of the water. A great part of his army being arrived on the further bank, the channel began to wax deep; so that whereas the former companies had waded up to the chin, they who should have followed could find no footing. Whether this came by rising of the water, or sitting away of the ground (the earth being broken with the feet of so many men, horse, and elephants) no remedy there was, but such as had pass'd must re-pass again, as well as they might: for they were too weak for the enemy, and could not be relieved by their fellows. With great confusion therefore they committed themselves to the river, wherein above two thousand of them perished, a thousand were devoured by crocodiles; a miserable spectacle even to such as were out of danger; such as were strong and could swim recovered the camp, many were carried down the stream, and driven to the contrary bank, where they fell into the hands of their enemies.

This misfortune exasperated the soldiers against their general, giving liberty to their tongues, which long time had concealed the evil thoughts of their hearts. While they were thus murmuring, news came from *Ptolemy*, which did set them in an uproar. *Ptolemy* had not only shewed much compassion on those who fell into his hands alive, but performed all rights of funeral to the dead carcasses, which the river had cast upon his side; and finally, sent their bones and ashes to be interred by their kinsmen or friends. This did not only move the common soldiers, but made the captains fall to mutiny, thinking it unreasonable to make war upon so virtuous and honourable a person, to fulfil the pleasure of a lordly ambitious man, using them like slaves. The sedition growing strong, wanted only a head, which

which is quickly found. *Python* was there, who inwardly hated *Perdiccas*, for the disgrace which he had suffered by his procurement after the victory upon the rebellious *Greeks*. *Python* had lived in honourable place about *Alexander*; he was in the division of the provinces made governour of *Media*; he had followed *Perdiccas*; and being in all things (the protectorship excepted) equal to him, had nevertheless been scornfully used by him, which now he requited. Drawing together a hundred of the captains, and a good part of the horse, which consisted of the gentry (the footmen having declared themselves before) he entered the tent of *Perdiccas*, where, without further circumstance, they all ran upon him, and slew him. Such end had the proud misgoverning authority of *Perdiccas*. He might have lived as great as any, could he have suffered any as great as himself; yea, peradventure, master of all, had he not been too masterly over those which were already his.

The next day *Ptolemy* came into the camp, where he was joyfully received; he excused himself of things past, as not having been author, or given cause of the war, and was easily believed: the favour of the army being such towards him, that needs they would have made him protector in the room of *Perdiccas*. But this he refused. It was an office fit for one, that would seek to increase his greatness with his trouble. *Ptolemy* was well enough already; wherefore for his own quiet he forbore to accept it, and for their well-deserving of him, he procured that honourable charge to *Python*, and to *Arideus* the captain, who having had some companies of soldiers to furnish with their attendance the solemnities of *Alexander's* funerals, did with them adhere to him against *Perdiccas*.

In the midst of these businesses came news of two great victories obtained by *Eumenes*; which news, had they arrived two or three days sooner, had been entertained with joyful acclamations; and would have given such reputation to *Perdiccas*, as had caused both his private maligners to continue his open flatterers, and his open enemies to have accepted any tolerable composition. But these good tidings coming in ill time, when death had stopped the ears which would have given them welcome, found bad acceptance, as shall be shewed hereafter.

SECT. IX.

Victories of Eumenes in the lower Asia.

BEFORE we proceed in the relation of things, happening about the person of the king, it is meet that we speak of those businesses in the lower *Asia*, which were handled by *Eumenes* with notable dexterity, whilst *Perdiccas* was occupied in the *Egyptian* wars. *Alcetas*, the brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus*, had received command from *Perdiccas* to be assistant to *Eumenes*, and to follow his directions. But *Alcetas* made flat answer, that he would not; alledging the backwardness of his men to bear arms against so great a person as *Antipater*, and a man so much honoured as *Craterus*. *Neoptolemus* was content to make fair shew, but inwardly he repined at the precedency given to *Eumenes*, as thinking himself the better man. *Eumenes* discovering, through the counterfeited looks of *Neoptolemus*, the mischief lurking in his heart, wisely dissembled with him, in hope to win him by gentle behaviour and sweet language, that commonly are lost, when bestowed upon arrogant creatures. Yet, the better to fortify himself, that he might stand upon his own strength, he raised

out of the countries under his jurisdiction, about six thousand horse; giving many privileges to such as were serviceable, and training them well up. Not without great need: for when upon advertisement of the great preparations made by *Craterus* and *Antipater* (who had newly passed the *Hellepont*) for the invasion of his provinces, he willed *Neoptolemus* to come to him with all his power; *Neoptolemus* did indeed advance, but in hostile manner, tho' unprovoked, presented him battel. *Neoptolemus* had secretly covenanted with *Antipater* to lay open the way for him to the conquest of *Asia*, which now intending to perform, he was shamefully disappointed. For tho' his footmen, being all *Macedonians*, had much the better, and prevailed far upon *Eumenes's* battels; yet were his horse driven out of the field, and himself compelled, with a few of them, to run away, leaving naked the backs of his *Macedonian* footmen, to be charged by *Eumenes*, who forced them in such wise, that casting down their pikes, they cry'd for mercy, and gladly took their oath to do him faithful service. *Antipater* and *Craterus* endeavoured with many goodly promises to draw *Eumenes* into their society, who contrariwise offered himself, as a means of reconciliation, between *Perdiccas* and *Craterus*, whom he dearly loved; professing withal his hatred to *Antipater*, and constant faith to the cause which he had undertaken to maintain.

Whilst these negotiations were on foot, *Neoptolemus* came with his broken crew to *Antipater* and his associates, vilifying *Eumenes*, and calling him a *Scribe* (at which foolish railing they laugh'd) but extolling the virtue of *Craterus*, as well he might, with high commendations; assuring them, that if *Craterus* did but once appear, or that his voice were but heard by any *Macedonian* in *Eumenes's* camp, the victory was won, for they would all forthwith revolt unto him. Earnestly therefore he desired them to give him aid against *Eumenes*, and especially requested that *Craterus* might have the leading of the army to be sent. Their own affections did easily lead them to condescend to his motion; and good hope there was, that the reputation of *Craterus* might prevail as much, as the force which he drew along. For he had in the midst of *Alexander's* vanities, when others (imitating their king) betook themselves to the *Persian* fashions of garments and customs, retained the ancient *Macedonian* form of behaviour and apparel; whereby he became very gracious with the common soldiers, who beheld these new tricks of *Asia* with discontented eyes, as reproachful and derogatory to the manners of their native country. So *Antipater* took the way towards *Cilicia*, to hold *Perdiccas* at bay, and to join with *Ptolemy*. *Craterus* used great celerity, to have taken *Eumenes* revelling (as he hoped) according to the common fashion of captains after a great victory. But he had a wary and well-advised enemy to encounter, who kept good espial upon him, and with much wisdom foresaw all that was to be feared, and the means of prevention, which his courage did not fail to execute.

Eumenes was not ignorant, that *Craterus* was able to defeat him without battel, yea, without stroke; him therefore he feared more than the army following him (yet the army following him was such as much exceeded his own in footmen, but was inferior in horsemen) and thought it more uneasy to keep the *Macedonians* from revolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon he took in hand a strange piece of work, which desperation (of all courtes else) taught him, and wise managing, prosperously accomplished. He gave out reports, that *Neoptolemus*

Eumenes was returned with such company as he could gather together, and had gotten *Pigres* (a captain of no great estimation, who lay not far off) to join with him. Having animated his men against *Neoptolemus*, whom he knew to be despised and hated among them (as having been vanquished by some of them, and forsaken by others in plain field, whilst they valiantly fought in his quarrel) he took great care to keep them from receiving any intelligence of the enemies matters. Peremptorily he commanded, that no messenger nor trumpeter should be admitted; and not herewith satisfied, he placed against *Craterus* no one *Macedonian*, nor any other that much would have regarded him had he been known: but *Thracians*, *Cappadocians*, and *Persians*, under the leading of such, as thought more highly of none, than of *Perdiccas* and himself. To these also he gave in charge, that without speaking or hearkening to any word, they should run upon the enemy, and give him no leisure to say or do any thing, but fight. The directions which he gave to others, he did not fail to execute in his own person: but placing himself in the right wing of his battel, opposite to *Neoptolemus*, who (as he understood conducted the left wing on the contrary side, he held the *Macedonians* arranged in good order, and ready to charge the enemy as soon as the distance would give leave. A rising piece of ground lay between them, which having ascended, the armies discovered each other: but that of *Eumenes* every way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long journies, which over-hastily they had made, seeking the deceitful issue of frivolous hopes. Then was it high time for *Craterus* (having failed in surprising them as enemies) to discover himself to his old friends and fellow-soldiers, of whom he could see none. *Phœnix*, a *Tenidian*, and *Artabazus*, a *Persian*, had the leading of that side, who mindful of their instructions, began to give upon him with such countenance, as told him his error; which to redeem, he bad his men fight and win the day, and take the spoil to themselves. But the bear whose skin he sells, is not yet caught. The ground whereon the battel was fought gave most advantage to the horse, who encountered very roughly on all parts; especially about *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus*, who as soon as they had discovered one another, could not contain themselves, but with great rage met body to body, and letting loose their bridles, grappled so violently together, that their horses ran from under them, leaving both of them tumbling on the ground. *Neoptolemus* rose first up, but *Eumenes* had his sword first drawn, wherewith he houghed the other, causing him to fall down and fight upon one knee. In this conflict they received many wounds, but *Neoptolemus* giving slight ones, took such as were deadly, by which he died in the place, and was there (being half-dead, half-alive) stripped by his mortal enemy, whose revilings he requited, lying even at the last gasp, with one wound in the groin, dangerous, had it not wanted force. The death of *Neoptolemus* caused his followers to run away upon the spur, and seek shelter behind the battels of their foot. They were nothing hotly pursued: for *Eumenes* pained himself to carry succour to his left wing, which he suspected much to be distressed, but found accompanied with the same fortune, that had assisted him when he fought in person. *Craterus* had gallantly borne himself a while, and sustained the impression of *Artabazus* and *Phœnix*, with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and protract the fight, when he was charged by men of little esti-

mation or note. Otherwise it is not unlikely, that he might have either carried the day, or preserved himself to a better adventure by giving ground, as the rest (when he and *Neoptolemus* were slain) did. But whilst he fought to preserve his reputation, he lost his life by the fall of his horse, or his falling from his horse, through force of a wound received; upon which accident he was trampled under foot by many that knew him not, and so perished unknown, till it was too late to know it. *Eumenes*, coming to the place where he lay, made great lamentation, as having always loved and honoured *Craterus*, of whose death he was now become the instrument. The vanquished army entertained a treaty of peace with *Eumenes*, making shew of willingness to become his followers; but their intent was only to refresh themselves, which (by his permission) having done, they stole away by night, and fled towards *Antipater*.

This battel fought within ten days of the former, won to *Eumenes* more reputation than good will: for his own soldiers took the death of *Craterus* heavily; and the armies lying further off were enraged with the news. But other matters there were which incensed men against him, besides the death of *Craterus*, whereof it manifestly appeared, that he was as sorry as any that pretended greater heaviness. His army wanted pay. This was a great fault; which he wisely amended, by giving to them the spoil of such towns as were ill-affected to him. So he redeemed the love of his own men, who of their mere motion appointed unto him a guard for defence of his person. Others were not so easy to be reconciled. They, who had been traytors to *Perdiccas*, hated him for his faithfulness, as greatly as they thought that he would hate them for their falshood; neither found they any fairer way of excusing their late revolt, than by accusing and condemning the side which they had forsaken. Wherefore they proclaimed *Eumenes* a traytor, and condemned him to die: but it was an easier matter to give that sentence, than to put it in execution.

S E C T. X.

Quarrels between Eurydice the queen, and Python the protector. Python resigns his office, into which Antipater is chosen.

PYTHON and *Arideus* being chosen protectors of king *Arideus*, and the children of *Alexander*, took the way to *Asia* the less, conducting the army through *Syria*. Of these two *Python* was the greater in reputation, yet far too weak to sustain so important a charge. For *Eurydice*, wife to king *Arideus*, was come to her husband, a lady of a masculine spirit, well understanding what she was or should be, and thinking her self able to support the weight which fortune had laid upon her foolish husband, being due to her own title. Her mother *Cyna*, sister to *Alexander* by her father, king *Philip*, was married (as hath been shewed) to *Amyntas*, who was right heir to the kingdom of *Macedon*, being the only son of king *Perdiccas*, *Philip's* elder brother.

This *Cyna* was a warlike woman; she had led armies, and (as a true sister of *Alexander*) fighting hand to hand with *Ceria* queen of the *Phrygians*, a virago like unto her self, had slain her. She brought up this *Eurydice* in the same unwomanly art of war, who now among the soldiers began to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the small contentment of *Python*, that could not brook her too curious intermeddling in his charge.

charge. Whether it were so that *Python* had some purpose to advance the son of *Alexander* by *Roxana*, to the kingdom (as once he had sought to do;) or whether the queen did suspect him of some such intent; or whether only desire of rule caused her to quarrel with him, quarrel she did, which disturbed the proceeding against *Eumenes*. The army having shaken off such a rank-rider as *Perdiccas*, would not afterwards be reined with a twined thread. *Python*, bearing himself upon his office, took upon him to give directions in the king's name, which the queen did oftentimes controul, using the same name, with more authority, and better liking of the soldiers. *Python*, seeing this, would needs resign his office, whether upon weariness of the contentions daily growing, or on purpose to bring the queen into envy, it is uncertain. Perhaps he thought, that now being the far worthiest man in the camp, he should be intreated to retain the place, and have his authority confirmed, or (as might be) increased, were it but for want of a fit successor. *Eurydice* was nothing sorry at this course; for now she thought to manage the affairs of the empire at her own will, being freed from the troublesome assistance of a protector. But the soldiers disappointed both her and *Python* of their contrary expectations; choosing *Antipater*, the only powerful man of *Alexander's* captains then living, into the room of *Python*. Hereat the queen fretted exceedingly, and began to deal earnestly with the *Macedonians*, that they should acknowledge no lord save only the king their sovereign. Yet she failed of her purpose, being hinder'd (as may seem) by three things: the apparent weakness of her husband, the growth of *Alexander's* children, who (though born of outlandish women) were bred in the *Macedonian* camp; and the mightiness of *Antipater*, who commanding a great army near at hand arrived in few days at the camp, and enforced *Eurydice* to hold her self content. *Antipater* was of such power, that he needed not to work by any close devices, as *Perdiccas* had done; he had no concurrents, all the governours of provinces that remained alive acknowledged him their better; yea, many of them he displaced out of hand, putting others in their room. This done, he took the king, queen, and princes along with him into *Macedonia*, leaving *Antigonus* general of the royal army: to whom for his good services done, and to be done against *Eumenes*, he gave the rule of *Susiana*, besides his former provinces, and committed into his hands the government of *Asia* during that war.

S E C T. XI.

Antigonus lieutenant of Asia, wins a battel of Eumenes, and besiegeth him in Nora: he vanquisheth other followers of Perdiccas.

HERE begins the greatness of *Antigonus*, whose power in few years over-growing the rest, wanted little of spreading it self over the whole monarchy. He was to make war upon *Eumenes*, *Alcetus* the brother, and *Attalus* the brother-in-law, to *Perdiccas*: work enough to keep his army employed in the publick service, till such time as he might find occasion to make use of it in his own business. The first of these which he undertook was *Eumenes*, with whom *Alcetus* and *Attalus* refused to join, having unseasonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chief place. *Eumenes* had an army strong in number, courage, and all needful provisions; but obedient only at discretion. Therefore *Antigonus* tryed all ways of corrupting his soldiers, tempting first the whole army

with letters; which practice failing by the cunning of *Eumenes* (who made shew as if he himself had scattered abroad those letters to try the faith of his men) he dealt apart with such captains, as he thought most easie to be won. Of these captains one rebelled, breaking out too hastily before any help was near him, yet looking so carelessly to himself, that he and his were surpris'd, when he thought his enemies far off. Another follower of *Eumenes* (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to be in company with *Antigonus*) kept his treachery secret, reserving it for the time of execution. Upon confidence of the treason, which this false man *Apollonides* had undertaken, *Antigonus* presented battel to *Eumenes*; in the heat whereof, *Apollonides*, general of the horse to *Eumenes*, fled over to the contrary side with such as he could get to follow him: but was closely followed by some, whose company he desired not. *Eumenes*, perceiving the irrecoverable mischief which this traiterous practice brought upon him, pursued the villain, and cut him off before he could thrust himself into the troops of *Antigonus*, and boast of his treachery. This was some comfort to *Eumenes* in the loss of that battel, which disabled him utterly to keep the field, and left it very hard for him to make a safe retreat. Yet one thing he did, which much amazed his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused *Antigonus* himself to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the victory to get possession of the dead bodies. *Eumenes*, whilst *Antigonus* held him in chace, turned out of the way, and fetching a compass returned to the place where the battel had been fought; there he burned (according to the manner of the time) the bodies of his own men, and interred the bones and ashes of the captains and common soldiers apart, raising up heaps of earth as mountains over them, and so went his way. As this bold adventure bred in the *Macedonians* (returned to their camp) great admiration of his brave spirit; so the news which *Menander* (who was set to look unto their carriages) brought and published among them, enticed them to love him as their honourable friend. He had found *Menander* in an open plain, careless, as after an assured victory, and loaded with the spoils of many nations, the rewards of their long service, all which he might have taken: but fearing lest such a purchase should prove a heavy burthen to him, whose chief hope consisted in swift expedition, he gave secret warning to *Menander* to lie to the mountains, whilst he detained his men (whom authority could not have restrained) by this sleight, setting them to bait their horses. The *Macedonians* extolled him for this courtesie, as a noble gentleman, that had forborn when it lay in his power to strip them out of all their wealth, and make their children slaves, and to ravish their wives: but *Antigonus* told them, that he had not forborn to do this out of any good will to them; but out of mere subtilty had avoided those precious letters, which would have hinder'd his speedy flight. He told them true: for *Eumenes* did not only think all carriages to be over-burdenfome, but the number of his men to be more troublesome than available, in his intended course. Wherefore he sent them from him as fast as he could, wishing them to shift for themselves; and retaining only five hundred horse, and two hundred foot. When he had wearied *Antigonus* a while in following him up and down, he came to *Nora*; where again, keeping no more about him, than necessity required to make good the place, he rovingly dismissed all the rest. *Nora* was a little fortress in the borders of *Lycaonia* and

Cappadocia, so strongly situated, that it seemed impregnable, and so well victualled and stored with all necessaries, that it might hold out for many years. Thither did *Antigonus* follow him, with more desire to make him his friend, than to vanquish him in war. To this purpose he entertained parley with him, but in vain. For whereas *Antigonus* offered him pardon, and his love; *Eumenes* required restitution of his provinces, which could not be granted without *Antipater's* consent. Then was *Nora* closed up; where *Antigonus* leaving sufficient strength for continuance of the siege, took his journey into *Pisidia*, against *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, with whom he made short work. He came upon them unexpected, and seized on passages, which wanted not men, but such a captain as *Eumenes*, to have defended them. *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, as they had been too secure before his coming, so were they too adventurous in fighting at the first sight, upon all disadvantages; and their folly was attended with suitable event. *Attalus*, with many principal captains, was taken; *Alcetus* fled to the city of *Termessus*, where the love of the younger sort toward him was so vehement, that, stopping their ears against all persuasions of the ancient men, they needs would hazard their lives and their country in his defence. Yet this availed him nothing; for the governors of the town, having secretly compounded with *Antigonus*, caused the young men to fall out; and using the time of advantage, they with their servants did set upon *Alcetus*, who unable to resist, slew himself. His dead body was conveyed to *Antigonus*, and by him barbarously torn, was cast forth without burial. When *Antigonus* was gone, the young men interred the carcase with solemn funerals, having once been minded to set on fire their own town, in revenge of his death. Such favour had he purchased with courteous liberality; but to make an able general, one virtue, how great soever, is insufficient.

S E C T. XII.

Ptolemy wins Syria and Phenicia. The death of Antipater.

WHILST these things were in doing, the rest of the princes lay idle, rather seeking to enjoy their governments for the present, than to confirm or enlarge them. Only *Ptolemy* looking abroad, won all *Syria* and *Phenicia*: an action of great importance, but not remarkable for any circumstance in the managing. He sent a lieutenant thither with an army, who quickly took *Laomedon* prisoner, that ruled there by appointment of *Antipater*, and formerly of *Perdiccas*, but (as may seem) without any great strength of soldiers, far from assistants, and vainly relying upon the authority which had given him that province, and was now occupied with greater cares, than with seeking to maintain him in his office.

Antipater was old and sickly, desirous of rest, and therefore contented to let *Antigonus* pursue the dispatch of those businesses in *Asia*. He had with him *Polyperchon*, one of the most ancient of *Alexander's* captains, that had lately suppressed a dangerous insurrection of the *Etolians*, which nation had stirred in the quarrel of *Perdiccas*, prevailing far at the first, but soon losing all that they had gained, whilst *Antipater* was abroad in his *Cilician* expedition. In this *Polyperchon* *Antipater* did repose great confidence; so far forth, that (suspecting the youth of his own son *Cassander* of insufficiency in so great a charge) he bequeathed unto him on his death-bed the government of *Macedon*

and *Greece*, together with his office of protectorship. So *Antipater* died, being fourscore years old, having always travelled in the great affairs of mighty princes, with such reputation, that *Alexander* in all his greatness was jealous of him, and the successors of *Alexander* did either quietly give place unto him, or were unfortunate in making oppositions. In his private qualities he was a subtle man, temperate, frugal, and of a philosophical behaviour; not unlearned, as having been scholar to *Aristotle*, and written some histories. He had been much molested by *Olympias*, *Alexander's* mother, whom after the death of her son he compelled to abstain from coming into *Macedonia*, or intermeddling in matters of estate; yea, at his own death he gave especial direction, that no woman should be permitted to deal in the administration of the empire. But this precept was soon forgotten; and yet, ere long, by sorrowful experience approved to have been found and good.

S E C T. XIII.

Of Polyperchon, who succeeded unto Antipater in the protectorship. The insurrection of Cassander against him.

Polyperchon was very skilful in the art of war, having long time been apprentice in that occupation; other qualities, requisite in so high an office as he underwent, either nature had not given to him, or time had robbed him of them. He managed his business more formally than wisely, as a man of a second wit, fitter to assist than to command in chief. At the first entrance upon the stage, he called to council all his friends, wherein, for weighty considerations (as they who weighed not the contrary reasons held them) the queen *Olympias* was revoked out of *Epirus* into *Macedon*, that the presence of *Alexander's* mother might countenance and strengthen their proceedings. For the condition of the times requiring, that the governors of provinces abroad should keep greater armies than were needful or easy to be retained about the person of the king in *Macedonia*, it seemed expedient, that the face of the court should be filled with all majesty, that might give authority to the injunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awful regard contain within the bounds of duty such as could not by force have been kept in order, being strong, and lying too far off.

Such care was taken for prevention of imaginary dangers and out of sight, whilst present mischief lay unregarded in their bosoms. *Cassander*, the son of *Antipater*, was not able to discover that sufficiency in *Polyperchon*, for which his father had reposed in him so much confidence: neither could he discern such odds in the quality of himself and *Polyperchon*, as was in their fortune. He was left captain of one thousand, which office, by practice of those times, was of more importance than the title now seems to imply. He should thereby have been as camp-master, or lieutenant-general to the other, a place no way satisfying his ambition, that thought himself the better man. Therefore he began to examine his own power, and compare with the forces likely to oppose. All that had relied on his father were his own assured, especially such as commanded the garrisons bestowed in the principal cities of *Greece*. The like hope was of the magistrates, and others of principal authority in those Common-weals, whose forms had been corrected by *Antipater*, that they would follow the side, and draw in many partakers: it concerned these men in their own particular, to adhere unto the cap-
tains

rains by whom their faction was upheld, and by whom the rascal multitude, covetous of regaining the tyrannous power which they had formerly exercised over the principal citizens, were kept in order, obeying their betters perforce. Besides these helps, *Cassander* had the secret love of queen *Eurydice*, who had in private render'd him such courtesy, as was due only to her husband. But neither the queen's favour, nor all his other possibilities, gave him confidence to break out into open rebellion, because he saw *Polyperchon* much revered among the *Macedonians*, and strong enough to suppress him before he could have made head. Therefore he made shew of following his pleasures in the country, and calling many of his friends about him, under pretence of hunting, advised with them upon the safest course, and most free from all suspicion. The necessity was apparent of raising an army, before the business was set on foot; and to do this, opportunity presented him with fair means. *Ptolemy* had by fine force, without any commission, annexed *Syria* to his government of *Egypt* and *Cyrene*: this was too much either for the king to trust him with, or for him to part with. *Antigonus*, upon the first news of *Antipater's* death, began to lay hold upon all he could get, in such sort, that he manifestly discovered his intent of making himself lord of all *Asia*. These two therefore stood in no need of a civil war; which *Cassander* well noted, and presumed withal, that the friendship which had passed between his father and them, would avail him somewhat. Whereupon he secretly dispatched messengers to them both, and within a little while conveyed himself on a sudden over the *Hellepont*, that he might in person advance the business with greater speed. Much persuasion is needless in winning a man to what he desireth. *Antigonus* coveted nothing more than to find *Polyperchon* work by raising some commotions in *Greece*. Yet (as formalities must not be neglected) *Cassander* did very earnestly press him, by the memory of his father, and all requisite conjurations, to assist him in this enterprize; telling him, that *Ptolemy* was ready to declare for them, and urging him to a speedy dispatch. *Antigonus*, on the other side, repayed him with the same coin; saying, that for his own sake, and his dead father's, whom he had very dearly loved, he would not fail to give him all manner of succour. Having thus feasted one another with words, they were nothing slack in preparing the common means leading to their several ends.

S E C T. XIV.

The unworthy courses held by Polyperchon for the keeping down of Cassander.

GREAT necessity there was of timely provision. For *Polyperchon* needed no other instructions to inform him of *Cassander's* drift, than the news of his departure. He was not ignorant of the ready disposition which might be found in *Antigonus* and *Ptolemy* to the strengthening of rebellion; and well he knew that one principal hope of *Cassander* was reposed in the confidence of such as ruled in the *Grecian* estate. Therefore (loving to work circumspectly) he called another council, wherein it was concluded, that the popular form of government should be erected in all the cities of *Greece*, the garrisons withdrawn, and that all magistrates and principal men, into whose hands *Antipater* had committed the supreme authority, should forthwith be either slain or banished. This was a

sure way to diminish the number of *Cassander's* friends, and to raise up many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was disclosed both an unthankful nature in *Polyperchon*, and a factious malice in his adherents. For how could he be excused of extreme ingratitude, that for hatred of the son went about to dishonour the father's actions, whose only bounty had enabled him to do it? or what could be said in their defence, who sought to destroy many worthy men, friends to the state, by whom the *Greeks* were held restrained from stirring against the *Macedonians*; and in opposition to their private enemy, gave the rule of things to base companions, and such as naturally maligned the empire? But as in man's body, through sinews newly issuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next neighbour, than by any distemper in the contrary hand: so in bodies politick, the humours of men, subdivided in faction, are more enraged by the disagreeable qualities of such as curb them in their nearest purposes, than they are exasperated by the general opposition of such as are divided from them in the main trunk. Hereby it comes to pass, that contrary religions are invited to help against neighbour princes; bordering enemies drawn in to take part in civil wars, and ancient hatred called to counsel against injurious friends. Of this fault nature is not guilty; she hath taught the arm to offer itself unto manifest loss in defence of the head: they are depraved affections, which render men sensible of their own particular, and forgetful of the more general good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the *Greeks* were presented with a vain shew of liberty, ran under the king's name; but so, as one might easily discern, that *Polyperchon* had guided his pen. For the main point was, that they should follow such directions as *Polyperchon* gave, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the rest it contained such a deal of kindness, as proceeding on a sudden from those who had kept them in hard subjection, might well appear to have some other root than the pretended good will, and was of itself too base and unfit for a king to use toward his conquered subjects, and often subdued rebels.

S E C T. XV.

Of the great commotions raised in Athens by Polyperchon's decree. The death of Phocion.

N Evertheless the *Athenians*, with immoderate joy, entertained this happy seeming proclamation, and sought how to put it in execution without further delay. But *Nicanor*, captain of the garrison, which kept one of their havens, called *Munychia*, in the lower part of the town, would needs take longer time of deliberation, than was pleasing to their hasty desires.

Nicanor, as a trusty follower of *Cassander*, was by him shifted into the place, and *Menillus* (that was captain there before) discharged, when *Antipater* was newly dead. His coming to *Athens* was no way grateful to the citizens, who soon after hearing the news of *Antipater's* death, cry'd out upon *Phocion*, saying, that he had sufficient intelligence of that accident, and might by advertising them in due time, have put into their hands a fair opportunity of thrusting out the *Macedonians*. But these exclamations argued no more than a desire to shake off the *Macedonian* yoke. Far more grievously would they have been offended, had they known the instructions which *Cassander* had given

given to *Nicanor*, and his resolution to follow them. It was concluded, that he should not only retain *Munychia*, any injunction to the contrary notwithstanding; but that he should find means to thrust some companies into *Pireus*, and fortify that also, which was the principal haven, against the high-town. How to accomplish this, he rather wanted some reasonable pretence, than good ability. But the *Athenians* were not long in giving him sufficient cause to do that, which he would have done without any cause given. They desired him to come unto their council, assembled in the *Pireus*, there to consider of the king's proclamation; whither upon *Phocion's* word and safe conduct he came, and earnestly pressed them to hold with *Cassander* in the war which was ready to break forth. Contrariwise they urged him first of all, to make them masters of their own, which how to use they might consult afterwards. Each of them refusing to condescend unto the other's demand; the *Athenians* (who did always measure justice by profit, yet seldom thrived by that course) practised with *Dercylus*, a captain following *Polyperchon*, and then lying near at hand, that he should enter into the town, and take *Nicanor* prisoner. But *Phocion*, who then governed in *Athens*, a man very unlike to the rest of the citizens, being nothing pleased with such a trick of politic dishonesty, did quietly suffer him to depart and save himself.

Nicanor hereupon began to devise upon taking *Pireus*; not as following now the project of *Cassander*, but prosecuting his own just revenge. He levied as many soldiers as he could, and drew them closely into *Munychia*; which done, he issued into *Pireus*, took it, and intrenched himself therein: to the exceeding discomfort of the *Athenians*, who, lately impatient of his keeping the one haven, saw him now master of both. *Alexander*, the son of *Polyperchon*, came thither shortly after, with an army. Then were the citizens in great hope of recovering all, and addressed themselves unto him; who made fair shews, intending mere mischief, which they perceived not, being blinded with the vain epistles of his father, and of *Olympias* the old queen. *Olympias*, taking upon her to command, before she durst well adventure to return into *Macedon*, had peremptorily charged *Nicanor* to restore to the *Athenians* the places which he held: but he would first consider more of the matter. *Polyperchon* had further ordained, that the isle of *Samos* should be rendered unto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and meaning. He was (indeed) so far from purposing to let them have *Samos*, that as yet he did not thoroughly intend to let them have themselves. The commodity of their havens was such, as he would rather get into his own hands, than leave in theirs; yet rather wished in theirs, than in *Cassander's*. His son *Alexander*, not ignorant of this, made fair shew to the *Athenians*, and spent much labour in communing with *Nicanor*, but suffered not them, for whom he seemed to labour, to intermeddle with the business. Hereupon the citizens grew jealous, and the displeasure they conceived against him they poured out upon *Phocion*, depriving him of his office. This was done with much tumult: banished men and strangers, thrusting themselves into the assembly of the citizens, who distracted with sundry passions, growing out of their present misfortunes, thought every one that best could inveigh against things past, a most likely man to find some remedy for the evil threatening them. In this hurlyburly was *Alexander* devising, how he might come to some good point of composition with *Nicanor*, and held

much privy conference with him; which he could not so secretly carry, but that his negotiation was discovered, whereby the uproar in the town was so far increased, that *Phocion* with many of his friends were accused, and driven to seek safeguard of their lives by flight. So they came to *Alexander*, who entertained them gently, and gave them his letters of commendation to his father, desiring him to take them into his protection.

Polyperchon was in the country of *Phocis*, ready to enter with an army into *Attica*. Thither came *Phocion* with his companions, hoping well that the letters which they brought, and their own deserts (having always been friends to the *Macedonians*, as far as the good of their country gave leave) should be enough to get patronage to their innocency. Besides all this, *Dinarchus* a *Corinthian*, *Polyperchon's* familiar friend, went along with them (in an evil hour) who promised to himself and them great favour by means of his acquaintance. But *Polyperchon* was an unstable man, very earnest in what he took in hand; yet, either for want of judgment in following them, or of honesty in holding the best of them, easily changing his intended courses, and doing things by the halts, which made him commonly fail of good success. For fear of *Cassander*, he had offered wonderful kindness to the *Athenians*; this had caused them to love him: out of their love he gathered hope of deceiving them, which made him to change his mind, and seek how to get into his own hands those keys, with which *Cassander* held them fast locked up: finding himself disappointed of this purpose, and suspected as a false dishonourable man, he stood wavering between the contrary allurements of profit and reputation. To keep the *Athenians* perforce at his devotion, would indeed have done well: but the effecting of this began to grow desperate; and many towns of importance in *Greece* began to cast their eyes upon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore he thought it the wisest way to redeem their good opinion, by giving all contentment unto the popular faction, which was then grown to be master of that city. And in good time for this purpose were the *Athenian* ambassadors come, treading (as one may say) upon *Phocion's* heels, whom they were sent to accuse. These had solemn audience given to them in the king's presence, who was attended by many great lords, and for ostentation's sake was glorified with all exterior shews of majesty; yet all too little to change *Arideus* into *Alexander*: for he did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as he saw others do. For beginning of the business, *Polyperchon* commanded that *Dinarchus* should be tortured and slain: this was enough to testify his hearty affection to the commonalty of *Athens*, in that he spared not his old acquaintance for their sake; whose ambassadors he then bad to speak. When their errand was done, and answer to it made by the accused, who had no indifferent hearing, *Phocion* and the rest were pronounced guilty of treason; but to give sentence, and do the execution upon them, was (for honour's sake) referred unto the city of *Athens*, because they were burgesses. Then were they sent away to *Athens*, where the rascal multitude, not suffering them to speak for themselves, condemned them to die. So they perished being innocent. But the death of *Phocion*, a man very conspicuous, made the fortune of the rest to be of the less regard. Five and forty times had he been chosen governor of the city, never suing for the place, but sent for when he was absent: so well was his integrity known, and so highly valued, even of such as were no pretenders to the same virtue. He was

a good commander in war, wherein tho' his actions were not very great, yet were they of good importance, and never unfortunate. Never did the city repent of having followed his counsel: nor any private man of having trusted his word. *Philip* of *Macedon* highly esteemed him so; and much more did *Alexander*, who (besides other signs of his love) sent him two hundred talents of silver, and offered to bestow upon him of four cities in *Asia* any one which he would choose. But *Phocion* refused these and other gifts, howsoever importunately thrust upon him; resting well contented with his honest poverty: wherein he lived above fourscore years, and then was compelled by the unjust judgment of wicked men to drink that poyson, which by just judgment of the righteous God so infected the city of *Athens*, as from that day forwards it never brought forth any worthy man resembling the virtue of their ancestors.

S E C T. XVI.

Of *Polyperchon's* vain expedition against *Cassander*.

NOT long after these things were done, *Cassander* with such forces as *Antigonus* lent him, entered into *Pireus*; which news drew *Polyperchon* head-long into *Attica*, with a great army, but so ill victualled, that he was fain to depart without any thing done. Only he had given some impediment to the enemy; who not contented with defending what he held, began to look out, and make new purchases abroad. Finding therefore himself unable to drive *Cassander* out of *Athens*, he left his son *Alexander*, with such number of men, as exceeded not the proportion of victuals, to withstand his further incroaching. The greatest part of his army he carried into *Peloponnesus*, to make the country sure to himself, wherein *Cassander* had many friends.

His doings in *Peloponnesus* were such, as they had been in other parts of *Greece*. First, he began to fight with edicts, restoring the *Democracy*, & popular form of government. He commanded that the principal citizens, that had by *Antipater* been made rulers, should be either slain or driven into exile. This decree took immediate effect in most places: the vulgar sort being very ready to seal the charter of their freedom and authority with the blood of those who had kept them in subjection. Yet many cities there were which delighted in the rule of the chief citizens, and many which wished well to *Cassander*; especially they of *Megalopolis*, on whom *Polyperchon* meant to inflict an exemplary punishment of disobedience to him, which he termed rebellion. *Megalopolis* had in it fifteen thousand servicable men, well furnished with necessities, and resolved to endure the worst. And need there was of such resolution. For *Polyperchon* coming thither with all his power did so much, that he overthrew, by a mine, three of their bulwarks, and all the space of wall between them. But the defendants manfully repelled the *Macedonians* which came up to the breach; and at the same time, with great labour, they raised up an inner wall, to bear out the next assault. The assailants having failed to carry the town at the first attempt, took much pains to clear the ground, and make fair way for their elephants, whose violence was likely to overthrow all that came in their way. But the townsmen perceiving their drift, prepared boards driven through with long nails, which they used as gall-throps, bellowing them slightly, covered with the points upwards, in the

way by which the beasts were to pass. Neither did they set any to encounter them in front, but appointed certain light-armed men to beat upon their sides with arrows and darts, as they were instructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the *Asian* wars. Of these provisions they made happy use in the next assault. For by them were the elephants (wherein the enemy chiefly trusted) either sorely hurt, or driven back upon the *Macedonians*, whom they trampled under feet. *Polyperchon* came as ill furnish'd for long abode to *Megalopolis*, as before to *Athens*. Therefore being neither able to dispatch the business quickly, nor to take such leisure as was requisite, he forsook the siege, with some loss, and much dishonour, leaving some part of his army to lie before the town for his credit.

After this, he sent *Clitus* his admiral to sea, to join with *Arideus* that was come out of *Phrygia*, and to cut off all succour which might come to the enemy out of *Asia*. *Cassander* also sent his whole fleet under *Nicanor*, who taking along with him some ships of *Antigonus*, came to the *Propontis*, where he fought with *Clitus* and was beaten. But *Antigonus* hearing of the overthrow, gathered together the ships that were escaped, and manning them very well, sent out *Nicanor* again, assuring him of the victory, as well he might. For he sent out sufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom he caused to be wafted over the straits in small vessels by night; these before day-light setting upon *Clitus*, drove his men, that lay securely on the land, headlong into their ships; in which tumult, *Nicanor* arriving, did assail them so lustily, that few or none escaped him.

This loss at sea, together with his bad success by land, brought *Polyperchon* into great contempt. He had a good facility in penning bloody decrees; but when the execution was referred to his own sword, he could find the matter more difficult. Wherefore the *Athenians* perceiving that he had left them to shift for themselves, and was not able to give them protection against the enemy which lay in their bosoms, came to agreement with *Cassander*, accepting a governour of his appointment; and restoring all things to the same state wherein *Antipater* had left them. The like inclination to the party of *Cassander*, was found in very many cities of *Greece*, which daily and willingly revolted unto him, as to an industrious man, and likely to prevail in the end. Thus was the whole country set in a combustion, uneasy to be quenched; which presented unto *Antigonus* an opportunity that he neglected not, of making himself lord of *Asia*.

S E C T. XVII.

Antigonus seeks to make himself an absolute lord: and thereupon treats with *Eumenes*, who disappoints him. *Phrygia* and *Lydia* won by *Antigonus*.

ANTIGONUS had in *Antipater's* life time a firm resolution, to make unto himself the utmost benefit that he might of the army committed to his charge. And in fair season for advancement of his purposes came the news of *Antipater's* death; even then, when all the business in *Pisidia* was dispatched, and no more employment for the army remaining, save only the continuance of the siege of *Nora*; a small thing of it self, but as hard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was most precious. *Eumenes* lay in that fort of *Nora*,

able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutability, to which the present state was manifestly subject, would in continuance of some years (which he might abide) work more for him, than his enemies in that space could work against him. His most fear was, that for want of exercise in that narrow castle, his men and horses might grow sickly and unservicable: which made him to practise many devices of keeping them in health and lusty. But when he had continued shut up in this manner about a year, his hopes came to good pass, and he was eased of his cares by *Antigonus* himself, whose forces held him besieged.

Antigonus knowing the great sufficiency of *Eumenes*, and considering his fidelity shewed unto *Perdiccas*, thought that he could not find in all the world a fitter man than him, to employ in managing those high designs, wherein he doubted not that he should be withstood by the mightiest princes of the empire. He sent therefore to *Eumenes* by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with some part of his intent, and promising to make him a greater lord than ever he had been, and the next man to himself, if things fell out as he desired, in regard whereof he required only his friendship, and thereupon sent him an oath to take; which done, he might at his good pleasure issue safely out of *Nora*, and enjoy his perfect liberty. *Eumenes* perusing the form of the oath, perceived the meaning of *Antigonus*, which was rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For whereas, in a few words, it mentioned the king and princes of the blood, rather to keep the *Decorum*, than upon any loyal intent; the binding words and sum of all the rest were such as tied him fast only to *Antigonus*, omitting all reservation of duty to the king or any other. This he liked not, holding it unseemly to become a sworn man to him, with whom he had fought for the mastery; and being assured that his voluntary assistance, which way soever he gave, would be more acceptable, and far more honourable than the course propounded. Yet would he not therefore break off the negotiation, and wait for some better occasion of enlargement, which might perhaps be long in coming; but seeming to be well agreed with *Antigonus*, he prepared to give up his hold and depart. As for the oath itself, when he came to take it, he made shew of dislike, in that it was not solemn enough for such personages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in testifying their allegiance. The *Macedonians* which lay encamped before *Nora*, liked his words, and gave him leave to put in *Olympus*, and the children of *Alexander*, binding himself to them and their adherents, as well as to *Antigonus*, and so he departed.

Antigonus had taken upon him, as soon as he came down to the sea-side, to remove some of the governors of the provinces, behaving himself according to the authority which he had received of *Antipater*, to exercise in the time of war. Neither did he want sufficient pretence whereby to justify his proceedings. For, if *Polyperchon* might lawfully hold the protectorship, which the old man doting on his death-bed bequeathed unto him as a legacy, without consent of the princes or soldiers, why might not he himself as well retain the lieutenantship of *Asia*, that was granted unto him for the general good of the state, in presence of the whole army, by the king, and by *Antipater*, who had power to ordain what should seem convenient whilst he lived, not to dispose of things that should happen after his death? To give a fair colour to his ambition, this was enough: if any were not herewith satisfied, he had three-

score thousand footmen, ten thousand horse, and thirty elephants in a readiness to answer them.

The first that perceived his drift, and provided to resist him, was *Arideus*, governor of *Phrygia*, who fortified the towns of his own province, and sought to have won *Cyzicus*, a fair haven town, and seated very conveniently for him, but was fain to go away without it. Hereupon *Antigonus* took occasion to command him out of the country. *Arideus* was so far from obeying him, that he sent forces to relieve *Eumenes*. Nevertheless, finding that he was unable of himself to make long resistance, he took such companies as he could draw along with him, and so passed over into *Europe*, to complain at the court. The like fortune had *Clitus*, who ruled in *Lydia*, and sought the like remedy of his fortune, with some hope at the first (for both of them were entertained with very good words) which quickly vanished, and grew desperate, when they were beaten at sea, as hath already been declared.

SECT. XVIII.

Antigonus pursues Eumenes. Eumenes having authority from the court, raiseth great war against Antigonus, in defence of the royal house.

Antigonus having thus gotten into his hands all, or most of *Asia* the less, was able to have enter'd *Macedon*, and seized upon the court; which that he forbore to do, it proceeded (as may seem) for some of these reasons. It would have bred as much jealousy in *Cassander*, as fear in *Polyperchon*, which might have brought them to terms of reconciliation; it would ask more time than he could spare; and the envy which followed the protectorship was such, as he that had power enough without the office, ought rather to shun than to pursue. Besides all this, it was manifest that *Eumenes* would not only refuse to take his part, but would make war upon him in defence of the royal house, to which it was found that *Antigonus* did not stand well affected. Against him therefore he bent his course, and with an army of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, made great haste toward *Cilicia*, hoping to suppress him before he should be able to make head.

Eumenes was one of those few that continued faithful to their dead master, which being well known in the court, he had commission sent unto him from thence to raise an army, and make war upon *Antigonus*, taking of the king's treasure as much as he should need. Other letters also there were directed to all the governors of provinces, requiring them to give assistance to *Eumenes*, and be ordered by his direction: especially to the captains of the old soldiers, called the *Agryaspides*, or silver shielded bands, commandment was given to be at his appointment. He had of his own followers gathered together two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, before his authority was given him; but now he purposed with all the strength that he could make, to fight with *Antigonus* in defence of the royal blood. *Olympus* had written to him, desiring him to bring help to her and to her nephew the son of *Alexander*, and in the mean time to give her his advice in that which *Polyperchon* required of her, for she was desirous to return into *Macedon*, but suspected his ambition, as not contained within lawful bounds. *Eumenes* therefore counselled her to remain in *Epirus*, till such time as he could bring the war to a good issue; which done, he promised that his faith and care should not be wanting to the seed of *Alexander*.

Strange

Strange it is to confider, that in all the empire, scarce any one could be found among the noblemen, in whom *Alexander's* mother, wives and children, might repose firm confidence, saving only this *Eumenes*, a stranger to the *Macedonian* blood, born at *Cardia*, a city of *Thrace*. His reputation was no more than his own virtue had made it; his followers obeyed at their own discretion, and compelled he was to travel as far as *Persia*, to gather together an army sufficient to resist the enemies that pursued his heels.

S E C T. XIX.

How the princes of Macedon stood affected mutually. Olympias takes Arideus and Eurydice, whom she cruelly puts to death.

NOW, forasmuch as in this present war, all the rulers of the provinces did intermeddle; and great alterations happened, not only in the parts of *Asia*, but *Macedon* itself, which brought a new face unto the state, by the extirpation of the royal house of *Philip* and *Alexander*: I hold it convenient in this place, before we enter into the particulars of the war itself, to shew briefly how the great ones did mutually stand affected, and by what passions they were drawn into those courtes which overthrew most of them, and out of their ruins built the greatness of a few: as likewise to what extremity the faction brake out in *Macedon* itself, about the main controversy of the title to the crown, whereupon all other quarrels were or should have been depending.

Arideus the king, being simple and fearful, did only what he was bidden.

Polyperchon, desirous to continue long in office, had a purpose to advance the son of *Alexander* by *Roxana* to the kingdom, and become governor to a king of his own making.

Eurydice the queen discovering plainly this intent, and meaning nothing less than to let her husband serve as a stale, keeping the throne warm, till another were grown old enough to sit in it, grew acquainted with *Cassander*, who hated the memory of *Alexander*, and was therefore the fitter for her turn.

Cassander held fresh in mind the danger wherein his family had been through *Alexander's* malice, together with the indignity offered to himself by *Alexander*, who knocked his head against a wall, for deriding one that adored him after the *Persian* manner. The displeasure hereof, and the pleasure which he took in the amorous queen, made him resolve both to suppress the lineage which he hated, and to maintain his beloved mistress, either by supporting her weak husband, or by taking her to be his own wife.

The rest of the lords held it a thing indifferent who reigned over all, so as they might reign in their several countries, and establish their authority in such wise, that it might not be taken from them.

Among these, *Ptolemy* and *Antigonus* were well enough already, if their ambition would have suffered them to see it.

Pytho and *Selencus* lying far off, and being strong, had some good hope to encroach upon their neighbours. Against these, *Penceffos* and some others with much ado hardly made resistance, until such time as *Eumenes* came to them, who propounded to himself great matters, which he lived not to accomplish.

Olympias, the old queen (as it is common with step-dames) hated the children of her husband by his other wives. It was thought that she had gi-

ven poison to *Arideus*; which, failing to take away his life, had much impaired both his body and wits. Now she, considering that *Eumenes* was too full of business, to come home so soon as she wished that he should, and that *Cassander* daily prevailed in *Greece*; thought it the best way to join with *Polyperchon*, and set up, as king, her nephew *Alexander*; the son of *Roxana*, removing *Arideus*, before *Cassander* were able to defend him. To this intent, she procured men among her kindred in *Epirus*, and so took her way towards *Polyperchon*; who, joining with her, enter'd into *Macedon*.

Eurydice, hearing this news, wrote very earnestly to *Cassander*, praying him to set aside all other business, and come to succour her. She her self, by entreaty, gifts and promises, drew to her party as many of the *Macedonians* as she could, until she thought her own side strong enough; and then, taking her husband with her, went boldly forth against *Olympias*, and the traitor *Polyperchon*.

These two queens met armed, as if the matter should have been determined by their own hands, which ended without any stroke stricken, by the revolt of those who followed *Eurydice*. For as soon as the *Macedonians* beheld *Olympias*; calling to mind her former estate, and the victorious reigns of her husband and son, they refused to lift any weapon against her. *Eurydice*, finding her self thus forsaken, fled towards *Amphipolis*; but was intercepted, and made prisoner with her husband.

Olympias, having obtained this victory without blood, thought that all things would succeed as easily, and that upon the same considerations for which they had refused to bear arms against her, the *Macedonians* would not stick to maintain her, whatsoever her proceedings were. Having therefore shut up *Arideus* and his wife in a close room, where they could scarce turn round, she fed them through a little hole; till, after a while, it came in her head (for fear lest the people should have commiseration of him, that had reigned almost six years and a half) to put them to death. So she delivered *Arideus* to some barbarous *Thracians*, who took away his life by cruel torments: to *Eurydice* she sent a sword, a halter, and a cup of poison, willing her to chuse the instrument of her own death, who, praying that the like presents might one day be sent to *Olympias*, yielded her neck to the halter, having spent her last curses not in vain. *Nicanor*, the brother of *Cassander*, and a hundred the chief of his friends, did *Olympias* then chuse out, all whom she commanded to be slain. His brother *Iolaus*, that was already dead and buried, she accused of poison given to *Alexander*; and thereupon caused his tomb to be thrown down, and his bones to be scattered abroad. The *Macedonians*, wondering at this fury, began to condemn themselves, and the folly of *Polyperchon*, who had, quite contrary to *Antipater's* charge given on his death-bed, called this outrageous woman to the government of the empire.

S E C T. XX.

How Cassander was revenged upon Olympias.

I.

The great expedition of Cassander. Olympias shuts her self into Pydna, where Cassander besieged her. Eacides, king of Epirus, coming to succour Olympias, is forsaken, and banished by his own subjects.

CASSANDER, at that time, lay before *Tegaea*, in *Peloponnesus*; whither, when all these ill tidings were brought to him, he never staid to take

take the city, nor to give order for the state of things in that country, though *Alexander*, the son of *Polyperchon*, were there with an army; but compounding with them of *Tegea*, he willed his associates to look to themselves as well as they could, till his return; and so in all haste he took his journey towards *Macedon*, carried headlong with the greedy desire of just revenge. The *Etolians* had taken the streights of *Thermopylae*, in favour of the queen and *Polyperchon*, to hinder his passage; but he, not willing to mispend any time in dealing with them, got together as many ships as he could, great and small, with which he transported his army into *Thesfaly*. There he divided his companies, appointing some under *Callas*, a subtil captain, to hold *Polyperchon* busied, who then lay encamped near to *Perbebia*; with the rest he marched directly against *Olympias*. She, having once prevailed by the respect given to her dignity, took more care now to appear majestic, to make her self strong. To this end, she made a solemn progress to *Pydna*, a sea-town, and well fenced, having in her company all the flower of the court, especially the great ladies, among whom was *Roxana*, and her young son *Alexander*, heir to the great *Alexander* by his grandmother's designment; who, during his minority, kept the sovereign power in her own hands. But all this pomp served to little use, against the violence of the enemy, that soon presented himself before the walls; only it fed the besieged with a vain hope of succour, that would, from all parts, arrive, to rescue persons of their quality. And hereof there soon appeared fair likelihood, which as soon vanished, and went away in smoak.

For *Diacides*, king of *Epirus*, made great haste to bring succour to *Olympias*, his cousin, with whom *Deodamia*, his daughter was also shut up. Nevertheless, his subjects were nothing forward in this expedition; but finding certain passages taken in the way by *Cassander's* men, they called upon him to retire, and quit the enterprize. The king's importunity, urging them to proceed, and the obstinate refusal of the army, brake out at length into such terms, that when he had raged in vain against the multitude, his authority, with which he thought to have prevailed upon them, was, by them, taken from him, and he compelled to forsake his kingdom, and to wander up and down in foreign countries, a banished man; his people joining with the enemy, against whom he had led them forth to war.

Pydna, in the mean time, was closed up streightly both by sea and land; so that neither any could issue out of the city, nor any relief be conveyed into it; but it held out as long as any food was left, no memorable service being done there, whilst great actions were managed abroad.

†. II.

A continuation of Olympias's story. Polyperchon defeated. Extreme famine in Pydna. Olympias yields to Cassander.

NOW, though order of time require it, that we should rehearse the doings of *Amenes* and *Antigonus* in this place, leaving *Olympias* yet a while to the hour of her destiny, which grows the faster upon her, because she may discern it coming; yet that we may not be compelled to interrupt the course of our narration, by interring her tragedy in the midst of things, not manifestly coherent with it, we will here (as elsewhere we have done, and elsewhere must) continue to end one history, that we may not be therewith distracted, when we shall come

to the relation of another. All the hope of the besieged, remaining in *Polyperchon*, was in like manner disappointed, as their former trust had been, which was reposed in the succours of the *Epirus*. For *Callas*, who was sent against him, found the means so corrupt the greatest part of his army with money, leaving him within a little while so slenderly accompanied, that he was fit for no other business of war, than a swift retreat. When famine had so far prevailed in the city, that the horses were killed as a precious food, many men feeding on the dead carcases of their fellows, and saw-cust being given to the elephants for provender; some of the soldiers obtaining the queen's leave (who could not deny it;) others, without asking leave, yielded themselves to the enemy, and were by him gently relieved, and sent abroad into the country. The news of the queen's affairs, dispersed by these men, did so affright her well-willers, that such as had reserved themselves to the event, came in apace, and submitted them to *Cassander*. At length, when the mortality was so great in the town, that the living were even poisoned with the noisome scent of the dead, *Olympias* bethought her self of stealing away by sea in a galley that she had; wherein her success was as bad as in the rest. For God had appointed this town, by her chosen as a place of refuge, to be unto her as a house of torment, and a goal, out of which she should not be delivered, but unto an evil death. Being therefore utterly broken with miseries, which daily afflicted her, and the other ladies, unaccustomed to so wretched a kind of life, she offered composition; and, with much labour, hardly obtained of *Cassander* (who, having seized her galley out of the haven, accounted himself as good as master of her body) a grant of her own life. Immediately, upon her apprehension, *Pella*, the chief city of the kingdom, was yielded to *Cassander*. *Amphipolis* did stand out; for *Arifonius*, to whom *Olympias* had given charge of such forces as were left abroad in the country, taking courage from the success of some petty services wherein he had prevailed, began to promise himself great unlikelihoods. But *Olympias*, to win *Cassander's* favour, very earnestly required him, upon his faith to her, that he should give it up. He did so, and presently after was killed by his private enemies, that were set on by *Cassander*, who partly hated him upon old respects, partly doubted him as a man likely to seek innovation.

†. III.

The death of Olympias, and her conditions.

WHEN *Olympias* had now heard sorrowful tidings of all her friends, she her self was called into question, and accused in an assembly of the *Macedonians*, for the murders (they were so stiled in her affliction, which in time of prosperity she called justice) by her committed. There was she (being not heard, nor called to speak) condemned to die. The suit was commenced and prosecuted against her, by the kindred of those whom she had slain; but it was at *Cassander's* solicitation, who (to hasten the execution) sent her word, that he would furnish her with a ship, and other necessities, to save her self by flight; which when she refused, saying, that she would plead for her self, and tell her own tale, he dissembled no longer, but sent unto her such men as hated her most, who took away her miserable life. She was daughter and sister unto two kings of *Epirus*, wife and mother unto two the mightiest kings of that or many other ages, a stout lady, and of unreprieveable chastity; but her

her ambition was boundless, her hatred unappeasable, and her fury, in revenge, most unwomanly. Her perverse conditions, made her husband seek other wives and concubines, which caused her to hate both him and them. She was thought privy to her husband's death; after which, very cruelly, she slew his late wife *Cleopatra*, having first murdered one of her two children in her arms, and, with a beastly fury, broiled the other alive in fire, in a copper bason. For these things, her son *Alexander* (otherwise loving her well) forbade her to meddle in the government of *Macedon*. But God, more severe unto cruel tyrants, than only to hinder them of their wills, permitted her to live and fulfill the rest of her wickedness (which was his justice upon the adulteries of *Philip*, and the oppression done by him and others;) after all which, he rewarded her malice, by returning it upon her own head.

†. IV.

Cassander celebrates the funeral of Arideus and Eurydice; and seeks to make himself king of Macedon.

AFTER her death, *Cassander* gave honourable burial to *Arideus* and *Eurydice*, among

their progenitors, kings of *Macedon*. And looking further into his own possibilities of greatness, he married the lady *Theffalonica*, whom he had taken at *Pydna*, being the daughter of king *Philip*, by another of his wives, that by her he might have some title to the crown. For the same end, he committed *Roxana* and her young son to close prison, removing thereby some part of his impediment. And, the better to increase his fame, and purchase love, he built a city, called by his own name, *Cassandria*, that soon grew to be very great and powerful. He re-edified likewise *Thebes* in *Greece*, and restored it unto the old inhabitants, after it had lain twenty years waste, being utterly rased by *Alexander*. By these means, especially by the restoration of *Thebes*, whereunto all *Greece* voluntarily contributed, he grew so strong, that few remained enemies unto him; and they, with much labour, hardly could resist him. Leaving him therefore daily prevailing in *Greece*, we will return to them who contended in *Asia* for less titles, but larger provinces, with greater forces.

C H A P. IV.

Of the great lordship which ANTIGONUS got in Asia.

S E C T. I.

The Journey of Eumenes into Persia. His wife dealing with those that joined with him.

EUMENES, having joined unto his company the *Argyraspides*, made haste into the eastern parts, to take possession of those countries, according to his commission, and strengthen himself against *Antigonus*. He took his journey through *Celofyria* and *Phenicia*, hoping to reclaim those provinces, usurped with the rest of *Syria* (as hath been shewed) by *Ptolemy*, to the king's obedience. But to effect this, his haste of passing forward was too great, his army too little, and the readiness of the people to return to their due obedience, none at all. Besides all which impediments, one inconvenience troubled him in all his proceedings, making them the less effectual. The captains of the *Argyraspides* were so froward, that they scorned to repair to him, and take his directions; and their fidelity was so unsteady, that he might have more easily dealt with open traitors. It was not expedient, that he, being general, should weaken his authority, by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keep them in order by compulsion. Therefore he feigned, that *Alexander* had appointed unto him, in a dream, a place for their meeting; namely, in a rich pavilion, wherein an empty throne was placed, as if *Alexander* himself had been present at their consultations. Thus he freed himself from their vain pride; but of their faith he could have no assurance. Yet when *Ptolemy* requested them, and *Antigonus* bribed them to forsake him, they continued (though not without considering of the matter) to take his part. So he marched on, sending before him the king's warrant, which *Pytho* and *Seleucus* refused to obey; not as rejecting the king's authority, but excepting against the person of *Eumenes*, as a man condemned to die by the *Macedonian* army, for the

death of *Craterus*. *Eumenes*, knowing well that he was not to rely upon their assistance, who stood otherwise affected than his affairs required, and were not to be dealt with by perswasion, sought passage by strong hand through the country of *Babylon*, in such wise, that *Seleucus*, having in vain assayed to hinder him, by opening the sluices of *Euphrates*, was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as desirous to be rid of him. Thus he came to *Peucestes*, and the rest of the eastern lords, who were glad of his company, because of the differences between *Pytho*, *Seleucus*, and themselves. Yet the contention about superiority grew very hot among them; every one finding matter enough to feed his own humour of self-worthiness. But the former device of assembling in one pavilion, made all quiet; the conclusion ever being sure to follow that which *Eumenes* propounded, who was both wisest in giving advice, and best able to reward, by means of the authority given him, to take what he pleased of the king's treasures. By these means he won to himself many of those who had most power to do good or hurt.

S E C T. II.

How Antigonus, coming to set upon Eumenes, was driven off with loss.

ANTIGONUS, hearing that *Eumenes* lay in the province of *Susa*, had an earnest desire to follow him, and drive him further from the king's treasures, which were kept there. To which end, as soon as he had made himself strong enough, he removed out of *Mesopotamia*, where he had wintered; and taking to him *Pytho* and *Seleucus*, with their men, he marched directly against the enemies, with intent to give them battel. *Eumenes* had fortified the castle of *Susa*, and was retired back toward *Persia*, keeping the river of *Tigris* between

tween him and his pursuers. The passages of the river were well guarded, and good espial kept upon *Antigonus*, to observe which way he took. Before he came to *Tigris* itself, he was to pass over *Coprates*, a great river, and not fordable, which he sought to do by small vessels, whereof he had no great store. A great part of his army had gotten over, when *Eumenes*, who kept a bridge upon *Tigris*, came with a thousand horse, and four thousand foot, to see their demeanor; and finding them out of order, charged them, broke them, and drove them headlong back into *Coprates*, wherein most of them were drowned; very few escaping with life, except four thousand that yielded themselves prisoners, in sight of *Antigonus*, that was not able to relieve them. This loss made *Antigonus* glad to fall off; and the heat of that country in the dog-days breeding diseases in the army, by which many perished, caused him to remove as far as into *Media*. So he took *Python* with him (leaving *Seleucus* to besiege the castle of *Susa*) and seeking to go the nearest way, passed through savage nations, that continually vexing him with skirmishes, slew great numbers of his men before he could arrive in *Media*, with his troops that were quite heart-broken.

S E C T. III.

Of *Eumenes's* cunning. A battel between him and *Antigonus*.

AFTER his departure, *Eumenes* with his associates fell into consultation about the remainder of their business. Fain he would have had them to enter upon those provinces, which *Antigonus* had left behind him; to which also the captains of the *Aggyraspides* or *Silver-shields* were very inclinable, as desiring to draw nearer to *Greece*. But *Pencestes* and the rest, whose dominions lay in the high-countries, had more care of their own particular estates, and would needs march eastward. These carried it, for the army was not strong enough to divide itself into parts.

When they came into *Persia*, *Pencestes* ruling there, feasted them royally, and sought by all means to win the soldiers love to himself. *Eumenes*, perceiving whereunto those doings tended, suffered him a while to keep good cheer, till the time of war drew near. Then did he feign an epistle, directed as from *Orontes*, governor of *Armenia*, to *Pencestes* himself: the purport whereof was, that *Olympias* had vanquished *Cassander*, and sent over a great army under *Polyperchon*, to join with *Eumenes*. These news, as they filled the camp with vain joy, so they wrought in all mens minds a great willingness to obey *Eumenes*, by whom was the likeliest appearance of their preferment, wherein they dealt wisely, he being far the most sufficient commander, as they found soon after. For when *Antigonus*, coming out of *Media*, drew near unto them, *Eumenes* by some mischance was fallen sick, and fain to be carried in a litter; the army marched in very bad array, and was likely to have been forced to take battel in that disorder. But *Eumenes*, when the rest of the captains were amazed, was carried about the army in his litter, and upon the sudden did call his men into so good form, that *Antigonus*, perceiving him afar off, could not refrain from giving him deserved commendations. Yet he did not cease to promise great rewards to the captains, and all sorts of men, if they would forsake *Eumenes*: which hopes deceiving him, he came to the trial of a battel. *Eumenes* had more elephants than *Antigonus*, otherwise he was inferior

in number both of horse and foot by a third part. The battel was fought with variable success, and great loss on both sides, continuing a great part of the day, and of the night following, yet the victory was uncertain. For *Eumenes* could not force his men to lie far from their carriages, by which means *Antigonus* (who had a more absolute command over his) incamping on the ground whereon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies, which was accounted the sign of victory; for he buried his own, and gave leave to his enemies, craving it, to do the like; but a greater sign of victory had *Eumenes*, for he abode still in the same place, and not only buried his men very honourably at great leisure, but held the country round about, whereas *Antigonus* was glad (having tarried but one day) to steal away by night, and return into *Media*, from whence he came.

S E C T. IV.

Of divers stratagems practised by *Antigonus* and *Eumenes*, one against the other.

THUS did the war continue doubtful, and was protracted to a greater length, each part having stout soldiers, and skilful generals; but the side which had hitherto prevailed, being hindered by the equal authority of many, from pursuing all advantages to the best. *Antigonus* grew daily weaker in men and reputation; so that to repair himself, he could find no way safer, than to put all to adventure. He knew that his enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered far asunder; so that if he could suddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great distress. Between him and them the way was not long, being only nine days journey; but very bad, through a rough dry wilderness, hardly passible. Another way fairer, and leading through a country well peopled, but requiring twenty-five days journey, he forsook, partly for the length, partly and chiefly, because he would come undiscovered. So therefore taking his journey in the dead of winter, he forbade unto his men the use of fire by night, because he would not have them deserted afar off. This commandment had been well observed four or five days, when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, and the cold weather pinching them, they were bold to cherish themselves, being near to their way's end. The light of these fires gave notice of their coming, which being reported to *Pencestes*, and other captains, they were so astonished with the sudden danger, that in all haste they betook themselves to flight. But *Eumenes*, meeting with the news, began to hearten his affrighted companions, promising to make *Antigonus* march leisurely, and willing them to abide and draw up their men together. They could scarce believe him, yet they were content to be ruled, and did as he appointed, who failed not in making his word good. He took with him some companies of the readiest men, wherewith he occupied certain tops of mountains, looking toward the camp of *Antigonus*: there he chose a convenient ground to incamp upon, and made great store of fires in sundry places, as if the whole army had been present. This was a fearful spectacle to *Antigonus*, who thought himself prevented of his purpose, and began to fear lest he should be compelled to fight, whilst his men were tired with a long and painful journey. Therefore he resolv'd to turn aside, and take the way to such places as might better serve to refresh his army. This he did with great care and circumspection at the first, as knowing how ready *Eumenes*

would be upon all advantages. But after a while, considering that no enemy stirred about him, he began to pause and think in himself, that somewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he caused some inhabitants of that desert to be taken, and brought before him; of whom he learned, that they had seen no other army than his thereabouts, but only a few men that kept fires on the hill-tops. It vexed him exceedingly to find that he had been so deluded, therefore he went against these troops with great fury, meaning to take sharp vengeance on them for having so deceived him. But by this time sufficient strength was arrived there, which could not be forced without much business and long time. All the army was come, save only *Eudamus*, captain of the elephants, who, besides those beasts, had no more than four hundred horsemen in his company. *Antigonus* hearing of this supply coming to his enemies, sent above two thousand horse, and all his light-armed footmen to cut it off by the way. *Eudamus* being fallen into this danger, was fain to place his elephants round about his carriages, and so to defend himself as well as he could; for his horsemen, overlaid with multitudes, were quickly broken, and driven to run away upon the spur. Neither knew they, who sat upon the elephants, which way to turn them; for on all sides they received wounds, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremity there appeared brave troops of horse and foot, that came unexpected to the rescue, and charging the assailants upon the back, drove them to seek their own safety by speedy flight. These were sent by *Eumenes*, who, though he knew not what his adversary meant to do, yet he knew very well what was fittest for him to do; and therefore playing both games himself, provided the remedy.

SECT. V.

The conspiracy of Peucestes and others against Eumenes's life.

BY these means *Eumenes* won great honour, and was by the whole army acknowledged a most expert general, and well worthy of the chief command. But *Peucestes* and the other captains, conscious of their own insufficiency, were so transported with envy, that they could no longer contain their vile thoughts, but held communication, as upon a necessary point, how they might find means to murder him.

Surely it is great injustice to impute the mischief contrived against worthy men to their own proud carriage, or some other ill deserving: for, though it often happen, that small vices do serve to counterpoise great virtues (the sense of evil being more quick and lasting than of good) yet he shall bewray a very foolish malice, that, wanting other testimony, will think it a part of wisdom to find good reason of the evils done to virtuous men, which oftentimes have no other cause than virtue itself. *Eumenes*, among many excellent qualities, was noted to be of singular courtesy, of a very sweet conversation among his friends, and careful by all gentle means to win their love that seemed to bear him any secret ill affection. It was his mere virtue that overthrew him, which even they that sought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that he should not be slain before the battle were fought with *Antigonus*, wherein they confessed that it stood best with their safety to be governed by his direction. Of this treason he was quickly ad-

vertised by *Eudamus*; to whom he had done many pleasures, and by some others of whom he used to borrow money when he needed not, to the end that they should be careful of his good for fear of losing their own. Considering therefore, and discouraging with himself of the villainy intended against him, he made his last will, and burnt all his writings that contained any matter of secret; which done, he revolved many things in his mind, being doubtful what course were best to follow. All the nobles of the empire stood ill-affected to the royal blood, excepting those which were with him, that were more in number than in worth. How things at that time stood in *Macedon* and *Greece*, either he knew not, or knowing the truth, knew nothing that might encourage him to seek their help that needed his. To make his own peace with *Antigonus*, had been against his faith to *Olympias* and the princes that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cause also it may be thought, that he forbore either to lose the battle willingly, or to fly into *Cappadocia*, and make shift for himself among his old friends. At length he resolved to do his best against the common enemy, and afterwards to look to himself as well as he might.

SECT. VI.

The last battle between Antigonus and Eumenes.

THE soldiers, especially those old bands of the *silver-shields*, finding *Eumenes* perplexed, and not knowing the cause, entreated him not to doubt of the victory, but only to bring them into the field, and set them in array; for the rest, they alone would take sufficient order. The like alacrity was generally found in the common soldiers faces; but the chief commanders were so mischievously bent against him, that they could not endure to think upon being beholden to him for the victory; yet he ordered the battle so well, that, without their own great fault, they could hardly fail of getting the upper hand.

Before the armies came to joining, a horse-man from the side of *Eumenes*, proclaimed with a loud voice to the followers of *Antigonus*, that their wickedness in fighting against their own fathers, would now be punished as it well deserved. This was not spoken in vain, for the *silver-shields* were men of threescore or seventy years old, and strengthened more by continual exercise than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as having passed through greater dangers than any like to be presented in that fight. Therefore *Antigonus's* men (who had often been beaten by them, and were now to try their last hope with these resolute warriors, the most ancient and best regarded of all *Alexander's* soldiers) grew very pensive, and advanced heavily, suspecting their own cause, and fearing that the threatnings uttered would prove true.

Antigonus was now again far the stronger in horse, which gave him cause of great hope; the ground on which they were to fight, being a plain levelled field. Placing therefore himself and his son *Demetrius* in the right wing, and committing the left wing to *Python*, he did set forward courageously against the enemies, that were ready to give him a sharp entertainment.

Eumenes took unto him *Peucestes*, with the rest of the lords, and stood in the left wing of his battle, in the face of *Antigonus*, meaning both to prevent the traitors, his companions, of all means to make head against him on the sudden, and (withal) to give proof of his own valour, which per-

haps

haps he should no more do, in the face of all his enemies. In the right wing, opposite unto *Python*, he bestowed the weakest of his horse and elephants, under one *Philip*, an honest man; and (which was enough at such a time) obedient; commanding him to protract the fight, and make a leisurable retreat, expecting the event of the other side.

So they joined very fiercely; *Antigonus* labouring to make himself master of all; *Eumenes*, to die an honourable death, or to win such a victory upon his open enemies, as might give him leisure and opportunity to deal with his false friends.

The foot-men of *Antigonus* being, even in their own opinions, far inferior to those whom they must encounter, were, at the first brunt, presently defeated by the *silver-shields*, who slew above five thousand of them, losing, of their own, not one man. But in horse, *Eumenes* was so over-matched, that he could not repel *Antigonus*, who pressed him very hard; but was fain to stand wholly upon defence. Yet his courage wrought so well by example among his followers, that the enemy could not win one foot of ground upon him, until such time as *Peucestes*, with one thousand five hundred horse withdrew himself out of the battel, leaving his companions fighting to defend his back.

Then did *Eumenes* desperately rush amongst his enemies, labouring to break open the way unto *Antigonus* himself. And though he failed of his purpose; yet, with great slaughter, he did so beat upon them which came in his way, that the victory hung a long time in suspense, uncertain which way to incline.

The ground, whereon they fought, being of a slight sandy mould, through the trampling of horses, men, and elephants, did cast up such a cloud of dust, as hindered the prospect; so that no man could see what was done a little from him. *Antigonus*, finding this advantage, dispatched away some companies of horse, that passed, undiscovered, beyond *Eumenes*'s battels, and came to his carriages, which lay about half a mile from the place of fight, slenderly guarded (for that the whole body of the army lay between them and danger) and therefore easily taken. Had *Peucestes* retired himself no further than unto the carriages, he might not only have defended them; but, peradventure, have surprized those which came to surprize them; and so have done as good a piece of service as a better man. But he was gotten somewhat further, to a place, where, out of danger, he might expect the event; and *Eumenes* was so over-laboured both in body and mind, that he could not possibly give an eye to every place, being not well able to continue where he was.

It happened so, that the elephants meeting together, those of *Antigonus* had the better hand; whereupon *Eumenes*, finding himself every way over-charged, began to give back, and withdrew himself and his companies, in good order, to the other side of the battel, where *Philip* (as he was directed) had, by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from loss. The *Antigonians* had felt so much of *Eumenes* that day, that they were well contented to let him depart quietly, and wished not to see him come again; as fain he would have done.

The loss of the carriages was reported unto him, as soon as he had any leisure to hear how things went; whereupon he presently ordered his men for a fresh charge, and sent for *Peucestes*, that was not far off, requesting him to bring in his men, and renew the fight; whereby he trusted, not only to recover their own goods, but to enrich themselves with the spoils of the enemies. *Peucestes* not only

refused to join with him, but immediately withdrew himself into a safer place, where he might be further from such dangerous temptations.

By this, the night grew on; and both armies, wearied with fighting, were desirous to return into their camps. Yet *Antigonus* conceived hope of doing somewhat more; and therefore, taking half his horse-men, he waited upon *Eumenes* a part of his way homewards, but found no opportunity to offend him: the other half he committed to *Python*, willing him to set upon the *silver-shields* in their retreat; which yet he forbore to do, because it appeared too full of danger. So the battel ended, wherein *Antigonus* had not so much the better in horse, as the worse in foot; but the spoil which he got, by surprizing his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other losses.

SECT. VII.

How Eumenes was betrayed to Antigonus, and slain.

EUMENES, coming into his camp, and finding the *silver-shields* extremely discontented with their misfortune, began to cheer them up, and put them in hope of recovering all with advantage; for their brave demeanor that day had so crushed the enemy, that he had no power left wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much less able to draw their carts after him, through that great wilderness, over the high mountains.

But these persuasions availed nothing. *Peucestes* was gone; the other captains would needs return into the high countries; and the soldiers had no desire either to fly or to fight, but only to recover their goods. Wherefore *Teutamus*, one of the two captains of the *silver-shields* (who had in former times readily consented unto traitorous motions, in hope of gain; but was letted by his partner, *Antigenes*) finding, as he thought, a fit occasion of making himself great, and winning the love of those bands, dealt secretly with *Antigonus*, requesting him to restore unto those old soldiers their goods, which he had taken, being the only reward of their services in the wars of *Philip* and *Alexander*.

Antigonus, as a subtil man, knew very well, that they which requested more than they had reason to expect, would also, with a little entreaty, perform a great deal more than they promised; and therefore he lovingly entertained the messengers, filling them with hopes of greater matters than they desired, if they would put *Eumenes* into his hands, by whom they were seduced to make war against him. This answer pleased them so well, that they forthwith devised how to deliver him alive. Wherefore coming about him, as at other times, to do their duty; and, pretending more joy of their victory, than sorrow of their loss, which they said they would redeem by another fight; in the midst of this goodly talk, they leaped upon him, caught hold of his sword, and bound him fast. So they hauled him away, and, stopping their ears against all persuasions, would not yield so far as to loosen one of his hands, and let him kill himself; but brought him alive (that was their own general, under whom they had obtained many victories) as it had been in triumph, into the camp of their enemies.

The press of men, running out of the camp to see him, was so great, that *Antigonus* was forced to send a guard of horse-men and elephants, to keep him from being smothered, whom he could not suddenly resolve either to kill or save. Very few they were that sued for his life; but of these, *Demetrius*, the son of *Antigonus*, was one; the rest

were

were desirous to be rid of him quickly ; thinking, belike, that if he were saved, he would soon be the chief in reputation, for his great ability. So, after long deliberation, *Antigonus* concluded, that it was the safest way to put him to death ; which intending to have done by famine (perhaps, because he would keep it a-while in his own power to reverse this sentence, as desiring (if it might be) to have him live his friend) haste of other business made him do it by the sword.

To this end came all the travels of that worthy general, *Eumenes*, who had, with great wisdom, fidelity, and patience, laboured in vain, to uphold the family, which God had purposed to cast down. He is reckoned among the notable examples of fortune's mutability ; but more notable was his government of himself in all her changes. Adversity never lessened his courage, nor prosperity his circumspection. But all his virtue, industry, and wit, were cast away, in leading an army, without full power to keep it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill answer'd by *Gaspard de Colligny*, admiral of *France*, in our days, to one that foretold his death, which ensued soon after, in the massacre of *Paris* ; *That rather than to lead an army of volunteers, he would die a thousand times.*

Antigonus himself gave to the body of *Eumenes* honourable funeral ; and rewarded the treason wrought against him with deserved vengeance. One chief captain of the *silver-shields* he burnt alive ; many of the other captains he slew ; and to the whole multitude of the *silver-shields*, that had betrayed so worthy a commander, he appointed a leader, that should carry them into far countries, under pretence of wars ; but with a privy charge, to consume them all, as perjured wretches, letting none of them return alive unto his friends and kindred, or so much as once behold the seas that beat upon the shoars of *Greece* and *Macedon*.

S E C T. VIII.

How Antigonus slew Python, and occupied Media.

How he removed governors of provinces, and made himself lord of Persia, carrying away Peucestes.

THE two armies being joined thus in one, were carried into *Media*, where they spent the rest of the winter ; the common soldier idly ; the principal men intently bent unto the business ensuing. *Python* began to consider his own deservings ; for that the whole war had been chiefly maintained by the strength and riches of his province. Besides, he thought himself as good a man as *Antigonus*, unless it were in the soldiers opinion, which he judged easy to be purchased with gifts ; and therefore spared not to assay them with great liberality. But, in following this course, he was driven by necessity to trust many, of whom he stumbled upon some, that were unsecret ; and others, bearing him no sincere affection. Thus was his purpose discovered to *Antigonus*, who (nothing like to *Python*) dissembled his indignation, and rebuked the informers, as breeders of dissension between him and his honourable friend, unto whom he meant to commit the government of all those countries ; his own business calling him into the lower *Asia*. These reports, coming daily to his ears, did finely delude *Python*. By his greatness with *Alexander* ; his authority in that province where they lay, whereof he was governor ; and the love of the soldiers, which he had bought with money, he was strong enough to maintain, even an offensive war. But, what need had he to use the sword, when he was likely, without contention, to obtain more than his own asking?

No. 32.

therefore he came, as soon as he was sent for, to take his farewell of *Antigonus*, and to divide the provinces with him, that meant nothing less than to yield to any such division. As soon as he came, he was taken, and accused, condemned to die, and slain out of hand. For *Antigonus*, having begun with *Eumenes*, his ancient friend, was not afterwards restrained by any consideration of old acquaintance, from cutting down indifferently all that stood in his way ; but swam carelessly through the blood, wherein at the first he doubtfully waded.

When this business was ended, he appointed a new governor in *Media*, to order the province ; and a captain, to suppress all commotions ; thinking, belike, that the power and authority, so divided, would hardly agree in one against him, from whom both were derived.

After this, he marched into *Persia*, where he was entertained, as absolute lord of *Asia* : there began he to shew how well he understood his own mightiness. For he placed and displaced, at his pleasure, governors in all provinces ; leaving none in office, that were not his own creatures, except such as lay too far off to be dislodged easily.

Peucestes, who ruled in *Persia*, thought with good cheer to redeem old offences ; but was deceived, having to do with one that could not be taken with such baits : he was carried away, and feasted with goodly words of promise, that never took effect. Thus he, that envied the virtue of his friend, was driven to flatter (in vain) the fortune of his enemy ; after which, he lived a most contemptible life, till he died obscurely, a man forgotten.

S E C T. IX.

How Seleucus was chased out of Babylon, by Antigonus. The great riches of Antigonus.

SELEUCUS was the next in this visitation ; one that had, from time to time, continued in the same tenor of good-will to *Antigonus*, and now gave proof of his hearty affection towards him, by making the captain of the castle of *Susa* to meet him on the way, rendering unto him that strong piece, and all the treasures therein bestowed. This offer was so great, that *Antigonus* (though having in his hands the keeper of the place) could hardly believe it ; but used him with excessive kindness, for fear so good a mood should change. In that castle he found all the treasures of *Alexander*, with the jewels of the *Persian* kings ; which, added to his former store of money, made up twenty-five thousand talents. Having all this, he might well account himself a happy man, if riches were sufficient to happiness. But large dominion was the mark at which he aimed ; therefore he proceeded, with intent to leave no country behind his back, that should not acknowledge him for sovereign lord. Coming to *Babylon*, he was entertained by *Seleucus* with all possible demonstration of love, and honour'd with presents, befitting the majesty of a king. All this he accepted with great gravity, as being due to him, and began to require an account of the revenues of that province. This demand *Seleucus* held unreasonable, saying, that it was not needful for him to render unto any man an account of that province, which was given unto him, in respect of his many good services to the state. But whether he spake reason or no, it sufficed, that *Antigonus* was powerful ; who urged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of money, nor any other necessity, moved *Antigonus* to press him thus ; but only the desire to pick matter of quarrel against him, whereof it was likely that he should

should find such issue as *Python* and *Peucestes* had done. Therefore, taking with him only fifty horse, he conveyed himself away, and fled into *Ptolemy's* dominions, desiring him to protect him from the violence of such a man, as went about to oppress all that in former times had been his betters, or at least his equals. *Antigonus* was glad of his flight; for now all those countries were yielded unto him without battle, whereas to fight with *Seleucus* for them he wanted all presence, and to kill him it was not his desire, having received many benefits of him, and those not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any injuries. Yet it is reported, that the *Chaldeans* brought a strange prophecy to *Antigonus*, bidding

him to look well to himself, and know, that if *Seleucus* did escape his hands, he should recover *Babylon*, yea, win all *Asia*, and kill *Antigonus* in battle. Easy believers may give credit to this tale. Had it been true, methinks, *Antigonus* rather should have hanged those *Chaldeans*, for giving him no warning till it was too late, than sent pursuers (as they say that he did) after him, whom the destinies preserved for so great purposes. When he had settled things at *Babylon*, he took his journey into *Cilicia*, where he winter'd. There he took up ten thousand talents more of the king's treasures, and casting his accounts, found his yearly income to amount unto eleven thousand talents.

C H A P. V.

Of the great civil war between Alexander's captains: and how they assumed the name and state of kings.

S E C T. I.

The combination of Ptolemy, Cassander, and others, against Antigonus. Their demands, and his answer.

THESE great riches, and the rest of his power, made *Antigonus* dreaded, envied, and suspected, whereby he quickly was embarked in a new war. *Ptolemy*, *Cassander*, and *Lyfimachus* had privily combined themselves together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason, than of his own accord he seemed like to yield unto. Of their practices he had some notice; the good entertainment given unto *Seleucus*, giving him sufficient cause of mistrust. Therefore he sent ambassadors to them severally, entreating them to continue firm in their love towards him, that would be ready to requite them with the like. The cold answers which they made occasioned his hasty preparation against the most forward of them, which was *Ptolemy*, it being likely that a good army should prevail more than a fair message. Therefore, as soon as the season of the year would permit, he took the way towards *Syria*, and was encountered by embassy from them all. These told him, that their lords did much rejoice at his victory obtained against *Eumenes* their common enemy, and the honour that he had thereby gotten. In which war, forasmuch as they being his confederates, must have endured great loss, with hazard of their whole estates, if the contrary faction had prevailed, they held it very just, that all should be partakers in the fruits of that voyage, wherein they had been all adventurers. Wherefore they desired him, that making between them all an equal division of the treasures that were in his hands (a thing easy to be done) he would also take some convenient order for enlarging their dominions, according to the rate of his new purchases. This might best be to every one's liking, if he would make over *Cappadocia*, with *Lycia*, to *Cassander*; and *Phrygia*, bordering upon the *Hellefpont*, to *Lyfimachus*; for whereas his own dominions were so much extended eastward by his late victory, he might well spare some of those western provinces, to those that were seated in the west. As for *Ptolemy*, he would not crave any new additi-

on, but rest contented within his own territories. Provided always, that *Seleucus* their common friend, and partner in the late war, might be restored to his own, out of which he had been driven so injuriously, that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly consent unto their demands, which otherwise they must labour to obtain with armed hands.

Antigonus knew, that after many losses received, he should yet be able to redeem peace whensoever he listed, with these, or perhaps with easier conditions. Neither was he so weak, to give away quietly any part of his strength into the hands of such bad friends, for fear only lest it should be taken from him perforce. Rather he hoped that he should be able to find them work, more than enough to defend their own. Therefore, he roundly answered the ambassadors, that it was no part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profit of that victory, which he alone, without other mens help, had obtained. Tho' indeed they had already sufficiently gained by him, if they could see it, having by his means kept their governments, whereof they were like to be dispossessed by *Polyperchon*, and the council of estate in *Macedon*. But what marvel was it, if they considered not how he had saved them, seeing one of them had forgotten the time, when coming to him as a fugitive and begging succour, he was by his mere bounty relieved, and enabled to get all that he now held? *Cassander* did not (said he) in those days command me to surrender provinces, and give him his equal share of my treasures; but (for his father's sake) desired me to pity him, and help him against his enemies; which I did, by lending him an army and fleet, on confidence whereof he now presumes to threaten me. As for *Seleucus*, how can he complain of wrong, that durst not stay to plead his right? I did use him well; but his conscience told him that he had deserved ill: else he would not have fled. Let them that so curiously search into my doings, consider well their own, which some of them can hardly justify. I am now in the way to *Syria*, meaning to examine *Ptolemy's* proceedings; and, alter him, to deal with others, if they continue to provoke me.

SECT. II.

The preparation and beginnings of the wars.

WHEN the ambassadors were dismissed with this answer, nothing was thought upon but war. *Antigonus*, perceiving that he should be invaded from *Europe*, as soon as he were entered into *Syria*, left his nephew *Ptolemy* to guard the sea-coasts, and hinder *Cassander* from landing in *Asia*: giving him also in charge, to drive out of *Cappadocia* some that were already sent over to molest him. Likewise he dispatched messengers into *Greece* and *Cyprus*, not unfurnished of money, to draw friends to his side, and raise up troubles to his enemies. Especially he laboured to make himself the strongest by sea; to which purpose, he rather hastened than foreflowed his journey into *Syria*, that he might get possession of mount *Libanus*, which afforded many excellent commodities for building of a navy. Therefore, having erected beacons, and laid post-horses throughout all *Asia* to give swift advertisement of all occurrences, he invaded *Syria*, that was not held against him by any power sufficient to maintain the field.

Ptolemy lay in *Egypt*, the strength and heart of his dominion, where he was beloved and honoured of all the people as their natural lord; his other provinces he kept with a few garrisons, better serving to contain the people within obedience than to confront a foreign enemy. So *Antigonus* took many cities and places of that country, and began to set great numbers of artificers on work in making ships, which was one of his most earnest cares. In these businesses he consumed a year and three months, not idly; for he took *Joppe* and *Gaza*, which were yielded unto his discretion, and well used. The strong city of *Tyrus* held out long, but was compelled in the end, by famine, to render itself upon composition that *Ptolemy's* soldiers might depart with their arms, which was permitted.

Ptolemy was not asleep while these things were in doing, though he kept himself within the bounds of *Egypt*, as indeed it behoved him to do. His forces were not able to stand against *Antigonus* in plain field, but likely they were to increase, which made him willing to protract the time. Nevertheless by sea (where his enemy was as yet unready) he sent his fleet into all quarters, whereof *Seleucus* had the chief command.

Seleucus passed with an hundred sail along the coast of *Syria*, in the full view of *Antigonus* and his army, to their no little discomfort. He landed in *Cyprus*, which was then governed by many petty lords, of whom the greatest adhered to *Ptolemy*; the rest were, by the factors of *Antigonus*, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the *Egyptian* with sharp steel.

The same commodity of aid by sea encouraged the president of *Caria* (called also *Cassander*, but not the son of *Antipater*, howsoever by the painful and learned writer *Reinerus Reineccius*, he is by some over-sight counted for the same) to declare for *Ptolemy* and his confederates, and busily employ in their quarrel all his forces, which he had hitherto kept in good neutrality, and thereby enjoyed rest; but now he threw himself into dangerous war, chusing rather to undergo trouble at hand, than to fall under certain ruin, though somewhat further distant, which would have overwhelmed him, if *Antigonus* had beaten all the rest.

SECT. III.

How each party sought to win the assistance of Greece. Antigonus's declaration against Cassander. Alexander, the son of Polyperchon, revolteth from Antigonus, who had set him up.

IN the mean season all possible care was taken on both sides, to assure unto them the people of *Greece*, whose aid, which way soever it inclined, was of great importance. Herein, at the first, *Antigonus* sped so well by large effusion of his treasure, that he drew to him the *Lacedemonians*, and, other *Peloponnesians*, of whom he waged eight thousand, and caused *Polyperchon* (who had a good while made hard shifts) to rouse himself again, and taking upon him the title of captain of *Peloponnesus*, to make head against *Cassander*.

These hopeful beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the same kind. Wherefore, to make *Cassander* the more odious, he called together both his own soldiers, and all the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* that were to be found thereabouts. To these he declared, that *Cassander* had very cruelly slain *Olympias*, mother to the great *Alexander*; and not herewith contented, had shut up in close prison the poor lady *Roxana*, *Alexander's* wife, and his son begotten on her body. That all this proceeded from a desire to make himself king over the *Macedonians*; which well appeared, by his enforcing the lady *Theffalonica*, daughter to king *Philip*, a match unfit for a man of no greater parentage than he, to join with him in marriage. That in mere despite of those dead princes, *Philip* and *Alexander*, he had planted the *Olynthians*, rooted out by *Philip*, in a new city by him built, and called by his own name *Cassandria*; and had re-edified the city of *Thebes*, which for the great treason of the inhabitants, was levelled with the ground by the victorious hand of *Alexander*. For these reasons he required them to make a decree, that *Cassander* should restore to absolute liberty the lady *Roxana* and her son, and should yield obedience to the lord lieutenant-general of the empire (by which name *Antigonus* himself was understood) or else should be reputed a traitor and open enemy to the state. Furthermore, he propounded, that all the cities of *Greece* should be restored into freedom; this he did, not because he was careful of their good, but for the need which he had of their assistance.

These things being decreed, *Antigonus* was perswaded, that not only the *Greeks* would adhere unto him, as to their loving patron, and fall off from *Cassander*; but that the rulers of provinces, who had hitherto suspected him as a man regardful of nothing but his own benefit, would correct their opinion, and think him the most faithful of all others to the royal blood. But concerning his loyalty to the young prince, the world was too wise to be deceived with vain shews. His undertaking for the liberty of the *Greeks* was more effectual, and got easy belief, in regard of his present hatred to *Cassander*. Yet herein also *Ptolemy* strove to be as earnest as he, making the like decree, in hope to win to himself that valiant nation, which afforded men far more serviceable in war than were to be found in any province of the empire.

And this indeed was the point at which both sides aimed. Wherein *Antigonus*, thinking to make all sure, deceived himself, not without great cost. For he gave to *Alexander*, the son of *Polyperchon*, five hundred talents, willing him to set the war on foot in *Peloponnesus*, whereby it might appear, that

on his side was meant nothing else than what was openly pretended.

In *Peloponnesus*, *Cassander's* men had, with much bloodshed, grievously afflicted the contrary faction; and he himself perceiving, that they were more easily spoiled as enemies, than retained as friends, thought it the best way to make what use he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiving that *Alexander* came furnished with plenty of gold, wherewith he was able, not only to win the doubtful, but to corrupt such as might seem best assured: he thought it a good part of wisdom to surrender upon fair conditions that which he could not assure himself to hold any long time by force. Therefore he sent one to deal with *Alexander*, about the matters in controversy; letting him know, that *Antigonus* was very skillful in setting men together by the ears, not caring who prevailed, but only desiring to have them weary themselves whilst he was busy elsewhere, that so at length he might find opportunity to set upon the stronger. If therefore *Alexander* were so wise, as to keep in his purse the five hundred talents which he had, and without stroke stricken, to receive the whole lordship of *Peloponnesus*, it should be freely put into his hands by *Cassander*: provided, that he should from thenceforth renounce all confederacy made with *Antigonus*, and enter into a sure and faithful league with *Ptolemy*, *Cassander*, and the rest of the confederates; otherwise, he might well persuade himself, that the country which his father could not keep, when he was indeed the lieutenant of the empire, should not in haste be won by him, that was only the factor of a proud injurious man, so styling himself, but not acknowledged by others.

Alexander had lived a while with *Antigonus* since the beginning of these wars, among whose followers it was not hard to discover the intent (which he did not carry very secret) of making himself absolute lord of all: Therefore he was soon entreated to accept so good an offer, and did not stick to enter into that league, whereby he was to become a free lord, and subject unto no man's controul.

Howbeit, this his honour continued not long ere he lost both it and his life together, by treason of the *Sicyonians*; who thinking thereby to have made themselves free, were soon after vanquished in battle by *Cratippus*, *Alexander's* wife, a discreet and valiant lady. She, in revenge of her husband's death, crucified thirty of the citizens taken in flight; and having by severity taught them obedience, did afterwards continue her army in good order, and governed those places that she held with the love and commendation of her subjects and neighbours.

S E C T. IV.

The Etolians rise against Cassander in favour of Antigonus, and are beaten. A fleet and land-army of Antigonus utterly defeated by Ptolemy's lieutenant. In what terms the war stood at this time. Antigonus draws near to Greece.

A *Antigonus*, when he found that with so much money he had only bought an enemy, began to raise troubles to *Cassander* and his other adversaries in *Greece*, by stirring up the *Etolians* against them; likewise he laboured to win to his party the islands in the *Greek* seas, by whose assistance he might be the better able to deal with *Ptolemy*, that greatly prevailed by reason of his strong fleet. But neither of these attempts had the

success which he expected. The *Etolians*, a factious nation, and always envying the greatness of their neighbours, were often in commotion, but so, that commonly their gains equalled not their losses. *Cassander* won some of their own countries, fortified the *Acarnanians* against them, and compelled *Glaucias*, king of the *Illyrians*, whom he vanquished in battle, to forsake their side, and bind himself to bear no arms against *Cassander's* friends.

On the other side, as many petty islands were drawn to join with *Antigonus*; so the fleet of the *Rhodians* under *Theodatus*, who was admiral to *Antigonus*, passing along the coast of *Asia* toward *Cyprus*, with an army under conduct of *Perilaus*, marching on the shore for mutual assistance, was quite overthrown by *Ptolemy's* navy. *Polycletus*, who in *Ptolemy's* behalf had been sent into *Peloponnesus* against *Alexander*, finding no need of his service in that country, because *Alexander* was come over to their side, returned homewards, and by the way heard of the course which these *Antigonians* held, whom he very cunningly surprized. He rode with his fleet behind a cape, which the enemies were to double; his land-forces he placed in ambush, whereinto *Perilaus* falling, was taken prisoner with many of his men, and many were slain, making little resistance. *Theodatus*, the admiral, perceiving this, made all haste to help his fellows that were on land; but whilst he, with all his fleet, were intentive only to that business, *Polycletus* appeared at their backs, who, as soon as he perceived their disorder, hastened about the cape, and charging them behind, suffered not one of them to escape him. These ill tidings caused *Antigonus* to deal with *Ptolemy* about some composition. First, he sent ambassadors; afterwards they met in person. But *Antigonus* would not yield unto the demands of *Ptolemy*, so the party was vain.

Hitherto each party seemed to have indifferently fixed in the war, and thereby to have equal cause of hope and fear. This late victory, with the good success of his affairs in *Cyprus*, did seem to make amends to *Ptolemy* for his losses in *Syria*. Likewise the revolt of *Alexander* from *Antigonus* did equal the confederacy made between the *Etolians* and him; as also those petty skirmishes that had been in *Asia* the less, to *Antigonus's* advantage, were sufficiently recompensed by others of like regard, but adverse to him, and by the troubles brought upon his estates in those parts by the two *Cassanders*.

Contrariwise, *Antigonus* valued the loss of his men, money, and ships, no otherwise than as the paring of his nails that were left long enough, and would easily grow again; but the enlargement of his territory, by addition of *Syria*, he prized at a higher rate, as if thereby he had fed upon a limb of *Ptolemy's* enemy, and strengthened the body of his own empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto sufficient to counterpoise the bad, he meant to proceed as occasion should direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them that want no money.

That which most molested him, was the attempts of his enemies upon *Asia* the less; wherein, though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cause to fear, lest the people, being tied unto him by no bond of allegiance, might upon small occasion revolt from him, to men of as honourable reputation as he himself. To prevent this, and to be nearer to *Greece*, he held it expedient for him to be there in person, where his affairs did seem to prosper the worse, by reason of his absence. Therefore,

fore he left part of his army in *Syria*, under his son *Demetrius*, to whom, being then but two and twenty years old, he appointed many ancient captains as assistants, or rather as directors; the rest he carried with him into *Phrygia*, where he meant to winter.

SECT. V.

How Lyfimachus and Cassander vanquished some enemies, raised against them by Antigonus. The good success of Antigonus in Asia and Greece: with the rebellion of many cities against Cassander.

THE coming of *Antigonus* into those parts wrought a great alteration in the process of his business thereabouts. For his enemies had short leisure to think upon molesting him in *Asia*: they themselves were held over-hardly to their own work on *Europe* side. *Seuthes*, a king of the *Thracians*, joining with some towns that rebelled against *Lyfimachus*, brought also the bordering *Scythians* into the quarrel. All these relied upon *Antigonus*, who was to help them with money and other aid. The *Etolians* likewise took courage, and rose against *Cassander*, having *Eacides*, lately restored to the kingdom of *Epirus*, their assistant. But *Lyfimachus* gave unto his rebels no time to confirm themselves. He suddenly presented himself before two of the cities that had rebelled, and compelled them, by fear, to return to their former duty. He fought a battle with the *Scythians* and wild *Thracians*, and drove them out of the country. Finally, he overcame *Seuthes*; and, following the heat of his victory, slew *Pausanias* in battle, whom *Antigonus* had sent over with an army; and all his men he did either put to ransom, or fill up with them his own bands. The like success had *Philip*, *Cassander's* lieutenant, against the *Etolians*. For he wasted their country; fought with the *Epirotes* that came to help them; and, after the victory, fought again with their forces joined in one, overthrowing them, and killing *Eacides*, that unfortunate king. Finally, he drove the *Etolians* out of most of their country, and forced them to seek their safety among the wild mountains. Of the *Epirotes*, he sent as prisoners to *Cassander*, the principal authors of the king's restitution, and of the present war.

Yet these actions required some time, and wearied *Antigonus's* adversaries with painful travel; after which, they remained only favers. *Antigonus* himself, at fair leisure, won all *Caria* the whilst, and sent armies into *Peloponnesus*, and other parts of *Greece*, bestowing liberty upon all the cities he took out of *Cassander's* hands. The whole country of *Peloponnesus* (excepting *Sicyon* and *Corinth*) with the isle of *Eubœa*, and many places of the firm land, were by those means won to be his in true and vehement affection, ready to do or suffer any thing for him that had made so evident a demonstration of his readiness to give them the liberty in deed, which others had promised in idle words. Many states, desirous of the same benefit, would fain have shewed their goodwill; but they were kept in by *Cassander's* garrisons, who was too wise to trust them loose. Therefore *Antigonus* made shew as if he would pass over into *Macedon*; by which terror, he forced *Cassander* to repair thither in all haste, with the best of his strength, leaving many good towns of *Greece* so weakly guarded, that well they might take courage to help themselves, if any foreign succour appeared. The aid which they desired, was not long wanting. The lieutenants of *Antigonus*, taking the advantage of *Cassander's* departure, entered the

country; drove his garrisons out of divers cities; forced the governor of *Athens* to enter into league with their lord; won the citadel of *Thebes*, and set the people at liberty. This last action was somewhat remarkable; for *Thebes* had not long before been raised out of her old ruins, by the mere power of *Cassander*; of which act he was accused by *Antigonus*, as if it had been some heinous crime. Yet now the same *Antigonus* winneth the city, and the love of the inhabitants, only by expelling him that was their founder. So much are men readier to thank the increaser, than the author of their good; and rather to look forward upon those hopes, which vainly they extend beyond all measure, than backward upon their miserable nullity, that held them incapable of being any thing.

SECT. VI.

Victories of Ptolemy by sea. A great battle at Gaza, which Ptolemy and Seleucus won, against Demetrius, the son of Antigonus.

AS the presence or nearness of *Antigonus* gave life to his affairs in the lower *Asia*, and *Greece*; so the designs of his enemies, taking the advantage of his absence, ruined the very foundations of those great works in the eastern parts, wherewith in the year preceding he had overtopped them. The isle of *Cyprus*, whose princes wavered between contrary affections, inclining one while to *Antigonus*, another while faintly regarding their covenant with *Ptolemy*, was visited by an *Egyptian* fleet, wherewith *Ptolemy*, in his own person, easily reduced them to a more settled order, putting some to death, carrying others away prisoners, and leaving a lieutenant, of his own appointment, governor of the whole country. With the same fleet he ran along the sea-coasts, wasting a great part of *Caria* and *Cilicia*, with the spoils of which he enriched his followers, and returned laden to *Cyprus*. *Demetrius*, the son of *Antigonus*, hearing frequent reports of the miseries wherewith his father's subjects were oppressed, made all haste out of *Syria* to the rescue, taking only his horse and light-armed foot with him, because the business required expedition. But in vain did he tire himself, and his followers, in hasty seeking of one, that, by launching out into the deep, could, in a few minutes, delude the labour of so many days, if need had so required. Answerable to the vanity of this expedition, was the success. For *Ptolemy* was gone, before *Demetrius* came into *Gilicia*. Neither was it certain, whether having lightened his ships of their burthen in *Cyprus*, he would return upon those maritime countries; or make towards *Syria*, where his coming was expected. He was indeed gone into *Egypt*, and there, with *Seleucus*, was describing a royal army, which he levied with all convenient speed, for the recovery of *Syria*. This was more than *Demetrius* knew. Therefore he was fain to chuse, out of uncertainties, the most likelihood, and return the way that he came, with all his companies, which were fitter for service in the open field, than to be bellowed in garrisons among the *Cilicians*. He had scarce refreshed his men and horses in *Syria*, when the news arrived of *Ptolemy's* coming with a puissant army to give him battle. Hereupon, he called to counsel his principal friends, who advised him to give way to the time, and expect some better opportunity in the future; being a young man, and weakly furnished with means to resist such ancient and famous generals, as *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus*. This counsel seemed rather to proceed from the cold temper of those aged men that

gave it, than from any necessity growing out of the present business. For *Demetrius*, considering himself to be the son of *Antigonus*, and now general of his father's army, thought his own title weighty enough to be laid in ballance against the bare names of those two great commanders. Neither found he much reason that should move him to distrust his forces, as insufficient. His men were better exercised than the enemies, and promised as much as could be required. Therefore, persuading himself, that such odds of number, and of great fame, would rather serve to adorn his victory, than hinder him in obtaining it, he resolved to put the matter to trial, without expecting the advantage of more help. So, animating his soldiers with hope of spoil and rewards, he abode the coming of the enemies at *Gaza*, with purpose to encounter them, as soon as they had finished their wearisome journey over the deserts of *Arabia*.

Ptolemy and *Seleucus*, issuing out of so rich a province as *Egypt*, came so well provided of all necessities, that their army felt not any great grievance of the evil way, when battel was presented them, which confidently they undertook. In all things else they had the odds of *Demetrius*; of elephants they were utterly unprovided: but how to deal with those beasts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kind of pallisado, fastened strongly together with chains, and sharpened in such a manner, that the elephants could not seek to break upon it, without receiving much hurt. The rest of their forces, which (besides that they had advantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate services, by them performed that year, whilst the enemies had wearied themselves, either with vain journeys, or long and dulling expectation, they disposed in such order, as best answered to the form, wherein *Demetrius* was embattelled. The fight began, and was maintained with equal courage for a long time, each party striving more to win honour, than to satisfy any other passion, as having little cause of hatred or revenge. But after some continuance, the greater number holding better out, the error of *Demetrius*, who, upon no necessity, would needs fight a battel at disadvantage, began to appear by his losses. He had committed himself to fortune, having more to lose by her than he could get: but in this fight she was idle, and left all to be decided by strong hands; unless it may be said, that the terror brought upon his men, by the loss of his elephants, was bad luck. Those beasts were in that kind of war hardly to be resisted on plain ground; and therefore, at the first, they made great spoil amongst *Ptolemy's* men. Afterwards, seeking to break through the pallisado, they were sorely hurt, and every one of them taken. This disaster caused the horsemen of *Demetrius* to faint: they had laboured hard, and prevailed little; till now, perceiving that all must lye upon their hands, who were ill able to make their own places good, they began to shrink, and many of them to provide for their safety by timely flight; which example the rest quickly follow'd. When *Demetrius* had stroven so long in vain to make his men abide, that he himself was likely to be lost, he was fain to give place to the stronger, making a violent retreat as far as to *Azotus*, which was about thirty miles from the place of battel. A great part of his carriages was in *Gaza*, whither some of his company turned aside, hoping to save such goods, as, in haste, they could pack up. This foolish covetousness was their destruction, and the loss of the town: for whilst they, forgetful of the danger, had filled the streets with sumpter horses, and stopped up the gates, thronging, some to get in and fetch, others

to carry out, what they had already loaden, *Ptolemy's* army brake in without resistance, taking them with their goods and the city altogether.

This victory restored unto *Ptolemy* the best part of *Syria*; a province, more easy in those times to get, than to keep; and opened the way to all the greatness of *Seleucus*: for between *Gaza* and *Phenicia*, no place offered resistance. In *Celofyria* and *Phenicia*, some towns held out a while; but were soon taken in by *Ptolemy*. Among these, were the great cities of *Tyrus* and *Sidon*; of which *Sidon* was given up by the inhabitants; *Tyrus* by the garrison, falling to mutiny against their captain; who, trusting to the strength of it, had made great vaunts; but was pardoned by *Ptolemy*, and honourably entertained, in respect of his fidelity.

S E C T. VII.

How Seleucus recovered Babylon, and made himself lord of many countries in the higher Asia. The Æra of the kingdom of the Greeks, which began with the dominion of Seleucus.

WHILE *Ptolemy* followed his business with such prosperity, *Seleucus* took leave of him, and went up to *Babylon*, to try his own fortune; which he found so favourable, that, recovering first his own province, he became at length master of the better part of *Alexander's* purchases.

This expedition of *Seleucus* was very strange, and full of unlikelihoods. His train consisted of no more than eight hundred foot, and two hundred horse; a number too small to have been placed as garrison in some one of those main great cities, against which he carried it into the higher *Asia*. But little force is needful, to make way into strong places, for him that already stands possessed of their hearts which dwell within the walls. The name of *Seleucus* was enough, whom the *Babylonians* had found so good a governor, that none of them would find courage to resist him; but lent that work to *Antigonus's* own men, wishing them ill to speed. Some of the *Macedonians*, that were in those countries, had the like affection; others made a countenance of war, which, by easy compulsion, they left off, and followed new ensigns. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and submitted themselves joyfully to *Seleucus*. In a defection so general, it was not a safe course for the *Antigonians*, to thrust themselves into the towns of most importance; for every man of them should have been troubled with daily enemies in his own lodging. It remained, that they should issue forth into the field, and try the matter by fight; but the treason of one principal man, who revolted to the enemy with more than a thousand soldiers following him, so dismayed the rest, that they did no more than seek to make good one strong place, wherein were kept the hostages and prisoners that *Antigonus* held for his security in those quarters. This castle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leisure, against dangers, that were not then apparent. *Seleucus* quickly took it, and so got the entire possession of *Mesopotamia* and *Babylon*.

Antigonus had bestowed in *Media* and *Persia*, forces convenient for the defence of those provinces, that were the utmost of his dominion. In the countries about *Euphrates*, he had not done the like; for his own great army lay between them and all enemies. Therefore, when the victory at *Gaza* had opened unto *Seleucus* the way into those parts, he found little impediment in the rest of his business. Having now gotten what he sought, it behoved him to seek how he might keep his gettings; for his own forces

forces were too small, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his friends could not do for him, his enemies did. *Nicanor*, to whom *Antigonus* had committed his army in *Media*, joining unto himself, out of *Persia*, and other countries, all needful help, came with ten thousand foot, and seven thousand horse, either to save all from being lost, or to drive *Seleucus* out of that which he had won.

Against this power, *Seleucus* had only four hundred horse, and somewhat above three thousand foot, wherewith to oppose himself; his large conquest of unwarlike nations having yielded him many loving subjects, but few soldiers. Therefore, when his enemies were near to the river of *Tigris*, he withdrew himself from the place, where his resistance was expected, into certain marshes not far off, where he lay secretly, waiting for some advantage. *Nicanor* thought that he had been fled, and was the less careful in fortifying his camp. In recompence of this vain security, his camp was taken by surprise, the first night of his arrival; the *sátrapa*, or lieutenant of *Persia*, together with sundry of the captains, were slain; he himself was driven to flee for his life into the deserts, and the whole army yielded unto *Seleucus*; whose gentle demeanor, after the victory, drew all *Media*, *Susiana*, and the neighbouring provinces, to acknowledge him their lord, without any further stroke stricken.

This victory of *Seleucus* gave beginning unto the new stile of *The kingdom of the Greeks*, an account much used by the *Jews*, *Chaldeans*, *Syrians*, and other nations in those parts. I will not make any long disputation about the first year of this *Æra*. The authority of that great astrologer ^a *Ptolemy*, from which there is no appeal, makes it plain, that the five hundred and nineteenth year of *Nabonassar*, was the eighty-second year of this account. Other inference hereupon is needless, than that note of the learned ^b *Gauricus*, that the first of these years was reckoned compleat at *Babylon*, together with the end of four hundred and thirty-eight years after *Nabonassar*. With the observation of the *Saturn*, recorded by *Ptolemy*, agrees (as it ought) the calculation of *Bunting*; finding the same planet to have been so placed in the sign of *Virgo*, as the *Chaldeans* had observed it, in the same year; which was, from *Nabonassar*, the five hundred and nineteenth; from *Seleucus* the eighty-second year; and the last of the hundred and thirty and seventh *Olympiad*. These observations of the celestial bodies, are the surest marks of time; from which he, that wilfully varies, is inexcusable. As for such occurrences in history, and the years of succeeding princes (that are not seldom ambiguous, by reason of unremembered fractions) if they seem to be here-against, it is not greatly material; yet thus much is worthy of note, that these years of the *Greeks* were not reckoned in all countries from one beginning; as plainly appears in the difference of one year, that is found between actions, related by the several authors of the two books of the *Maccabees*, who follow divers accounts. He that shall adhere to the time defined by *Ptolemy*, may apply the other supputations thereunto, as being no farther from it, than a year's distance.

S E C T. VIII.

How Ptolemy lost all that he had won in Syria. What the causes were of the quiet obedience, performed unto the Macedonians, by those that had been subject unto the Persian empire. Of divers

petty enterprizes, taken in hand by Antigonus and Demetrius, with ill success.

IN a happy hour did *Seleucus* adventure, to go up to *Babylon*, with so few men as his friend could then well spare; for had he stayed longer, upon hope of getting more soldiers, *Ptolemy* could have spared him none at all, *Demetrius*, the son of *Antigonus*, having lost the battel at *Gaza*, received from *Ptolemy* all his own goods, his pages, and servants, in free gift; and therewithal a courteous message, to this effect: that no personal hatred was the ground of this war, which he and his confederates held with *Antigonus*; but only terms of honour, wherein they would seek to right themselves after such manner, that other friendly offices, without reference to the quarrel, should not be forgotten.

This noble dealing of *Ptolemy*, did kindle in *Demetrius*, an earnest desire of requiting him with some as brave liberality. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken troops, drew as many as could be spared out of the garrisons in *Cilicia*, or other provinces thereabouts; and, advertising his father of his misfortune, besought him to send a new supply, wherewith he might redeem his honour lost. *Antigonus*, upon the first news of this overthrow, had said, that the victory, which *Ptolemy* won upon a beardless boy, should be taken from him by bearded men: yet upon desire that his son, whom he tenderly loved, should amend his own reputation, he was content to make a stand in *Phrygia*. *Ptolemy*, hearing of *Demetrius's* preparations, did nevertheless follow his own business in *Celasyria*; thinking it enough to send part of his army under *Cilles*, his lieutenant, against the remnant of those, that had been already vanquished, when their forces were entire. This, peradventure, would have been sufficient, had not *Cilles* too much undervalued the power of such an enemy. He thought this young gallant, having lately saved his life by flight, would now be more careful of having a fair way at his back, than adventurous in setting further forward, than urgent reason should provoke him. In this confidence, he passed on without all fear; as one that were already master of the field, and should meet with none that would issue out of their places of strength, to make resistance. When *Demetrius* was informed of this careless march, he took the lightest of his army, and made his journey with such diligence, one whole night, that, early in the morning, he came upon *Cilles* unexpected; and was, on a sudden, without any battel, master of his camp; taking him alive, with his soldiers, and their carriages, all at once.

This exploit served not only to repair the credit of *Demetrius*, which his loss at *Gaza* had almost ruined; but, further, it enabled him to recompense the bounty of *Ptolemy*, with equal favour, in restoring to him *Cilles*, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich presents. But neither was *Ptolemy* so weakened by this loss, nor *Demetrius* so emboldened by his victory, that any matter of consequence thereupon ensued. For *Demetrius* feared the coming of *Ptolemy*, and therefore he fortified himself in places of advantage: *Ptolemy*, on the other side, was loth to engage himself in an enterprize, wherein he might perceive, that if the coming of *Antigonus* found him entangled, he should either be driven to make a shameful retreat, or a dangerous adventure of his whole estate, in hope of not much more than already he possessed.

^a Ptol. A'mag. l. 11. c. 7, 8.

^b L. Gauric. in annotat. ad locum citatum.

Antigonus, indeed, was nothing slow in his way towards *Syria*; whither he made all haste, not so much to relieve his son, as to embrace him: for he rejoiced exceedingly, that the young man had so well acquitted himself, and being left to his own advice, performed the office of a good commander. Wherefore, to increase the reputation of this late victory, he brought such forces, as might serve to recover all *Syria*; meaning, that the honour of all, should be referred unto the good foundation laid by his son, whom, from this time forwards, he employed in matters of greatest importance.

Ptolemy had now less reason to encounter with *Antigonus*, than before his coming to have assailed the camp of *Demetrius*; yet he made it a matter of consultation, as if he had dared more than he meant. But all his captains advised him to retire into *Egypt*, alledging many good arguments to that purpose; which they might well perceive to be agreeable to his own intent, by his propounding that course; not without remembrance of the good success against *Perdiccas*, in the like defensive war. So he departed out of *Syria*, preserving his honour; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any sudden passion of fear: and he departed at fair leisure, not only carrying his treasures along with him, but staying to dismantle some principal cities, that he thought most likely to trouble him for the future. All the country, that he left at his back, fell presently to *Antigonus*, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces; so easy was it in those times, for the captain of a strong army, to make himself lord of a great province.

We may justly wonder, that these kingdoms of *Syria*, *Media*, *Babylon*, and many other nations (which the victory of *Alexander* had over-run, with so hasty a course, as gave him not leisure to take any good view of them) were so easily held, not only by himself, but by the captains of his army after him. The hot contentions for superiority between the king of *Israel*, and those of *Damascus*; between *Egypt* and *Babylon*; *Babylon* and *Nineveh*; the *Persians*, and many countries; argue a more manly temper, to have once been in those people; which are now so patient of a foreign yoke, that, like sheep or oxen, they suffer themselves to be distributed, fought for, won, lost, and again recovered, by contentious masters; as if they had no title to their own heads, but were born to follow the fortune of the *Macedonians*. This will appear the more strange, if we shall consider, how the several states of *Greece* (many of which had never possessed so large dominion, as might cause their spirits to swell beyond their ability) did greedily embrace all occasions of liberty: and how these proud conquerors were glad to offer it, desiring to have them rather friends, than servants, for fear of further inconvenience.

It must therefore be noted, that most of these countries, had always been subject unto the rule of kings, or petty lords, whom the *Babylonians* and *Persians* long since had rooted out; and held them in such bondage, that few of them knew any other law, than the command of foreign masters. This had utterly taken from them all remembrance of home-born princes, and incorporated them into the great body of the *Persian* empire; so that wanting within themselves all sovereign power, or high authority (the life and spirit of every estate) they lay as dead, and were bereaved of motion, when that kingdom fell, whereof they lately had been members.

Why the *Persian* satrape, or princes of that empire, did not, when *Darius* was taken from them,

as the *Macedonian* captains after the death of *Alexander*, strive to lay hold upon those provinces, which had been many ages subject unto them, and scarce four years in quiet possession of their enemies; or why, at least, they contended not (when the terrible name of that great conqueror did cease to affright them) to get their shares among his followers, if not wholly to dispossess them of their new purchases; it is a question, wherein who is not satisfied may find no less reason to suspect the history, than authority to confirm it. For we seldom read, that any small kingdom, prevailing against a far greater, hath made to entire a conquest, in the compass of ten years, as left unto the vanquished no hope of recovery, nor means to rebel; especially when such disorders, or rather utter confusion, hath ensued, by the fury of civil war among the victors.

The cause why the *Macedonians* held so quietly the *Persian* empire, is well set down by *Machiavel*; and concerns all other kingdoms, that are subject unto the like form of government: the sum whereof is this. Wheresoever the prince doth hold all his subjects under the condition of slaves, there is the conquest easy, and soon assured. Where ancient nobility is had in due regard, there is it hard to win all, and harder to keep that which is won. Examples of this, are the *Turkish* empire, and the kingdom of *France*. If any invader should prevail so far upon *Turky*, that the great sultan and his children (for brethren he useth not to suffer alive) were taken or slain; the whole empire would quickly be won, and easily kept, without any danger of rebellion. For the bassas, how great soever they may seem, are mere slaves; neither is there in all that large dominion, any one man, whose personal regard could get the people to follow him in such an attempt, where, in hope of private gain, should not countervail all apparent matter of fear. Contrariwise, in *France*, it were not enough for him that would make a conquest, to get into his hands the king and his children; though he further got the better part of the country, and were, by far, the strongest in the field. For, besides the princes of the royal blood, there are in that kingdom store of great men, who are mighty in their several countries; and having certain royalties and principalities of their own, are able to raise war in all quarters of the realm; whereunto the remembrance of their own ancient families, and long continued nobility, will always stir up and inflame them; so that until every one piece were won, and every one (an endless work) of the chief nobility brought under or destroyed, the victory were not compleat, nor well assured. It is true, that such power of the nobility doth oftentimes make way for an invader, to whom the discontentments of a few can easily make a fair entrance. But such assistants are not so easily kept, as they are gotten; for they look to be satisfied at full, in all their demands; and, having what they would, they soon return to their old allegiance, upon condition to keep what they have, unless they be daily hired with new rewards; wherein it is hard to please one man, without offending another as good as himself. The *Turk*, on the other side, needs not to fear any peril, that might arise from the discontented spirits of his principal men. The greatest mischief that any of them could work against him, were the betraying of some frontier town, or the willful loss of a battel; which done, the traitor hath spent his sting, and must either fly to the enemy, whereby he loseth all that he formerly did hold; or else, in hopes of doing some further harm, he must adventure to excuse himself unto his master, who seldom forgives the captain, that hath not striven,

striven, by desperate valour, against misfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers against the great sultan, and so joining themselves unto any invader, it is a matter not to be doubted; for none of them have any followers or dependants at all, other than such as are subject unto them, by virtue of their offices and commissions. Now, as this base condition of the principal men, doth leave unto them no means, whereby to oppose themselves against the flourishing estate of their prince; so would it weaken both their power and their courage in giving him assistance, if adversity should make him stand in need of them. For there is scarce any one among the *Turkish* bassâ's, or provincial governors, that knows either from whence he was brought, or from whom descended; nor any one among them, that by the loss and utter ruin of the *Turkish* empire, can lose any foot of his proper inheritance; and it is the proper inheritance of the subject, which is also a kingdom unto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart against the conqueror, who hath no other device painted on his ensign, than the picture of slavery.

As is the *Turkish* empire, so was the *Persian*, void of liberty in the subjects, and utterly destitute of other nobility, than such as depended upon the mere favour of the prince. Some, indeed, there were of the royal blood, and others, descended from the princes that joined with *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, in oppressing the *Magi*: these were men of reputation in *Persia*; but their reputation consisted only in their pedigree, and their safety in not meddling with affairs of state, which made them little esteemed. In what small account these *Persian* princes were held, it may appear by this, that the king's uncles, cousin-germans, and brethren, were called by the kings, *their slaves*; and so did stile themselves, in speaking unto these great monarchs. That upon every light occasion of displeasure, they were handled as slaves, it is easy to be discerned, in that example of cruelty practised by *Xerxes* upon his own brother *Masistes*, which hath been formerly noted in a place more convenient. As for the *satrapæ*, or governors of the provinces, it is needless to cite examples, proving them to have been mere slaves: it may suffice, that their heads are taken from them at the king's will; that is, at the will of those women and eunuchs by whom the king was governed.

To this want of nobility in *Persia*, may be added the general want of liberty convenient among the people; a matter no less available, in making easy and sure the conquest of a nation, than is the cause assigned by *Machiavel*. For, as *Aesop's* ass did not care to run from the enemies, because it was not possible that they should load him with heavier burthens, than his master caused him daily to bear; so the nations that endure the worst under their own princes, are not greatly fearful of a foreign yoke; nor will be hasty to shake it off, if by experience they find it more light, than was that whereunto they had been long accustomed. This was it that made the *Gascoigns* bear such faithful affection to the kings of *England*; for that they governed more mildly than the *French*: this enlarged the *Venetian* jurisdiction in *Lombardy*; for the towns that they won, they won out of the hands of tyrannous oppressors; and this did cause the *Macedonians*, with other nations, that had been subject unto the posterity of *Alexander's* followers, to serve the *Romans* patiently, if not willingly; for that by them they were eased of many burthens, which had been imposed upon them by their own kings.

So that of this tameness, which we find in those that had been subjects of the *Persian* kings, the

reasons are apparent. Yet some of these there were, that could not so easily be contained in good order by the *Macedonians*; for they had not indeed been absolutely conquered by the *Persians*. Such were the *Sogdians*, *Bactrians*, and other nations about the *Caspian* sea. Such also were the *Arabians* bordering upon *Syria*, against whom *Antigonus* sent part of his army, thinking therewith to bring them under; or rather, to get a rich booty. The captains that he sent, fell upon the *Nabatheans* at such time as they were busied in a great mart, wherein they traded with the more remote *Arabians*, for myrrh, frankincense, and other such commodities. All, or most of these rich wares, together with five hundred talents of silver, and many prisoners, the *Macedonians* laid hold upon; for their coming was sudden, and unexpected. But ere they could recover *Syria*, the *Nabatheans* overtook them, and finding them weary with long marches, made such a slaughter, that of four thousand foot and six hundred horse, only fifty horse escaped. To revenge this loss, *Demetrius* was set out with a greater power, yet all in vain; for he was not resisted by any army, but by the natural defence of a vast wilderness, lack of water, and of all things necessary. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them, wherein he lost not much honour; for they craved it, and gave him presents. Returning from the *Nabatheans*, he viewed the lake *Asphaltites*, whence he conceived hope of great profit that might be raised, by gathering the sulphur. With this good husbandry of his son, *Antigonus* was well pleased, and appointed men to the work; but they were slain by the *Arabians*, and so that hope vanished.

These petty enterprises, with the ill success accompanying them, had much impaired the good advantage against *Ptolemy*; when the news of *Seleucus's* victories in the high countries, marred all together. For neither was the loss of those great and wealthy provinces, a matter to be neglected; neither was it safe to transport the war into the parts beyond *Euphrates*, whereby *Syria* and the lower *Asia* should have been exposed to the danger of ill affected neighbours. A middle course was thought the best, and *Demetrius*, with fifteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, was sent against *Seleucus*. These forces being sent away, *Antigonus* did nothing, and his son did less. For *Seleucus* was then in *Media*; his lieutenants about *Babylon* withdrew themselves from necessity of fight; some places they fortified and kept; *Demetrius* could hold nothing that he got, without setting in garrison more men than he could spare; neither did he get much, and therefore was fain to set out the bravery of his expedition, by burning and spoiling the country; which he did thereby the more alienate, and, as it were, acknowledge to belong unto his enemy, who thenceforth held it as his own assured.

Antigonus had laid upon his son a peremptory commandment, to return unto him at a time prefixed; reasonably thinking, (as may seem) that in such an unsettled state of things, either the war might be ended, by the fury of the first brunt; or else it would be vain to strive against all difficulties likely to arise, where want of necessities should frustrate the valour, that by length of time was like to become less terrible to the enemy. *Demetrius* therefore leaving behind him five thousand foot and a thousand horse, rather to make shew of continuing the war, than to effect much, where himself, with greater forces, could do little more than nothing, forsook the enterprise, and went back to his father.

SECT. IX.

A general peace made and broken. How all the house of Alexander was destroyed.

THESE ambitious heads, having thus wearied themselves with ineffectual travel, in seeking to get more than any one of them could hold, were contented at length to come to an agreement; wherein it was concluded, that each of them should hold quietly, that which at the present he had in possession. As no private hatred, but mere desire of empire had moved them to enter into the war, so was it no friendly reconciliation, but only a dulness growing upon the slow advancement of their several hopes, that made them willing to breathe a while, till occasion might better serve to fight again.

Besides that main point, *Of retaining the provinces which every man held*, there were two articles of the peace, that gave a fair, but a false colour to the business: *That the son of Alexander by Roxana, should be made king, when he came to full age; and, That all the estates of Greece should be set at liberty.* The advancement of young *Alexander* to his father's kingdom, seems to have been a matter forcibly extorted from *Antigonus*; in whom was discovered a purpose to make himself lord of all. But this, indeed, more nearly touched *Cassander*. For in his custody was the young prince and his mother; neither did he keep them in sort answerable to their degree, but as close prisoners, taken in that war, wherein they had seen the old queen *Olympias* taken and murdered, that sought to have put them in possession of the empire. The mutual hatred and fear between them, rooted in these grounds, of injuries done, and revenge expected, upon this conclusion of peace, grew up faster than any time before, in the heart of *Cassander*, who saw the *Macedonians* turn their favourable expectation towards the son of their late renowned king.

All this, either little concerned *Antigonus*, or tended greatly to his good. The young prince must first have possession of *Macedon*; whereby *Cassander* should be reduced to his poor office, of captain over a thousand men, if not left in worse case. As for them that held provinces abroad, they might either do as they had done under *Arideus*; or better, as being better acquainted with their own strength. He in the mean time, by his readiness to acknowledge the true heir, had freed himself from that ill-favoured imputation, of seeking to make himself lord of all that *Alexander* had gotten.

The like advantage had he in that article, of *restoring the Greeks to their liberty*. This liberty had hitherto been the subject of much idle discourse; but it never took effect. *Antigonus* held scarce any town of theirs; *Cassander* occupied most of the country: which if he should set free, he must be a poor prince; if not, there was matter enough of quarrel against him, as against a disturber of the common peace.

In the mean season, the countries lying between *Euphrates* and the *Greek* seas, together with a great army, and money enough to entertain a greater, might serve to hold up the credit of *Antigonus*, and to raise his hopes as high as ever they had been.

With much disadvantage do many men contend against one that is equal to them all in puissance, *Cassander's* friends had left him in an ill case; but he could not do with all: for where every one mans help is necessary to the war, there may any one make his own peace; but no one can stand out alone, when all the rest are weary. The best

was that he knew all their affections, which tended to no such end as the becoming subjects unto any man; much less to the son of an *Asiatick* woman, of whom they had long since refused to hear mention. Therefore he took a short course, and caused both the child and his mother to be slain: freeing thereby himself in a trice, from the dangerous necessity of yielding up his government, which he must have done when the child had come to age. *Roxana* was a lady of singular beauty, which was perhaps the cause, why *Perdiccas* desired to have her son, being as yet unborn, proclaimed heir to the great *Alexander*. Immediately upon the death of *Alexander*, she had used the favour (if it were not love) of *Perdiccas*, to the satisfying of her own bloody malice, upon *Statira*, the daughter of king *Darius*, whom *Alexander* had likewise married, according to the custom of those countries, wherein plurality of wives is held no crime. For having by a counterfeit letter, in *Alexander's* name, gotten this poor lady into her hands, she did, by assistance of *Perdiccas*, murder her and her sister, and threw their bodies into a well, causing it to be filled up with earth. But now, by God's just vengeance, were she and her son made away, in the like secret fashion; even at such time, as the near approaching hope of a great empire had made her life, after a wearisome imprisonment, grow dearer unto her than it was before.

The fact of *Cassander*, was not so much detested in outward shew, as inwardly it was pleasing unto all the rest of the princes. For now they held themselves free lords of all that they had under them; fearing none other change of their estates, than such as might arise by chance of war; wherein every one persuaded himself of success, rather better than worse. Hereupon all of them (except *Lysimachus* and *Seleucus*, that had work enough at home) began to rouse themselves; as if now the time were come, for each man to improve his own stock. *Antigonus's* lieutenants were busy in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellepont*, while their master was careful in following other, and some greater matters that were more secretly to be handled. He pretended the liberty of *Greece*; yet did the same argument minister unto *Ptolemy's* matter of quarrel, against both him and *Cassander*. *Ptolemy* complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that *Antigonus* had put garrisons into some towns, which ought, in fair dealing, to be set at liberty. Under colour of redressing this enormity, he sent an army into *Cilicia*, where he won four towns, and soon after lost them, without much labour of his own or his enemies.

After this, putting to sea with a strong fleet, he ran along the coast of *Asia*, winning many places: and in that voyage allured unto him a nephew of *Antigonus* (a good commander, but discontented with the ill requital of his services) whom finding shortly as false to himself, as he had been to his own uncle, he was fain to put to death. But in doing these things, his desire to set the *Greeks* at liberty, appeared not so plain, as he wished that it should: for their case was no way bettered, by his molesting *Antigonus* in *Asia*. Therefore to get the love of that valiant nation, he made at the last an expedition into *Greece* it self; where having set free some little islands, and landed in *Peloponnesus*, he raised so great an expectation of finishing the long desired work, that *Cratesippos*, the widow of *Alexander*, *Polyperchon's* son, gave up into his hands the towns of *Sicyon* and *Corinth*.

Ptolemy had conceived a vain belief, that the *Greeks*, emboldened by his countenance and assistance,

ance, would all of them take heart, and rise up in arms, whereby, with little labour, their liberty might be gotten, and he be acknowledged as author of this immortal benefit. But long servitude had well-near extinguished the ancient valour of that nation: and their ill fortune, in many likely attempts to recover freedom, had so tired their spirits, that they would no more stir in pursuit thereof; but sat idly still, as wishing it to fall into their mouths.

The *Lacedemonians*, about these times, began to fortify their town with walls; trusting no longer in their virtue (for both it, and the discipline that upheld it, were too much impaired) that had been a wall to their town and territory.

The *Athenians* were become as humble servants, as they had been, in times past, insolent masters; erecting as many statues in honour of *Demetrius Phalereus*, as there were days in the year. This *Demetrius* was now their governour, and he governed them with much moderation; but in spite of their hearts, as being set over them by *Cassander*. By this base temper of the principal cities, it is easy to gather, how the rest of the country stood affected. *Ptolemy* could not get them to set their helping hands to their own good; and to furnish him with the promised supplies, of money and victuals. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliver them from thralldom; as judging the commodity that would arise by annexing them to his party, a matter of more weight, than the loss that *Cassander* should receive thereby, who could hardly retain them, if once *Antigonus* took the work in hand. But when he found such difficulty in the business, he changed his purpose; and renewing his former friendship with *Cassander*, he retained *Sicyon* and *Corinth* in his own possession.

Before the coming of *Ptolemy* into *Greece*, *Cassander* had been held occupied with very much work. For (besides his pains taken in wars among barbarous princes) he found means to allure unto himself the lieutenants of *Antigonus*, that were in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellepont*; making his own advantage of their discontentments. By the like skillful practice, he freed himself from a greater danger; and made those murders which he had committed seem the less odious, by teaching his enemies to do the like. Old *Polyperchon*, that had made so great a stir in the reign of *Arideus*, did after the death of *Roxana* and her child, enter again upon the stage, leading in his hand another son of the great *Alexander*, and meaning to place him in his father's throne.

The name of this young prince was *Hercules*: he was begotten on *Barsine*, the daughter of *Artabazus*, a *Persian*; but had been less esteemed than the son of *Roxana*, either for that his mother was held no better than a concubine, or else perhaps, in regard of the favour which *Perdiccas*, and after him *Olympias*, did bear unto *Roxana*. At this time, the death of his brother, had moved such compassion, and regard of his being *Alexander's* only living child, had procured unto him such good will, that the demand which *Polyperchon* made in his behalf, was deemed very just and honourable. There were indeed more hearts than hands, that joined with this young prince; yet wanted he not sufficient strength of hands, if the heart of him, that least ought, had not been most false. *Cassander* had raised an army to withstand his entry into *Macedon*; but little trust could he repose in that army, whose wishes he perceived to be with *Hercules*. Therefore he assailed *Polyperchon* himself with gifts and promises; wherewith at length he prevailed to

far, that the old villain was contented to murder his pupil, choosing rather, with many curses and foul dishonour, to take the offered lordship of *Peloponnesus*, and commander of an army, than to purchase a noble fame with dangerous travel, in maintaining his faith unto both his dead and living sovereigns.

Antigonus had not all this while been asleep, tho' his losses were hitherto the chief witnesses of his having been a stirrer in these commotions. He thought it enough for him at the present, to retain his own; and therefore took order for the recovery of those places, which *Ptolemy* had taken pains to win. As for the rest, it no way grieved him, to see *Cassander* incur the general hatred of men, by committing those murders, of which the profit was like to redound unto him, that was the most powerful; or to see *Polyperchon* and *Ptolemy* sweat in a busy war against *Cassander*. If they would have continued their quarrels, he could well have afforded them leisure, and have thought the time well spent in beholding their contentions. For he was thoroughly persuaded, that when the rest had wearied themselves in vain with long strife, his armies and treasures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all under. According to these haughty conceits, he demeaned himself among his followers; looking big upon them, and like a king before his time. This was it that caused so many of them to revolt from him: but it was no great loss to be forsaken by those that looked with envious eyes upon that fortune, whereon their own should have depended. Against this envy of his own men, and the malice of others, *Antigonus* busily sought a remedy, such as was like to give him a goodly title to the whole empire.

Cleopatra, sister unto the great *Alexander*, lay for the most part in *Sardes*, whom he had a great desire to take to wife. This his desire was not without good hope: for howsoever she discovered much unwillingness thereunto, yet was she in his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it only for fear of being enforced. But it was not his purpose to get her by compulsive means; either because his fancy, being an old man, was not over-violent; or rather because his ambition, whereunto all his affections had reference, could have made small use of her, by doing such apparent wrong. She had been married unto *Alexander*, king of *Epirus*, after whose death, she came to her brother in *Asia*; hoping, belike, to find a new husband in his camp. But neither any of those brave captains, that were, in times following, so hot in love with her, durst then aspire unto her marriage: nor did her brother, full of other cares, trouble himself with providing her of an husband. She therefore, being a lusty widow, suffered her blood to far to prevail against her honour, that she supplied the want of an husband by entertainment of paramours. *Alexander* hearing of this, turned it to a jest; saying, that she was his sister, and must be allowed this liberty, as her portion of the empire. When by his death, the empire lay, in a manner, void, and the portion due to her therein, grew, in mens opinion, greater than it had been, then did many seek to obtain her, while she herself desired only a proper man, with whom she might lead a merry life. To this purpose she did invite *Leonatus* unto her; who made great haste, but was cut off by death, ere he came to her presence. Now at the last, after long tarrying, she had her choice of all the great commanders: *Antigonus*, *Ptolemy*, *Lyfimachus*, and *Cassander*, being all her earnest wooers. All these (*Antigonus* excepted) had wives already; *Ptolemy* had many wives, and many concubines,

cubines, whom he respected as much as his wives, being noted of too much dotage in that kind. This hindered not his suit, peradventure it advanced it, by giving to *Cleopatra* some hope of mutual toleration. To him therefore she bequeathed herself, and was taking her journey from *Sardes* towards him, when *Antigonus's* deputy in that city made her to stay, until his master's further pleasure should be known. *Antigonus* had now a wolf by the ears; he neither could well hold her, nor durst let her go. She would not be his wife; he had none honest pretence to force her; and to keep her prisoner, had been the way, by which he might have incurred a general hatred, lasting perhaps beyond her life, as the course taken by *Cassander* against *Roxana* (a lady less respected than *Alexander's* own sister) did well testify; therefore he thought it the wisest way to procure her death; for to let any other enjoy the commodity of so fair a title to the kingdom, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpose he sent instructions to the governor of *Sardes*, willing him in any case to do it secretly. So the fact was committed, and certain women about her put in trust with the murder; which women afterwards were put to death, as mischievous conspirers against the life of that good lady. So was *Antigonus* freed from blame, at the least, in his own opinion; but the world was less foolish than to be so deluded. How the murder was detected we need not ask; for seldom is that bloody crime unrevealed, and never so ill smothered, as when great persons are the authors.

Thus was the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* the great extinguished, and it was extinguished by the hands of such as thought upon nothing less than the execution of God's justice, due unto the cruelty of these powerful, but merciless princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by these tyrants, upon so wicked foundations of innocent blood, were soon after cast down, over-whelming themselves or their children with the ruins, as the sequel will declare.

SECT. X.

How Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, gave liberty to Athens, expelling the garrisons of Cassander out of those parts. The immoderate honours decreed by the Athenians to Antigonus and Demetrius.

NONE being left alive that had any title to the kingdom, it stood with good reason, that they which were lords of the provinces, acknowledging no superior, should freely profess themselves kings in name, as they were already in substance. Yet had this name ill becomed the weaker, while the strongest of all did forbear it; neither seemed it convenient, in the judgment of *Antigonus*, to crown his last action with such a title, as if he had attained unto greatness by that foul murder, the infamy whereof he was careful how to discharge from his own head. He purposed therefore to undertake a plausible enterprize, even the liberty of *Greece*; whereby it was apparent, that he might get such honour as would not only drown all bad reports, but make him be thought equal to any name of royalty, whereof in seeming modesty he was not covetous. To this purpose he delivered a strong army, with a navy of two hundred and fifty sail, and five thousand talents of silver, unto *Demetrius* his son, willing him to begin at *Athens*, and thence to proceed, in setting all the country free.

Demetrius came to *Athens* before he was expected, so that without resistance he entered the haven,

it being thought that a fleet of *Ptolemy*, *Cassander's* good friend, had been arrived. But when it was known, both who he was, and what was the cause of his coming, the joy of the citizens brake out into loud acclamations. *Demetrius Phalereus* forsook the town, and withdrew himself to *Thebes*, under safe-conduct; only the garrison in *Munychia* strove to make good that piece, which after a while was won upon them by force. During the siege of *Munychia*, *Demetrius* went to *Megara*, whence he expelled the garrison of *Cassander*, and so restored the city to liberty.

I think it not impertinent sometimes to relate such accidents as may seem no better than mere trifles; for even by trifles are the qualities of great persons as well disclosed, as by their great actions; because in matters of importance, they commonly strain themselves to the observance of general commended rules; in lesser things they follow the current of their own natures. The lady *Cratesipolis* lay in *Patras*, and had a great desire to see *Demetrius*, hoping, belike, that she might by his means better her estate, and recover her towns in *Sycion* and *Corinth*, detained by *Ptolemy* (to whose lieutenant, in those places, *Demetrius*, before his departure out of *Greece*, offered money for the surrender of them) yet the only business pretended was love. He being advertised hereof, left his forces in the country of *Megara*, and taking a company of his lightest armed for guard of his person, made a long journey to meet with her. This troop also he caused to lodge a great way from his tent, that none might see her when she came. As closely as the business was carried, some of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it, whereby they conceived good hope, that the diligence of a very few men might overthrow all the great preparations of *Antigonus*, and bring him to any terms of reason, by taking his dear son prisoner. Their project fell but a little short of the effect, for they came so suddenly upon him, that he had no better shift than to muffle himself in an old cloak, and creep away disguised, leaving them to ransack his tent. There was in this prince a strange medley of conditions; especially an extream dissoluteness in wanton pleasures, and a painful industry in matter of war. He was of a most amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wit; excellent in devising engines of war, and curious in working them with his own hands. He knew better how to reform his bad fortune, than how to rule his good. For adversity made his valour more active, prosperity pulled him with an over-weening, wherein he thought that he might do what he listed. His fortune was as changeable, as were his qualities: turning often round, like the picture of her wheel, till she had wound up the thread of his life, in such manner as followeth to be shewed.

Returning to his camp, and finishing his business at *Megara*; he resolved no longer to attend the issue of a siege, but to assail *Munychia* by force, that so he might accomplish the liberty of *Athens*; which, until it was fully wrought out, he refused to enter into the city. *Munychia* was strongly fortified: yet by the continuance of the assault, the multitude without, through help of their engines that scoured the walls, prevailed upon the resolution of those that lay within it, and won the place in two days. The wall and all the defences of that piece against the city, were levelled with the ground, and so was it freely put into the citizens hands, to whom withal was given their liberty, with promise to aid them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was louder than of any other victory gotten by *Demetrius* with greater skill and industry. For the *Athenians* having forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make up that defect with their tongues; converting to base flattery that eloquence of theirs, which the virtues of their ancestors had suited unto more manly arguments.

They decreed unto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* the name of kings; they consecrated the place in which *Demetrius* leaped from his chariot, when he entered their city, and built there an altar, calling it by the name of *Demetrius the Alighter*; they called them by the names of the *Gods their Saviours*, ordaining that every year there should be chosen a priest of these gods; and further, that such as were employed by their state, in dealing with either of these two princes, should not be called ambassadors, but *Theori*, or *Consulters with the Gods*, like as were they whom they sent unto the oracle of *Jupiter* or *Apollo*.

It were a frivolous diligence to rehearse all their flatteries, these being so gross. Hereby they not only corrupted the young prince, but made that acclamation, which best would have pleased the old man, to be of no use. For he could not handsomely take upon him the name of king as imposed by the *Athenians*, unless he would seem to approve their vanity, in loading him with more than human honours. Yet was he so tickled with this their fine handling him, that when their *Theori*, or *Consulters* came shortly after, desiring him to relieve them with corn, and timber to build ships, he gave them almost a hundred thousand quarters of wheat, and matter sufficient to make a hundred galleys. So gracious was his first oracle, or rather, so weak is great power in resisting the assaults of flattery.

SECT. XI.

The great victory of Demetrius against Ptolemy in Cyprus. How Antigonus and Demetrius took upon them the stile of kings, wherein others followed their example.

FROM this glorious work, *Antigonus* called away *Demetrius* unto a business of greater difficulty; meaning to employ his service against *Ptolemy* in *Cyprus*. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he was willed to establish a general council that should treat of matters concerning the common good of the country. About the same time *Antigonus* withdrew his own garrison out of *Imbros*, committing their liberty entire into the people's hands: whereby it might appear, that as he would not permit any other to oppress the *Greeks*, so would he be far from doing it himself. This was enough to hold his reputation high among these new purchased friends: it followed, that he should convert his forces to the winning of ground upon his enemies.

A pitiful tragedy had lately happened in *Cyprus*, through the indiscretion of *Menelaus*, *Ptolemy's* brother, and his lieutenant in that isle. *Nicoles*, king of *Paphos*, was entred into some practice with *Antigonus*; yet, not so far, that he thought himself past excuse; by which confidence, he was, perhaps, the more easily detected. To cut off this negotiation, and the false-hearted king of *Paphos* at one blow, *Menelaus* was sent thither, who surrounding *Nicoles's* house with soldiers, required in *Ptolemy's* name, to have him yielded to the death. *Nicoles* offered to clear himself; but *Menelaus* told him, that die he must, and bade him come forth quietly. This desperate necessity caused the un-

happy king to rid himself of life, and his death struck such an impression into his wife, that she not only slew herself, but perswaded the wives of her husband's brethren to do the like; also those brethren of *Nicoles*, unto whom *Ptolemy* had intended no ill, being amazed with the suddenness of this calamity, did shut up the palace; and, setting it on fire, consumed it, with all that was in it, and themselves together.

Whatsoever the crime objected was, *Nicoles* perished as a man innocent, because he was not suffered to make his answer. Of this sad accident, though *Menelaus* deserved the blame for his rigorous proceeding, yet is it to be thought that much dislike fell also upon *Ptolemy*; as men that are grieved, cast an ill affection, even upon those that gave the farthest removed occasion.

Not long after this, *Demetrius* came into *Cyprus*, with a power sufficient against any opposition that *Ptolemy* was like to make. The *Cypriots* did little or nothing against him, either because they had small strength, or for that they held it a matter indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their lord, being sure that they should not themselves have the rule of their own country. *Menelaus* therefore, out of his garrisons, drew forth an army, and fought with *Demetrius*. But he was beaten, and driven to save himself within the walls of *Salamis*; where he was so hardly besieged, that, without strong succour, he had no likelihood to make good the place, much less to retain possession of the whole island. His greatest help, at the present, was the fidelity of his soldiers, whom no rewards could win from him, nor good usage (when any of them were taken prisoners, and enrolled in the enemies bands) keep from returning to him, with the first opportunity. Most of them were mercenaries; but all their goods were in *Egypt*, which was enough to keep them faithful. Yet could not this their resolution have stood long against the odds of number, which *Demetrius* had of men as resolute, and against his terrible engines of battery, if *Ptolemy* had not hastened to the rescue.

Ptolemy brought with him a hundred and forty galleys, besides two hundred ships of burden, for transporting his army and carriages. This fleet made a terrible shew, when it was descried afar, though more than half of it was unfit for service in fight at sea. Wherefore, to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadful, *Ptolemy* sent unto *Demetrius* a threatening message, willing him to be gone, unless he would be overwhelmed with multitudes, and trampled to death in a throng. But this young gallant repayed him with words of as much bravery, promising to let him escape, upon condition that he should withdraw his garrisons out of *Sicion* and *Corinth*.

Demetrius had no more than one hundred and eighteen galleys; but they were, for the most part, greater than those of *Ptolemy*; better stored with weapons fit for that service, and very well furnished with engines in the prows to beat upon the enemy. Nevertheless, he stood in great doubt of threescore galleys that lay in the haven of *Salamis*, lest *Menelaus*, with them, should set upon his back; in which case, it was very likely that all should go very ill with him. Against this mischief, he bestowed ten of his own galleys in the mouth of that haven, to keep *Menelaus* from issuing forth, and setting his horse-men on the shore, to give what assistance they could, he, with the rest of his fleet, puts to sea against *Ptolemy*.

The fight began early in the morning, and continued long with doubtful success. The generals were not ranged opposite one to the other; but held each of them the left wing of his own fleet. Each of them prevailed against the squadron wherewith he encountered; but the success of *Demetrius* was to better purpose: for his victory in one part was such, as caused others to fall out of order; and, finally, drove all to betake themselves unto speedy flight. As for *Ptolemy*, he was fain to leave his advantage upon the enemy in one part of the fight, that he might relieve and animate those of his own, which needed him in another; wherein he found his loss over-great, to be repaired, by contending any longer against the fortune of that day; and therefore he laboured only to save himself, in hopes of better event that might follow some other time.

There fell out in this battel no unusual accident; yet was the victory greater than could have been expected. The occasions whereof were, partly the great skill in sea services, which the *Greeks* and *Phenicians*, that were with *Demetrius*, had, above those which followed *Ptolemy*; partly the good furniture of the ships, wherein consisted no less, than in the quality of those with whom they were manned. Further, we may reasonably judge, that the two hundred ships of burthen, carrying the strength of *Ptolemy's* army, did not more encourage his own men, and terrify his enemies the day before the fight, than breed in each part the contrary affections; when, in the beginning of the fight, they fell off, and stood aloof. For though it were fitting that they should do so, yet a multitude, prepossessed with vain conceits, will commonly apprehend very slight occasions, to think themselves abandoned. Besides all this, the expectation, that *Menelaus* issuing with his fleet out of *Salamis*, should charge the enemies in stern, was utterly frustrate. He was kept in perforce, by the ten ships appointed to bar up the mouth of the haven; which they manfully performed, as great necessity required.

Such disappointment of expectation, doth much abate the courage of men in fight, especially of the assailants; whereas, on the contrary, they that find some part of their fears vain, do easily gather hopeful spirits, and conceive an opinion of their own ability, to do more than they had thought upon, out of their not suffering the harm that they had imagined.

Whatsoever the causes of this victory were, the fruit was very great. For *Ptolemy* had no more than eight gallees that accompanied him in his flight; all the rest of his fleet was either taken or sunk. Neither did *Menelaus* any longer strive against the violence of fortune; but yielded up all that he held in *Cyprus*, together with his army, consisting of twelve thousand foot, and a thousand and two hundred horse, and those gallees in the haven of *Salamis*. The same dejection of spirit was found in the common soldier, as well that was taken at sea, as that had served the *Egyptian* by land; none of them reposing any more confidence in *Ptolemy*, but willingly becoming followers of a new lord, whose army they now increased.

It was generally believed, that much more depended on the event of this fight, than the isle of *Cyprus*, for which they contended. Wherefore the common expectation was great; especially *Antigonus*, whom it most concerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, thinking every day a year, till he were advertised of the issue. In this mood *Aristodemus* found him, a notable flatterer, whom *Demetrius* had honoured with the message of these good news. *Aristodemus* had bethought himself of a trick, whereby to double the welcome of his joyful errand: he caused his ships to ride at anchor a good distance from the shore; he himself landed in a cock-boat, which he sent immediately back to the ship; and so all alone, he went forward, looking very sadly, that no part of his tidings might appear in his countenance. Report of his arrival (for it was not known where he had been) came presently to *Antigonus*, who sent messenger after messenger to meet him on the way, and bring speedy word how all went: but neither any answer, nor so much of a look as might intimate the purport of his errand, could be won from this demure gentleman. Thus marched he fair and softly forward, with a great throng at his heels (that served well to set out his pageant) until he came in sight of *Antigonus*, who could not contain himself, but went down to meet him at the gate, and hear the news. Then did *Aristodemus*, upon the sudden, with a high voice, salute *Antigonus*, by the name of king; uttering the greatness of the victory (with as much pomp, as before he had covered it with silence) in the hearing of all the people; who, with loud acclamations, gave that name of king both to *Antigonus*, and to his son *Demetrius*. *Antigonus*, in requital of the long suspense, wherein *Aristodemus* had held him, said, that it should also be long ere he received his reward. But the title of king, together with the diadem, which his friends did set on his head, he could not wish a fairer occasion to assume; wherefore he readily accepted them, and sent the like to his son.

When it was once noised abroad that *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* called themselves kings, it was not long ere their fellows were ready to follow the good example. *Ptolemy's* friends would by no means endure that their lord should be thought a man dejected for the loss of a fleet; therefore they saluted him also king. *Lyfimachus*, in *Thrace*, had boldness enough to put the diadem about his own head. *Seleucus* had, before this time, among the barbarous people, taken upon him as king; but now he used the stile indifferently, as well among the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*, as in dealing with others. Only *Cassander* held himself contented with his own name; whereby, howsoever he might shadow his pride, he no way lessened the fame of his cruelty against his master's house. But the name which he forbore, his sons after him were bold to usurp, though with ill success, as will appear, when they shall enter upon the stage; whereon these old tragedians, under new habits, as no longer now the same persons, begin to play their parts, with bigger looks, and more boisterous actions, not with greater grace and judgment, than in the scenes already past.

C H A P. VI.

Of the wars between the kings of Egypt, Asia, Macedon, Thrace, and others, until all Alexander's princes were consumed.

S E C T. I.

The expedition of Antigonus against Egypt, with ill success.

ALL the rest of these kings had taken that name upon them, in imitation of *Antigonus* himself, as befitting his greatness; which was such, as gave him hope to swallow them up, together with their new titles. Being not ignorant of his own strength, he resolved to single out *Ptolemy*, and make him an example to others; who should hardly be able to stand, when the greatest of them was fallen. To this purpose, he prepared an army of eighteen thousand foot and eight thousand horse, with fourscore and three elephants; as likewise a fleet of a hundred and fifty gallies, and a hundred ships of burthen; the land-forces he commanded in person; of the navy *Demetrius* was Admiral.

When all was ready for the journey, the sea-men advised him to stay yet eight days longer, and expect the setting of the *Pleiades*. But his hasty desire to prevent all preparations for resistance that *Ptolemy* should make, rejected this counsel, imputing it rather to their fear than skill. Wherefore he departed from *Antigonia* (a town which he had built in *Syria*, and called after his own name, that was soon changed into *Seleucia*, by his mortal enemy) and came to *Gaza*, where he met with his fleet. The nearer that he drew to *Egypt*, the more haste he made; thinking by celerity to prevail more than by his great power. He caused his soldiers to carry ten days provision of victuals, and had many camels laden with all necessaries for passing the deserts, over which he marched with no small toil, though he met with no resistance. At *Mount Casius*, which is near adjoining to *Nilus*, he saw his fleet riding at anchor, not far from the shore, in ill case, and many ships wanting. It had been sorely beaten with foul weather, wherein some were lost, others driven back to *Gaza*, or scattered elsewhere into such creeks as they could recover: *Demetrius* himself, with the best and strongest vessels, did so long beat it up against the wind, that all his fresh water was spent; in which extremity he and all his must have perished, had not the tempest ceased when it did, and *Antigonus* appeared in sight, from whom these over-wearied, thirsty, and sea-beaten soldiers received relief. After these painful travels, there followed a war, no less painful than to little purpose; for *Ptolemy* had so fortified all the passages upon the river of *Nilus*, as he assured himself either to end the war there, or, if his guards should happen to be forced, yet could it not be done; but so much to the weakening of the assailants, as he should afterwards, with a second army (which he held entire) entertain the invader upon advantage enough. All that *Antigonus* sought, was to come to blows speedily; *Ptolemy*, on the contrary, to beat *Antigonus* by the belly. It is true, that *Nilus* gave him water enough, but wood he had none to warm it; and while *Antigonus* assaulted the ramparts, raised upon the river in vain, *Ptolemy* assayed the lurch of his soldiers with good success; for with great gifts, and greater promises, he ferried them over so fast, as had not *Antigonus* thrust some as-

sured regiments upon the passages next the enemy, and in the mean while taken a resolution to return, *Ptolemy* had turned him out of *Egypt* ill attended.

Some of them, indeed, he laid hands on, in the way of their escape, and those he put to death with extreme torments; but, in all likelihood, with the same ill success that *Perdiccas* had formerly done, when he invaded *Egypt*, had he not readily removed his army further off from the noise of their entertainment, that had already been won from him.

To prevent, therefore, as well the present danger of his stay, as the shame following a forced retreat, he secretly practised the advice of his council, upon whom the burden must be laid of his entrance, and leaving *Egypt*.

It is, indeed, less prejudicial in such like cases, that errors, dishonours, and losses, be laid on counsellors and captains, than on kings; on the directed, than on the director; for the honour and reputation of a prince is far more precious than that of a vassal. *Charles V.*, as many other princes have done, laid the loss and dishonour he received in the invasion of *France*, by the way of *Provence*, to *Antony de Leua*; whether justly or no, I know not: but howsoever, all the historians of that time agree, that the sorrow thereof cost that brave captain his life. Certainly, to give any violent advice in doubtful enterprizes, is rather a testimony of love, than of wisdom, in the giver; for the ill success is always cast upon the counsel; the good never wants a father, though a false one, to acknowledge it. Yet I have sometimes known it, that great commanders, who are for the present in place of kings, have not only been dissuaded, but held in a kind by strong hand, from hazarding their own persons; and yet have those kind of mutineers never been called to a marshal's court.

S E C T. II.

How the city of Rhodes was besieged by Demetrius.

THIS departure of *Antigonus* left behind it many dead carcasses, and a great deal of joy in *Egypt*. *Ptolemy* held a solemn feast, and sent messengers abroad, laden with glad news, to *Seleucus*, *Lyfimachus*, and *Cassander*, his confederates; strongly encouraging all that side with the report of this his late felicity, though it appeared but in a defensive war. *Antigonus*, on the contrary, flattered himself with another interpretation, calling the joys of his enemies for witnesses of his own greatness, seeing they arose but from so little things; his enemies being but bare saviors by the last bargain; and himself, as he supposed, having lost but a little time, and no part of his honour in the late retreat. Howsoever it were, yet he meant to follow his affairs henceforth in another fashion, for that which he could not cleave asunder by great blows, he purposed by little and little to pare off, by cutting off the branches first, to fell the tree it self with the more facility. To effect which he resolved (leaving the great ones to grow a while) to root up the dependants of his enemies: dependants, whom the forenamed confederates should be forced, either to relieve, or to lose;

lose; and hereby he doubted not to draw them into the field, where the advantage of power, and of all other warlike provisions, promised him victory.

At this time the city of *Rhodes* was very mighty, being well governed, and having long held it self in good neutrality, it drew the better part of all the trade of those parts, and thereby a great deal of riches to it self, to maintain which, and to increase it, it furnished and kept on the seas a fleet of well armed ships, by which it not only beat off all pirates and petty thieves, but the reputation of their strength was thereby so much increased, as all the neighbour princes sought their alliance and confederacy.

In this so dangerous a time (in which they must either refuse all that sought them, and so stand friendless and apart, or join themselves to some one; and thereby forego the peace, by which their greatness had grown) their affections carried them to the *Egyptian*, both because the greatest part of their trade lay that way, as also for that *Antigonus's* disposition, greatness, and neighbourhood was fearful unto them. This affection of theirs, with some other passages more apparent, gave argument of quarrel to *Antigonus*, who began to declare himself against them by petty injuries, of taking some of their ships, with such other grievances, while he made a more weighty preparation to pursue the war against them openly and strongly. All things soon after ordered according to the greatness of the enterprise, he imploy'd his son *Demetrius* against them in their own island, who brought such terror upon the citizens, that laying aside all respect of friendship and honour, they offered him their assistance and service against whomsoever. *Demetrius*, who knew from whence this change came, and that the alteration was perswaded by fear, and not by love, raised his demands to an intolerable height, requiring an hundred hostages to be delivered him, and liberty to lodge in their port as many ships of war as himself pleased: these conditions, more properly to be imposed upon a state already conquered, than on those who as yet had heard of nothing but a constrained assistance, restored unto the *Rhodians* their lost courage, and made them resolve to defend their liberty to the last man: this taught them to infranchise all their able bond-men, and wisely rather to make them their fellow citizens, than to make themselves fellow slaves with them.

Demetrius, having refused the fair conditions offered, as the *Rhodians* the fearful ones propounded to them, makes preparation for a long siege, and finding no appearance to carry the place in fury, he set in hand with his engines of battery; in the invention and use of which, he never shewed himself a greater *Artisan*, than in this war. But in conclusion, after the citizens had sustained all the assaults given them for a whole year, after many brave sallies out of the town, and the famine which they endured within the town, which had proved far more extreme, if *Ptolemy* had not with many hazards relieved them, *Demetrius* by mediation of the *Grecian* ambassadors, gave over the siege, a hundred hostages they gave him for performance of the peace made, but with exception of all the magistrates and officers of the city.

Hereunto *Demetrius* was brought by the usual policy of war and state: for while, with the flower of all his father's forces, he lay before *Rhodes*, *Cassander* recovered many of those places in *Greece*, which *Demetrius* had formerly taken from him; neither did *Cassander* make the war as in former times, by practice and surprise, but by a strong and

well compounded army, which he himself led as far as into *Attica*, and therewith greatly distressed and endangered *Athens* it self. On the other side (tho' with less success) did *Polyperchon* invade *Peloponnesus*. These dangerous undertakings upon *Greece*, advised the *Athenians* and *Etolians* to dispatch their ambassadors towards *Demetrius*, and advised *Demetrius* rather to abandon the enterprise of *Rhodes*, than to abandon the great honour which he had formerly gotten, by setting all *Greece* at liberty.

Demetrius was no sooner out of the island, than that the *Rhodians* erected statues in honour of *Asiarchus* and *Cassander*, but for *Ptolemy*, whom they most affected, and from whom they received their most relief, they consulted the oracle of *Jupiter*, whether it were not lawful to call him a God. The priests which attended in the temple of *Hammon*, gave the same fair answer for *Ptolemy*, which they had formerly done for *Alexander's* master; for as *Alexander* consulted the oracle with an army at his heels, so was *Ptolemy* at this time lord of the soil: and yet was this a far more cleanly creation than that done by the *Athenians*, who deified *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* by decree of the people. A mad age it was, when so many of *Alexander's* captains could not content themselves with the stile of kings, but that they would needs be called gods.

SECT. III.

How Demetrius prevailed in Greece, Cassander desires peace of Antigonus, and cannot obtain it. Great preparations of war against Antigonus.

Demetrius coming with a strong fleet and army into *Greece*, quickly drove *Cassander* out of *Attica*; and pursuing his fortune, chased him beyond the straits of *Thermopylae*. Herein his reputation did much avail him, which was so great, that six thousand of his enemies soldiers revolted unto him. So partly by the greatness of his name, partly by force, he recover'd in short space all that *Cassander* held in those straights, and giving liberty unto the people, he bestowed upon the *Athenians* those pieces which had been fortified against them, to block them up. Then went he into *Peloponnesus*, where he found the like, or more easy success: for he suddenly took *Argos*, *Corinth*, *Sicyon*, and the most of the country, bestowing liberty upon such as needed it. The town of *Sicyon* he translated by consent of the citizens, from the old seat into another place: and called it after his own name *Demetrius*. This done, he betook himself to his pleasure: at the *Isthmian* games he caused himself to be proclaimed captain general of *Greece*, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had been in former times: whereupon (as if he were now become as great as *Alexander*) he despised all others, making it a matter of jest, that any, save himself or his father, should usurp the name of king. But in his behaviour, he was so far unlike to a king, that in all the time of his leisure, he deserved none other name than of a drunken palliard. Yet were the *Athenians* as ready as ever to devise new honours for him; among which they made one decree, that whatsoever king *Demetrius* should command, ought to be held sacred with the gods, and just with men.

All *Greece* being now at the disposition of *Antigonus*, *Cassander* stood in great fear, lest the wars should fall heavily upon him in *Macedon*; which, to avoid, he knew no better way than to make peace with his enemies betimes. And to that purpose he sent Embassadors, but had no better answer from *Antigonus*, than that he should submit his whole estate

S E C T. IV.

estate to his discretion. This proud demand made him look about him, and labour hard in soliciting his friends both to assist him, and take heed to themselves; neither found he them slow in apprehending the common danger, for *Lyfimachus* knew, that if once *Cassander* had lost *Macedon*, *Demetrius* would soon be master of *Thrace*. Neither were *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* ignorant of that which was like to befall them, if *Antigonus* were suffered to put himself in quiet possession of those provinces in *Europe*. Wherefore it was agreed, that with joint forces they should all together set upon the common enemy.

Hereof *Antigonus* had notice, but scorned all their preparations, saying, that he would as easily scatter them, as a flock of birds are driven away with a stone. With these conceits he pleased himself, and no way hindered the proceedings of his enemies. He lay at that time in his town of *Antigonia* (a name that it must shortly lose) where he was carefully providing to set out some stately game and pageants, in ostentation of his glory. But thither was brought unto him the tumultuous news of *Lyfimachus's* victories about *Hellepont*. For *Cassander* had committed unto *Lyfimachus* part of his forces, wherewith to pass over into *Asia*, while he himself with the rest should oppose *Demetrius* on *Europe* side. So *Lyfimachus* passing the *Hellepont*, began to make hot war upon the subjects of *Antigonus*; getting some of the cities in those parts to join with him by fair means, winning others by force, and wasting the country round about.

To repress this unexpected boldness, *Antigonus* made hasty journeys, and came soon enough to recover his losses, but not strong enough to drive *Lyfimachus* home, or compel him to come to battle. *Lyfimachus* waited for the coming of *Seleucus*, keeping himself the whilst from necessity of fighting. But *Babylon* was far off, and *Seleucus's* preparations were too great to be soon in readiness. The winter also did hinder his journey, which enforced them on both sides to rest in some quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the quarrel in open field, held all those nations in a great suspense, and bred much expectation. Yet might all have come to nothing, had not *Antigonus* been so froward, that he refused to yield unto any peaceable conditions. At length *Seleucus* drew near with a mighty army of his own (for he had gathered strength in that long time of leisure which *Antigonus* had given him) and with great aid from *Ptolemy*, that was joined with his forces.

To help in this needful case, *Demetrius* was called over into *Asia* by his father's letters, which he readily obeyed. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he made peace with *Cassander* upon reasonable terms, to the end he might not be driven to leave any part of his army for defence of the country; and that his journey might be without any such blemish of reputation, as if he had abandoned his dependants: for one article of the peace was, that all the cities of *Greece* should be at liberty. *Cassander* was glad to be so rid of an enemy, that was too strong for him. Yet would this league have done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwise than they did in *Asia*; seeing the ratification thereof was referred unto *Antigonus*. It sufficed, that for the present every one found means to clear himself of all incumbrances elsewhere, to the end that each of them might freely apply himself to the trial of the main controversy in *Asia*.

How Antigonus was slain in a great battle at Iphus, near unto Ephesus; wherein his whole estate was lost.

SELEUCUS, with his son *Antiochus*, joining with *Lyfimachus*, compounded a great army, which was (all considered) not inferior to that of the enemy. In greatness of name (that helpeth much in all wars, but especially in the civil) they were rather unanswerable, than unequal to their adversaries; for *Antigonus* had of long time kept them under with a mastering spirit, and had been reputed a king indeed, when the rest were held but usurpers of the title. Likewise *Demetrius* was generally acknowledged a brave commander, having given proof of his worth in many great services of all kinds, and enriched the art of war with many inventions, which even his enemies, and particularly *Lyfimachus*, did much admire. *Seleucus*, who had sometimes flattered *Antigonus*, and fearfully stolen away from him to save his life, with young *Antiochus*, a prince not heard of before this journey, and *Lyfimachus*, that had lived long in a corner, hardly keeping his own from the wild *Thracians*, wanted much in reputation, of that which was yielded to their opposites; yet so, that as ancient captains under *Philip* and *Alexander*, two of them were held worthy enough to receive any benefit that fortune might give; and the third a prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experience.

The soldiers, on both sides, were for the most part hardy and well exercised; many of them having served under *Alexander*, though of those old companies the long space of two and twenty years had consumed the greatest number. But concerning their affections; the followers of *Seleucus* were easily persuaded, that in this battle they must either get the upper hand, or put in extreme danger all that belonged unto the confederate princes; whereas *Antigonus's* men could discern no other necessity of fighting, than the obstinate quality of their lord, that needs would be master of all. *Antigonus* had about three score and ten thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants. His enemies were six thousand short of him in number of their foot; in horse they had the odds of five hundred; of elephants they had four hundred, and a hundred and twenty armed chariots of war; which helps, though they little had availed the *Persians*, yet were they not to be despised, in the hands of a good captain.

Antigonus himself, either troubled with the unexpected greatness of his enemies forces, or presaging little good like to ensue, grew very pensive, communing much in private with his son, whom he commended to the army as his successor; whereas in former times he had never been so jocund, as towards the hour of battle, nor had been accustomed to make his son, or any other, privy to his counsel, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad luck, either foregoing the fight, or afterwards devised, I hold it needless to recount. *Diana* of *Ephesus* dwelt near to the place of battle, a busy goddess in many great fights, and therefore likely to have been thrust into the fable, if any matter, nearly resembling a miracle, had chanced.

It is easy to believe that these two so gallant armies, containing well near all the strength of *Alexander's* whole empire, performed a notable fight, being led by such worthy commanders, and whom the issue thereof did highly concern. Yet are few of the particulars recorded; an easy loss

in regard of the much variety wherewith every story aboundeth in this kind. The most memorable things in the battel, were these. *Demetrius*, with his best force of horse, charged valiantly upon young *Antiochus*; whom when he had broken, and put to flight, he was so transported with the heat of his good success, that he never gave over his pursuit, but left his father naked, and lost thereby both him and the victory. For when *Seleucus* perceived this advantage, he interposed his elephants between *Demetrius* and the phalanx of *Antigonus*; and with many troops of horse offering to break upon the enemies battel, wheresoever it lay most open, he did so terrify the *Antigonians*, that a great part of them rather chose to revolt from their lord, whilst they were fairly invited, than to sustain the fury of so dangerous an impression. This cowardice, or rather treason of some, discouraged others; and, finally, cast them all into flight, exposing their general to the last end of his destinies. *Antigonus* was then fourscore years old, very fat and unweildy, so that he was unapt for fight, if his high spirit could have entertained any thought thereof. He had about him some of his most trusty followers, and as many others as he could hold together. When one, that perceived a great troop making towards him, told him, *Sir king, yonder company means to charge you*; he answered, *Well may they, for who defends me? but anon Demetrius will relieve us*. Thus expecting, to the very last, that his son should come to the rescue, he received so many darts into his body, as took away his lately ambitious, but then fearful hopes, together with his troublesome life.

His great ability in matter of arms, together with his insatiable desire of empire, have sufficiently appeared in the whole volume of his actions. He was more feared by his enemies, than loved by his friends; as one that could not moderate his fortune, but used insolence towards all alike, as if it had been some virtue nearest representing a kingly majesty. This was the cause that so many of his followers revolted to his enemies; and finally, that a great part of his army forsook him in his last necessity. For those kings and princes that call all the careful endeavours of their vassals, only duty and debt; and are more apt to punish the least offences, than to reward the greatest services, shall find themselves, upon the first change of fortune (seeing it is love only that stays by adversity) not only the most friendless, but even the most contemptible and despised of all others. This *Antigonus* found true in part, while he lived; in part he left it to be verified upon his son.

S E C T. V.

How Demetrius forsaken by the Athenians, after his overthrow, was reconciled to Seleucus and Ptolemy, beginning a new fortune, and shortly entering into quarrels.

FOR *Demetrius*, at his return, from the idle pursuit of young *Antiochus*, finding all quite lost, was glad to save himself, with four thousand horse and five thousand foot, by a speedy retreat unto *Ephesus*; whence he made great haste unto *Athens*, as to the place that for his sake would suffer any extremity. But whilst he was in the midst of his course thither, the *Athenian* ambassadors met him with a decree of the people; which was, that none of the kings should be admitted into their city. These were ambassadors, not *theori*, or consultants with the oracle. It was a shameless ingratitude in the *Athenians*, to reward their benefactor, in his

misery, with such a decree; neither did any part of his calamity more afflict the unfortunate prince, than to see his adversity despised by those whom he had thought his surest friends. Yet he was fain to give good words; for he had left many of his ships in their haven, of which he now stood in great need, and therefore was fain to speak them fair, that sometimes had grossly flattered him: but he shall live to teach them their old language, and speak unto them in another tune. When he had gotten his ships, he sailed to the *Isthmus*, where he found nothing but matter of discomfort. His garrisons were every where broken up, the soldiers having betaken themselves to his enemies pay; so that he was king only of a small army and fleet, without money or means wherewith to sustain him and his followers any long time. All the rest, or the greatest part of his father's large dominion, was now dividing among the conquerors; and those few places, which as yet held for him (having not, perchance, heard the worst of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieve. For, to put himself into the field, on the side of *Asia*, he had no power; and to inclose himself in any town, how strong soever, were but to imprison his fortune, and his hopes, or therein, indeed, to bury himself and his estate. He therefore creeping thorough those bushes, that had fewest briars, fell upon a corner of *Lyfimachus's* kingdom, whereof he gave all the spoil that was gotten to his soldiers; his own losses having been too great, to be repayed again by small prizes.

In the mean while, the confederate princes had wherewithal to busy themselves in the partition of those provinces, of which their late victory had made them lords; wherein *Seleucus* had a notable advantage, by being present, and master of the field. For neither *Ptolemy* nor *Cassander* were at the overthrow given, having only sent certain troops to reinforce the army which *Seleucus* led, who took hold of a part of *Asia* the less, and all *Syria*, being no otherwise divided from his own territory than by the river of *Euphrates*. For there had not any order been taken by the confederates for the division of all those lands, because they did not expect so prosperous an issue of that war, which they made only in their common defence. It was therefore lawful for *Seleucus* to make the best benefit that he could of the victory; at which, nevertheless, others did repine; and though they neither could, nor durst, accuse him of ill dealing for the present; yet, seeing the over-greatness of *Seleucus* brought no less danger to the rest of the new kings, than that of *Antigonus* had done, they consulted upon the same reason of state as before, how to oppose it in time. Neither was *Seleucus* ignorant of what they had determined; for he read it in the law universal of kingdoms and states, needing no other intelligence. Hereupon they forget friendship on all sides, and cure themselves of all unprofitable passion; the hatred of each to other, and their loves, being laid on the one side, against their profits on the other, were found so far too light, as *Seleucus*, who had to day slain *Antigonus*, the father, and driven *Demetrius* the son, out of *Asia*, sought to-morrow, how to match himself with *Stratonica*, *Demetrius's* daughter; and so by *Demetrius*, to serve his turn against *Lyfimachus*.

The story of this *Stratonica*, with whom young *Antiochus*, the son of *Seleucus*, fell so passionately in love, and so distempered, as *Seleucus's* father, to save his son's life, gave her (though she were his wife) unto him; and how his passion was discovered by his pulse, is generally noted by all writers. But neither did this alliance between *Seleucus* and *Demetrius*, between *Ptolemy* and *Lyfimachus*,

chus, between *Demetrius* and *Cassander*, between *Demetrius* and *Ptolemy*, though for the present it brought them again into the rank of kings, otherwise tie any of them to each other, than the marriages between christian kings have done in latter times: namely between the *Austrians*, the *Arragonians*, the *French*, and other princes; neither have the leagues of those elder times been found more faithful, than those of the same later times have been; as in the stories of *Charles VIII.* of *France*, and of *Charles* the emperor, of *Francis I.* and of the kings of *Naples*, dukes of *Milan*, and others, the reader may observe: between whom, from the year of our lord one thousand four hundred ninety and five, when *Charles VIII.* undertook the conquest of *Naples*, to the year one thousand five hundred fifty and eight, when *Henry II.* died, the histories of those times tell us, that all the bonds, either by the bed or by the book, either by weddings or sacramental oaths, had neither faithful purpose nor performance. Yet did *Demetrius* reap this profit, by giving his daughter to his enemy *Seleucus*, that he recovered *Cilicia* from *Plistarchus*, the brother of *Cassander*, who had gotten it as his share in the division of *Antigonus's* possessions: for the intruder was not strong enough to hold it by his proper forces from him, that entered upon it as a lawful heir: neither would *Seleucus* lend him any help, as by the rule of confederacy he should have done against the common enemy. So *Plistarchus*, with very angry complaint, as well against *Seleucus* as *Demetrius*, went unto *Cassander*, whither *Phila*, their sister, followed him shortly, to pacify them both, and keep all quiet, being sent for that purpose by *Demetrius* her husband, that was not strong enough to deal with *Cassander*, and therefore glad to make use of that bond of alliance betwixt them, whereof in his own prosperity he never took notice to the others good. About the same time he took to wife a daughter of *Ptolemy's* (plurality of wives being familiar with these *Macedonians*, that had learned it in their eastern conquests) and so was he by two marriages rather freed from two enemies than strengthened with two friends; for neither of them wished him any good, otherwise than might seem to advance their own ambitious desires.

Seleucus and *Ptolemy* could both of them have been contented better, that *Demetrius*, with help of their countenance, should seek his fortune somewhat farther off, than settle his estate under their noses: Particularly *Seleucus* thought that *Cilicia* lay very fitly for himself, and *Ptolemy* had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the isle of *Cyprus*. Now whether it were so that *Seleucus* would fain have set his new father-in-law upon the neck of *Lyfimachus*, or whether he were indeed greedy of the bargain, he offered to buy of *Demetrius* for ready money, his late purchase of *Cilicia*. Hereunto *Demetrius* would not hearken, but meant to keep as much land as he could, having already found in *Cilicia* twelve thousand talents of his father's treasure, that would serve him to make sport a while. This refusal so displeased *Seleucus*, that in angry terms he demanded the cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon* to be surrendered unto him, which were the only places in *Syria* that had not followed the fortune of the late great battle. Instead of giving them up, *Demetrius* took present order to have them better manned, and spake it stoutly, that were he overcome a thousand times, yet would he not hire *Seleucus* to become his son-in-law. In this quarrel *Seleucus* was generally reprehended as one of a malignant disposition, that would break friend-

ship with his father-in-law for two towns, from whom he had already taken more than well he knew how to govern. But the fire consumed itself in words, which had it fastened upon arms, like it is that the weaker should have found friends, out of envy to the stronger.

S E C T. VI.

How Demetrius won the city of Athens, and prevailed in Greece, but lost in Asia. Of troubles in Macedon following the death of Cassander.

IN the mean while, the *Athenians* not knowing how to use the liberty which *Demetrius* had bestowed on them, were fallen by sedition under the tyranny of *Lachares*. Through which alteration their distempered city was so weakned, that it seemed ill able to keep off the punishment due to their late ingratitude. This advantage hastned him, whom they had once called their *God and Saviour*, to present himself unto them in the habit of a revenging fury. He brought against them all the force that he could well spare from other employments, which were at that time perhaps the more, because his doubtful eastern friends were unwilling to give impediment to any business that might entangle him in *Greece*. His first enterprize in *Athens* had ill success, a great part of his fleet perishing in a tempest, but he soon repaired the loss; and (after some victories in *Peloponnesus*, where he won divers towns that had fallen from him) returning to the enterprize, wasted the country of *Attica*, and cut off all relief from the city both by land and sea.

Athens was not able to feed the great multitude within it any long time; for it stood in a barren soil, and wanted now the command of those islands and places abroad from whence it was wont to be stored with victuals; being also destitute of means to keep such a navy as might bring in supply, or dare to do any thing at sea against that of *Demetrius*. Yet was there some hope of succour from *Ptolemy*, who (trusting thereby to win the love of *Greece*) had laden a hundred and fifty ships with corn, and sent them to relieve the hungry city. But these hundred and fifty were unable to deal with three hundred good fighting ships which *Demetrius* had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therefore hastened away betimes, as having done enough in adventuring to come so near, that they might be deserv'd. This broke the heart of the people, among whom the famine was so extreme, that a father and his son did fight for a dead mouse, which dropped down between them from the house top: Wherefore they sent ambassadors to yield up the town and crave pardon, having so far offended, that out of desperation they made it a capital offence to propose any motion of peace: yet were they fain to abolish this decree, rather because they knew not what else to do than because they hoped to be forgiven.

Demetrius, contented with the honour of the victory, did not only forbear to take away the lives of these unthankful men, which they had submitted unto his mercy, but out of his liberality gave them food, and placed in office amongst them such as were most acceptable to the people. Nevertheless, he was grown wiser than to trust them so far as he had done in times past. And therefore, when (among other flattering acclamations) they bade him take their havens, and dispose of them at his pleasure; he was ready to lay hold upon the word, and leave a sure garrison within their walls to keep them honest perforce. After this he went into *Peloponnesus*, vanquished the *Lacedemonians* in two battels,

battels, and was in very fair possibility to take their city; when the dangerous news called him in all haste, of *Lyfimachus* and *Ptolemy*, that prevailed faster upon him elsewhere than himself did upon his enemies in *Greece*. *Lyfimachus* had won many towns in *Asia*; *Ptolemy* had gotten all the isle of *Cyprus* except the city of *Salamis*, wherein *Demetrius* had left his children and mother, that were straitly besieged. Whilst he was bethinking himself which way to turn his face, a notable piece of business offered itself, which thrust all other cares out of his head.

Cassander was lately dead in *Macedon*, and soon after him *Philip* his eldest son, whose two younger brethren, *Antipater* and *Alexander*, fought for the kingdom. In this quarrel, *Thessalonica*, the daughter of king *Philip*, whom *Cassander* had married, seemed better affected to *Alexander* than to her elder son; who thereupon grew so enraged, that most barbarously he slew his own mother. The odiousness of this fact gave a fair lustre to *Alexander's* cause, drawing the generality of the *Macedons* to take his part, as in revenge of the queen's death, upon that wicked parricide *Antipater*. But *Antipater* was so strongly backed by *Lyfimachus*, whose daughter he had married, that *Alexander* could not hope to make his party good without some foreign aid. For which cause he called in both *Pyrrhus* and *Demetrius*, who how they dealt with him it will soon appear in the following tragedy of him and his brother. Their father *Cassander* had been one that shifted well for himself, at such time as every man sought how to get somewhat, in the ill ordered division of the empire. He was cunning in practice, and a good soldier; one of more open dealing than were his companions, but withal more impudent, rudely killing those whom others would more wisely have made away. He deeply hated the memory of *Alexander*, that had knocked his head against a wall, upon some opinion of contempt. With *Olympias* he had an hereditary quarrel, derived from his father, whom she could not abide. Her feminine malice did so exasperate him by cruelty, that she used against his friends both alive and dead, as it made him adventure upon shedding the royal blood; wherewith when once he had stained his hands, he did not care how far he proceeded in that course of murder. His carefulness to destroy those women and children, whose lives hindered his purpose, argues him to have been rather skilful in matters of arms than a valiant man: such cruelty being a true mark of cowardice, which fears afar off the dangers that may quietly pass away, and seeks to avoid them by base and wicked means, as never thinking itself safe enough until there be nothing left that carries likelihood of danger. Of *Olympias* and *Roxana* it may be said, that they had well deserved the bloody end which overtook them, yet ill befitted it *Cassander* to do the office of a hangman. But *Alexander's* children had by no law of men deserved to die for the tyranny of their father. Wherefore, though *Cassander* died in his bed, yet the divine justice brought swords upon his wife and children, that well revenged the cruelty of this bloody man, by destroying his whole house, as he had done his master's.

S E C T. VII.

Of *Pyrrhus* and his doings in *Macedon*. The death of *Cassander's* children. *Demetrius* gets the kingdom of *Macedon*; prevails in war against the Greeks; loses reputation in his war against *Pyrrhus*, and in his civil government, and pre-

pares to win *Asia*. How all conspire against *Demetrius*. *Pyrrhus* and *Lyfimachus* invade him; his army yields to *Pyrrhus*, who shares the kingdom of *Macedon* with *Lyfimachus*.

Pyrrhus, the son of that unfortunate prince *Æacides*, which perished in war against *Cassander*, was hardly preserved, being a suckling infant, from the fury of his father's enemies. When his fosterers had conveyed him to *Glaucias*, king of *Illyria*, the deadly hatred of *Cassander* would have bought his life with the price of two hundred talents; but no man can kill him that shall be his heir. *Glaucias* was so far from betraying *Pyrrhus*, that he restored him by force to his father's kingdom, when he was but twelve years of age. Within the compass of six years, either the indiscretions of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his subjects, drove him out of his kingdom, and left him to try the world anew. Then went he to *Demetrius*, (who married his sister) became his page, followed him awhile in his wars, was with him in the great battel of *Ipsus*, whence he fled with him to *Ephesus*, and was content to be hostage for him, in his reconciliation with *Ptolemy*. In *Egypt* he so behaved himself, that he got the favour of *Berenice*, *Ptolemy's* principal wife, so that he married her daughter, and was thereupon sent home with men and money into *Epirus*, more beholden now to *Ptolemy* than to *Demetrius*. When he had fully recovered the kingdom of *Epirus*, and was settled in it, then fell out that business between the children of *Cassander*, which drew both him and *Demetrius* into *Macedon*.

Antipater, the elder of *Cassander's* sons, was so far too weak for *Pyrrhus*, that he had no desire to attend the coming of *Demetrius*, but made an hasty agreement, and divided the kingdom with his younger brother *Alexander*; who likewise felt the aid of *Pyrrhus* so troublesome, that he was more willing to send him away, than to call in such another helper. For *Pyrrhus* had the audacity to request, or take as granted, by strong hand, *Ambracia*, *Acarmania*, and much more of the country, as the reward of his pains; leaving the two brethren to agree as well as they could about the rest. Necessity enforced the brethren to composition; but their composition would not satisfy *Demetrius*, who took the matter heinously, that he was sent for, and made a fool, to come so far with an army, and find no work for it. This was a frivolous complaint; whereby it appeared, that *Demetrius* had a purpose to do as *Pyrrhus* had done, and so much more, by how much he was stronger. Hereupon it seemed to *Alexander* a wise course, to remove this over-diligent friend, by murdering him upon some advantage. Thus *Demetrius* reported the story, and it might be true; tho' the greatest part, and perhaps the wisest, believed it not. But the issue was, that *Alexander* himself was feasted and slain by *Demetrius*, who took his part of the kingdom as a reward of the murder; excusing the fact so well, by telling his own danger, and what a naughty man *Cassander* had been, that all the *Macedonians* grew glad enough to acknowledge him their king. It fell out happily, that about the same time *Lyfimachus* was busied in war with a king of the wild *Thracians*; for thereby he was compelled to seek peace of *Demetrius*, which to obtain, he caused the remainder of *Macedon* to be given up; that is, the part belonging to *Antipater* his son-in-law. At this ill bargain *Antipater* grievously stormed, though he knew not how to amend it; yet still he stormed, until his father-in-law, to save the labour of making

king many excuses, took away his troublesome life. Thus in haste, with a kind of neglect, and as it were to avoid molestation, were slain the children of *Cassander*; of *Cassander* that had slain his own master's children in a wise course of policy, with careful meditation (so much the more wicked as the more long) studying how to erect his own house, that fell down upon his grave, ere the earth on it was thoroughly settled.

It might be thought, that such an access of dominion added much to the greatness of *Demetrius*; but indeed it shewed his infirmity, and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no art of civil government, but thought (or shewed by his actions that he thought) the use and fruit of a kingdom to be none other than to do what a king listed. He gave himself over to women and wine, laughing openly at those that offered to trouble him with supplications, and the tedious discourse of doing justice. He had more skill in getting a kingdom than in ruling it; war being his recreation, and luxury his nature. By long rest (as six years reign is long to him, that knows not how to reign one year) he discovered so much of his worst conditions, as made both the people weary of his idleness, and the soldiers of his vanity. He was freed from care of matters in *Asia*, by hearing that all was lost, though more especially, by hearing that *Ptolemy* had with great honour entertained and dismissed his mother and children. This afforded him the better leisure of making war in *Greece*, where he vanquished the *Thebans*, and won their city twice in short space, but used his victory with mercy. Against *Lyfimachus* he would fain have done somewhat (the peace between them notwithstanding) at such time as he was taken by the *Thracians*; but *Lyfimachus* was freely dismissed, and in good case to make resistance ere *Demetrius* came, so as this journey purchased nothing but enmity. Another expedition he took in hand against *Pyrrhus*, with no better, or rather with worse event. *Pyrrhus* held somewhat belonging to *Macedon*, which he had indeed as honestly gotten as *Demetrius* the whole kingdom; he had also made excursions into *Thessaly*. But there needed not any handsome pretence of quarrel, seeing *Demetrius* thought himself strong enough to over-run his enemies country with two great armies. It is a common fault in men, to despise the virtue of those whom they have known raw novices in that faculty, wherein themselves are noted as extraordinary. *Pyrrhus* was a captain, whom later ages, and particularly the great *Hannibal*, placed higher in the rank of generals, than either *Demetrius*, or any of *Alexander's* followers. At this time he missed that part of the army which *Demetrius* led, and fell upon the other half, which he overthrew, not with more commendations of his good conduct, than of his private valour, shewed in single combat against *Pantauclus*, *Demetrius's* lieutenant; who being a strong man of body, challenged this young prince to fight hand to hand, and was utterly beaten. The loss of this battel did not so much offend the *Macedonians*, as the gallant behaviour of *Pyrrhus* delighted them. For in him they seemed to behold the lively figure of *Alexander* in his best quality. Other kings did imitate, in a counterfeit manner, some of *Alexander's* graces, and had good skill in wearing princely vestures; but (said they) none, save *Pyrrhus*, is like him in deed, in performing the office of a captain.

These rumours were not more nourished by the virtue of the *Epirot*, than by dislike of their own king, whom they began to disesteem, not so much

in regard of his unprofitable journey into *Epirus* (for he had wasted much of the country, and brought home his army in good case) as of his insolence, that grew daily more and more intolerable. His apparel seemed, in the eyes of the *Macedons*, not only too sumptuous and new-fangled, but very unmanly, and serving chiefly to be a daily witness how much he contemned them and their good opinion. Of his soldiers lives he was retchless, and suffered unwisely this unprincely sentence to escape out of his mouth; that *the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay*. He made a mockery of justice; and (as it were to publish unto all his subjects, how little he esteemed it or them) having by a shew of popularity invited petitioners, and with a gracious countenance entertained their supplications, he led the poor suitors after him in great hope, till coming to a bridge, he threw all their writings into the river, pleasing himself in that he could so easily and so boldly delude the cares of other men. By these courses he grew so odious, that *Pyrrhus* gathered audacity, and invading *Macedon*, had almost won it all with little resistance. *Demetrius* lay then sick in his bed, who recovering health, and taking the field, had such great odds of strength, as made *Pyrrhus* glad to forsake his winnings and be gone.

At length he began to have some feeling of the general hate, which to redress he did not (for he could not) alter his own conditions; but purposed to alter their idle discourses of him, by setting them on work in such an action, wherein his best qualities might appear, that is, in a great war. His intent was to invade *Asia* with a royal army, wherein the fortune of one battel might give him as much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end, he first made peace with *Pyrrhus*, that so he might leave all safe and quiet at home. Then did he compose a mighty army, of almost a hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, with a navy of five hundred sail, wherein were many ships, far exceeding the greatness of any that had been seen before, yet so swift and useful withal, that the greatness was least part of their commendation.

The terrible fame of these preparations made *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy* suspect their own forces, and labour hard with *Lyfimachus* and *Pyrrhus*, to join against this ambitious son of *Antigonus*, that was like to prove more dangerous to them all than ever was his father. It was easily discerned, that if *Demetrius* once prevailed in *Asia*, there could be no security for his friends in *Europe*, what league soever were of old concluded. Therefore they resolved to begin with him betimes, and each to invade that quarter of *Macedon* that lay next his own kingdom. *Lyfimachus* came first, and against him went *Demetrius* with a great part of his army; but whilst he was yet on the way, news were brought into his camp that *Pyrrhus* had won *Berrhaea*. The matter was not over-great, were it not, that minds prepared with long discontent, are ready to lay hold upon small occasions of dislike. All the camp was in uproar; some wept, others raged, few or none did forbear to utter seditious words, and many desired leave of *Demetrius* to go to their own houses, meaning indeed to have gone to *Lyfimachus*.

When *Demetrius* perceived the bad affliction of his army, he thought it the wisest way to lead the *Macedonians* further off from *Lyfimachus*, their own countryman, against *Pyrrhus*, that was a stranger, hoping by victory against the *Epirot*, to recover the love of his followers, in such sort, that he might afterwards at leisure deal with the other.

But herein his wisdom beguiled him, for the soldiers were as hasty as he to meet with *Pyrrhus*; not intending to hurt him, but longing to see that noble prince, of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some spake of his valour, some enquired, others answered, of his person, his armour, and other tokens whereby he might be known; as particularly, by a pair of goat's horns that he wore on his crest. It was not likely that these men should hurt him. Divers of them stole away and ran over into *Pyrrhus's* camp; where the news that they brought were better welcome than their persons. For they said, and it was true, that if the *Macedonians* might once get sight of *Pyrrhus*, they would all salute him king. To try this, *Pyrrhus* rode forth, and presented himself bare-headed in view of the camp, whither some were sent before to prepare his welcome. The news of his arrival found a general applause, and every one began to look out, with desire to set eye on him. His face was not so well known as his helmet, therefore he was admonished to put it on, which done, all came about him and proffered their service; neither were there any that spake for *Demetrius*, only some (and they the most moderate of tongue) bade him begone betimes and shift for himself. So *Demetrius* threw aside his maskers habit, and attiring himself poorly, did fearfully steal away out of his own camp, deserving well this calamity, whether it were so that he would not hearken to the good counsel of his friends, or whether his behaviour deprived him of such friends as would dare to let him hear the unpleasant sound of necessary truth.

Whilst *Pyrrhus* was making this triumphant entry into the kingdom of *Macedon*, *Lyfimachus* came upon him very unseasonably, and would needs have half, saying, that he had done as much as *Pyrrhus* in the war, and therefore had reason to challenge his part of the gains. The bargain was quickly made, and the division agreed upon, each of them being rather desirous to take his part quietly than to fight for the whole, as hoping each of them to work his fellow quite out of all upon better opportunity.

SECT. VIII.

How Demetrius gathering forces, enterprized many things with ill success in Greece and Asia. How he was driven upon Seleucus, and compelled to yield himself. His imprisonment and death.

THE *Athenians* were as unthankful to *Demetrius* in this his adversity, as they had been in former times; for they presently forsook his friendship, and called *Pyrrhus* out of *Macedon* to be their patron. *Demetrius*, when he went against *Lyfimachus*, had left a great part of his forces in *Greece*, under his son *Antigonus*: Therefore it is like that he had soon gotten an army, though *Phila* his wife (who is highly commended for a wife and virtuous lady) did poison herself, upon desperate grief for his misfortune. The first upon whom he attempted to shew his anger were the *Athenians*, that had well deserved it. He began to lay siege to their town, but was pacified by *Crates* the philosopher, whom they had made their spokesman, and taking fair words instead of satisfaction, passed over into *Asia* with eleven thousand soldiers, meaning to try his fortune against *Lyfimachus*, for the provinces of *Lydia* and *Caria*.

At his first coming into those parts, fortune seemed to smile upon him. For many good towns, willingly, or by compulsion, yielded to his obe-

dience. There were also some captains that fell from *Lyfimachus* to him with their companies and treasures. But it was not long, ere *Agathocles*, the son of *Lyfimachus*, came upon him with an army so strong, that it was not for *Demetrius's* good, to hazard his last stock against it. Wherefore, he resolved to pass through *Phrygia* and *Armenia*, into *Media*, and the provinces of the higher *Asia*, trusting to find a kingdom somewhere in those remote quarters. The execution of this counsel was grievously impeached by *Agathocles*, who pursued him close, and cut off all his provisions, driving him to take which ways he could, without following his intended course. In many skirmishes, *Demetrius* vanquished this troublesome enemy: nevertheless, he could not be shaken off, but continued afflicting the poor titular king with extreme famine. At length, in passing the river *Lycus*, so many of *Demetrius's* men were lost, that the rest could no longer make resistance; but were driven to travel with such speed, as might well be called a plain flight: so that with famine, pestilent diseases following famine, and other accidents of war, eight thousand of them were consumed; the rest, with their captain, escaped into *Cilicia*. *Seleucus* had gotten possession of *Cilicia*, whilst *Demetrius* was occupied in *Greece*; yet was it no part of *Demetrius's* errand, to lay claim to the country; but with vehement and humble letters he besought his son-in-law to call to mind their alliance, and to pity him in his great misery. These letters, at the first, wrought well with *Seleucus*, and he condescended to the request; yet considering further how *Demetrius* had carried himself, when he recovered strength after the battle at *Ipsus*, he changed his purpose, and went against him with an army.

Many treaties were held between them, of which none took effect, through the jealousy of *Seleucus*. Therefore, mere desperation entorced *Demetrius* to fight like a mad man; and his fury got him some victories, though of small importance. At length, sickness took and held him forty days, in which time a great number of his few men ran to the enemy. This notwithstanding, he still held out, and once had like to have taken *Seleucus* in his bed, had not his coming been discover'd by fugitives that gave the alarm. Finally, when all his army had forsaken him, and left him, with a few of his friends, to shift for himself; he was compelled, by the last of those adherents (for even some of those few forsook him) to yield unto *Seleucus*.

Seleucus, hearing this, was exceeding glad, and sent him very comfortable messages; but the approbation of his own humanity, by his followers, was such, as renew his jealous thoughts, and hindered him from admitting *Demetrius* to his presence; though otherwise he used him with as much favour, as any prisoner could wish. He was kept under sure guard in a demi-island, wherein were goodly walks, orchards, and parks, for hunting. He had all that he asked royally, and friends allowed to visit him at his, and their pleasure; only his liberty was reserved unto the coming of young *Antiochus* and *Stratonica*, out of the high countries. In this sort he spent three years, living merrily all the while (as one that now enjoyed the happiness, which, with so much travel and blood-shed, he had sought in vain) and then died, leaving to his son *Antigonus*, the same which his father had left unto himself; that is, friends and hope. His ashes were honourably buried in *Corinth*; his qualities have appeared in his actions; and the fortune of his house will shew it self herereafter, in times and places convenient.

S E C T. IX.

The death of Ptolemy, of Lyfimachus, and of Seleucus, that was last of Alexander's captains : with other occurrences.

ABOUT the same time that *Demetrius* died, did also *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* ; a virtuous prince, warlike, gentle, bountiful, and (which in those times was a rare commendation) regardful of his word. He had, by many wives and concubines, many children ; out of whom he selected *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and caused him to reign, together with himself, two or three years before he died, that so he might confirm him in the inheritance of the kingdom. At this, *Ptolemy Ceraunus* (for all of that house assumed the name of *Ptolemy*) was grievously incensed ; but no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to *Seleucus*, who gave him loving entertainment. There were now only two of *Alexander's* captains left, *Seleucus* and *Lyfimachus*. These two needs would fight for it, who should be the longest liver of that brave company. The true ground of their quarrel was, their near equality of strength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was, the murders which *Lyfimachus* had committed upon many of his nobles, together with his poisoning *Agathocles*, his eldest son, whose wife and children fled unto *Seleucus* for aid.

The *Macedons*, after seven months pause, having spent their first heat of admiration, began to hearken so well to *Lyfimachus*, their natural countryman, that they forsook *Pyrrhus* upon none other ground, than because he was an alien. This they had known well enough before ; but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, what they lightly gave him. *Lyfimachus* had reigned about five

years alone, when the city of *Lyfimachia* (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earthquake, appeared, by events, to have fore-shewed the fall of his house. His own jealousy, and the instigation of a mother-in-law, caused him to poison his son *Agathocles*, which drew upon him that war, wherein (after the loss of all his fifteen children, that were taken away by divers accidents) he perished himself.

Seleucus was encountered by *Lyfimachus* on *Asia* side, where one battel concluded the war with *Lyfimachus's* death. It pleased *Seleucus* more than the victory, that he was the last of all the great heroes which had followed *Alexander* ; for now he seemed to himself, as lord and heir of all the conquered world. So he passed over into *Macedon*, to take possession of *Europe*, where there was none to withstand him. But there he ended his days, and within seven months followed *Lyfimachus*, and others of his fellows, by a bloody death ; being treacherously slain by *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, whole friend and patron he had been. Seventy-seven years old he was, when he fought with *Lyfimachus*, and *Lyfimachus* was seventy-four. With them ended the generation of old captains, that had seen the days, as it were, of another world under the *Persian* ; yet was there left one equal to any of them in the art of war, even *Pyrrhus*, the *Epirot*, of whom we spake before, that is now ready to enter into a war with the *Romans*, a more warlike people than *Alexander* himself did ever encounter. Of which war, and of which people, it is needful that we here make mention, as of a story more important, than any likely to ensue in *Greece*, or in the great kingdoms that were held by *Alexander's* successors, with less (and still decreasing) virtue, than was that by which they were first purchased.

C H A P. VII.

The growth of Rome, and settling of the eastern kingdoms.

S E C T. I.

How the Romans enlarged their dominion in Italy, from the death of Tullus Hostilius, unto such time as they were assailed by Pyrrhus.

HOW *Rome* was founded by *Romulus*, settled in good order by *Numa Pompilius* ; and by many, though small victories, it gathered strength, until such time as it became the head of *Latium*, by the conquest of *Alba*, in the reign of *Tullus Hostilius*, it hath been already noted in due order of time. But whereas now the *Roman* greatness beginneth to encounter the power of *Greece*, and, extending it self out of *Italy*, to overwhelm the dominions of other states and princes ; I hold it convenient (as in like cases I have done) briefly to set down the growth of this mighty city, in a compendious relation of those many actions, which could not have been delivered in the ages wherein they were severally performed, without much interruption of the history, that was then occupied in matter more important.

After the death of *Tullus Hostilius* (who, when he had reigned two and thirty years, was burnt together with his house by lightning) *Ancus Martius*, grand-child to *Numa Pompilius*, by his daughter,

and not much unlike him in disposition, succeeded in the kingdom of *Rome*. He walled the city about, enlarged it with the hill *Aventine*, which he inclosed ; built a bridge over *Tybris*, and the city of *Ostia*, upon the sea, sixteen miles distant from *Rome*. Finally, having reigned twenty-four years, he died ; and by his last will, he left his children in charge with one *Lucumon*, the son of *Damaratus* a *Corinthian*, who, avoiding *Cypselus* king of *Corinth's* tyranny, had fled into *Uetruria*, and dwelt in *Tarquinius*, by the name of which town he was afterwards called *Tarquinius*. From that city in *Uetruria* coming to *Rome*, and encouraged by some ominous occurrences, together with his wife *Tanaquil's* prophecy, he grew a favourite of *Ancus Martius*, by his *Grecian* wit, humouring the factions of the *Roman* court ; inasmuch, that after his decease he became not only protector to the children, but governor to the city. He doubled the number of senators, and enlarged the centurions of horse-men ; neither was he less eminent in war than in peace ; for he prevailed often against the *Tuscan*s, and from his victories, the chiefest ornaments of triumph took their original. When this *Lucius Tarquinius* had reigned eight and thirty years, he was slain by the sons of *Ancus Martius*, to whom he had been left guardian.

But

But *Tanaquil* his wife, perceiving what was done, informed the people from out of an high turret, that her husband was wounded, and sick, but not dangerously: and withal signified unto them, that in the *interim* of his sickness, one *Servius Tullius*, whom from his birth she always prophesied to be born to great hopes (the son of *P. Corniculani* and *Ocrisia*, a well descended, but captive woman) brought up in her house, and husband unto her daughter, should supply her husband's place, in governing the state until his recovery: which government, being thus at first obtained by cunning, he afterwards usurped as his right. He first ordained ratements, subsidies, and valuations of the people's wealth; among whom, at that time, four-score thousand were mustered, of which number consisted their whole corporation; and by distinction of dignities, ages, trades, and offices, he managed the kingdom in as good sort, as if it had been a private household. At length, having two daughters of different natures, the one mild and gentle, the other fierce and outrageous: and finding also, that the two sons of *Tarquinius Priscus*, *Sextus* and *Aruns*, which had been committed to his tuition, were of different dispositions, proportionably answering to his daughters; he (willing to add water, not oyl, to fire) gave the mild daughter to *Sextus*, the hot-headed son; and the violent, to *Aruns*, the gentle, in marriage. But whether by intended courses, or by accident, it happened; the two mild ones being made away, the furious natures were readily joined in marriage: who soon after concurring, and calling the senate together, began to lay claim to the kingdom. Upon this tumult, *Servius Tullius* hastening to the senate (where he thought by authority to have bridled insolency) was thrown down the stairs, and going home sore bruised, was slain by the way, when he had reigned forty and four years. Then *Tullia* his daughter, first proclaiming her husband *Tarquinius Superbus* king, returning home, enforced her coach-man to drive his chariot over her father's corps; whereupon the street had the denomination of *wicked-street*. This *Tarquin*, exercising cruelty without justice, and tyranny without mercy, upon the people and senators; having tired himself and them at home, used the same rage and treachery upon his borders. He took *Ocrinum*, *Succa*, *Pometia*, and the *Gabii*. The issue of besieging *Ardea*, a town eighteen miles distant from *Rome*, was of bad success. In the heat of which war, his son *Sextus Tarquinius* violently ravished that chaste lady *Lucretia*, his kinsman *Collatine's* wife: who, in way of expiation for so unchaste a deed, thought good to wash out those spots of infamy with her own blood; so (having first bequeathed the revenge unto her father *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, her husband *Collatine*, and *Junius Brutus*) she killed herself: whereupon (chiefly by *Junius Brutus's* resolution) *Tarquinius Superbus*, with his wife and children, was deposed and banished; and fled to *Porfenna* king of *Hebruria* for succour, in the five and twentieth year of his reign, and the two hundred forty and fourth from the building of their city; in which space *Rome* had scarce gotten full possession of fifteen miles round about her.

Junius Brutus, by the help of *Collatine*, having expelled *Tarquin*, and freed his country from that heavy yolk of bondage, enforced the people, by solemn oath, never to admit any government by kings amongst them: whereupon they ransacked their kings goods, consecrated their fields to *Mars*, and conferred the government of the state upon *Brutus* and *Collatine*. But because the name of

king was odious in their ears, they changed the manner of their government, from perpetual to annual, and from a single governor to a double; lest perpetual or sole dominion might be some motive to usurpation: and instead of kings they called them *Consuls*, signifying, as it may be interpreted, *Providers*; that their titles might remember them of their place, which was to be always mindful of their citizens welfare. And yet was it so hard settling of troubled waters, that the people, after this innovation of state, scarce daring to assure themselves of their own security, enforced *Tarquinius Collatine* to resign up his authority, fearing that tyranny would be hereditary, and supposing that the very name and affinity with the house of *Tarquin*, favoured already of their condition. In his room was substituted *Valerius Publicola*, who, that he might (as his name importeth) be gracious in the people's eyes, gave liberty, in matters of controversy, to appeal from the consuls to the people: and that he might, as well in goods as in person, avoid occasion of suspicion, caused his own house to be pulled down, because it was built in a place defensible, as if it had been a citadel. Neither was *Brutus* any ways deficient in matter of greater moment, which concerned as well the people's safety, as their favour: for having got intelligence, that some greener wits, and in the first rank his own sons, were itching after innovations, hoping to restore the banished kings; he caused them, publicly in the market-place to be whipt, and then to be brought all impartially to the block.

Hitherto the *Romans*, having by the unblemished integrity of *Brutus*, well appeased all inbred quarrels at home, now hereafter employ their military designments against foreigners; first, for their liberty; secondly, for enlarging their possessions; and lastly, for defending their confederate provinces, and extending their empire. For *Rome*, situated as it were in the mid-way between *Latium* and the *Tuscan*s, having as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minority, could not but give occasion of offence to her neighbours; until by main opposition, having prevailed against her borderers, she used them as instruments, whereby to obtain the rest.

Their first war, in the first year of *Consuls*, was against *Porfenna* king of *Hebruria*; who being overpersuaded by *Tarquin's* lamentation, came to *Rome*, together with the banished king, and with great forces, to seat him again in his kingdom.

In the first conflict, *Horatius Cocles*, having long time borne the main brunt of his enemies, on the bridge over *Tybris*; at length, feeling himself too faint to stand against so many, caused the bridge behind him to be broken down, and, with his armour, leaping into the river like a hunted stag, refreshed his hot spirits, and returned safe to his fellows, with the like resolution to sustain a new charge. *Porfenna*, although by this he had well-nigh won the hill *Janiculus*, which is the very entrance into the city, and found the victory, in a manner, assuredly his own; yet admiring their valour, and terrified by the constant resolution of *Mutius Scævola* (who having by error slain *Porfenna's* his secretary, instead of the king himself, did, in scorn of torments threatened, burn off his own hand) he thought it not a whit prejudicial, either to his safety, or credit, to enter league with them at the worst hand. And yet the edge of *Tarquinius's* spleen was not quite abated, though *Aruns* his son, and *Brutus* his enemy, in single combat, had slain each other. And here the *Romans*, although they lost *Brutus*, got the field; and their ladies, whose champion

champion he was, for their chastity, not for beauty, mourned the loss of him one whole year. In to his place, for the residue of his year, was subrogated *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, father to *Lucretia*: and in his room (deceasing naturally before the year expired) *Horatius Pulvillus*.

Tarquine, upon his overthrow, feeling the fates disastrous, thought it no boot to strive against the stream; and spent the residue of his time, which was about fourteen years, privately at *Tusculum*. Yet his son-in-law, *Mamilius Tusculanus*, stomach- ing afresh at those old repulses, because *Porfenna* had made peace with the *Romans*, and denied further succour unto the *Tarquines*, mustered up his *Latins*, and gave battle to the *Romans* at the lake *Regillum*; where the conflict was fierce, and the issue uncertain, until *Aulus Posthumus*, the *Roman Dictator* (for they had created this magistracy greater than *Consuls*, purposely for this war, when first it was expected) to exasperate his soldiers courage, threw their own ensigns amidst the enemies; and *Cossus*, or *Spurius Cassius* (master of the horse- men, an assistant officer to the *Dictator*) command- ed to take off their bridles, that they might run with free violence, to recover again their ensigns. This fight was so well performed, that a report went current, of *Castor* and *Pollux*, two Gods, who came on milk-white steeds, to be eye-witnesses of their valour, and fellow-helpers of their victory; for the general consecrated a temple to them, as a stipend for their pains. After this, the *Romans* fierce spirits, having no object of valour abroad, reflected upon themselves at home; and the six- teenth year after the kings expulsion, upon instiga- tion of some desperate bankrupts, thinking them- selves wrongfully oppressed by the senate and con- suls, they made an uproar in the holy mount; un- til by *Mevenius Agrippa*, his discreet allusion, of the inconvenience in the head and bellies discord, to that present occasion, they were reconciled to the senate: with condition, that they might have some new magistrates created, to whom they might appeal in cases of variance, and make them sollici- tors in all their controversies, the consuls authority notwithstanding. This was enacted; and they were called the tribunes of the people. After this at- tonement amongst themselves, they had continual war, with the *Latines*, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other neighbouring states. A- mongst these the *Volsci* and *Aequi* held them longest; who made war, of themselves, upon the *Romans*; whereby they lost the best city in their whole ju- risdiction, *Corioli*.

In this conquest, *T. Martius* got the surname of *Coriolanus*: a name honourable then, as derived from a great victory; although by reason of the poverty of the town, a *Roman* general, in after times, would have been ashamed of that title. But yet these graces had been no occasion of dis- paragement, had he not afterwards, in a great of dearth, advised to sell corn, which they pro- cured from *Sicily*, at too high a rate, to the people: whereupon, *Decius Mus*, their tribune, in their behalf, accused him, and after judgment, banished him. *Coriolanus* flying to the *Volsci*, whom lately before he had vanquished, incensed them to renew their forces again, which being committed unto him, and to *Attius Tullus*, he prevailed in field so far forth, that he was come within four or five miles of the city. Encamping there, he made so sharp war, and was at such defiance with his country, that he would not relent, by any supplication of ambassadors, until his mother *Veturia*, and *Volumnia* his wife, with a piteous tune of deprecation,

shewing themselves better subjects to their country, than friends to their son and husband, were more available to *Rome*, than was any force of Arms. Hereupon *Coriolanus* dismissing his army, was after put to death among the *Volsci*, as a Traytor, for neglecting such opportunity: or (as others surmise) living with them until old age, he died naturally.

Not long after this, the *Veii* in *Uetruria* pro- voked the *Romans*; against whom the *Fabii*, three hundred and six in number, all of one family, en- treated and obtained, that they only might be em- ployed, as it had been in a private quarrel. These *Fabii*, after some good services, lying encamped at *Cremera*, were circumvented, and all slain; one only of that whole house, had been left, by reason of infancy, at home; from whom afterward sprang *Fabius Maximus*, who vanquished *Hannibal*.

In process of time, the *Romans* were also troubled with the *Volsci*, at the hill of *Algidum*, two miles from *Rome*; where *Lucius Minucius* their consul, with his whole army, had been discomfited, had not *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, chosen *Dictator*, and taken from the plough to the highest honour in *Rome*, which success answerable to his expedition, dispersed his enemies, and freed his country in the space of six- teen days. In the continuance of this *Volcian* war it was, that *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten men, whom they had two years before chosen governours of the state, and enactors of *Solon's* Laws amongst them, procured from *Athens* (abrogating in the mean while the consuls, and all other magistrates) would have ravished *Virginia*, the daughter of *T. Virgini- us*, captain of a company, and lying then in camp at *Algidum*. Hereupon the people, in an uproar, took the hill *Aventine*, and after much variance, enforced the ten men to resign up their authority again to new consuls.

After this, either new quarrels, or desire to re- venge old losses, drew the *Romans* into a new war against the *Veientes*, and their adherents, upon whom having tried their forces, with diversity of captains, and variety of event, they vanquished the *Falisci*, and the *Fidenates*, and utterly subdued the *Veientes*. In conquering the *Falisci*, *Lucius Camillus* shewed no less integrity than fortitude. For when a school-master, by training forth into the *Roman* camp, many children of the principal citi- zens, thought to betray the town, yielding them all up as hostages: *Camillus* delivered this traitor bound unto his scholars, willing them to whip him back into the city; which forth-with yielded unto him in reverence of his justice. The siege of *Veii* was ten years, and so troublesome, that the *Ro- mans* were there first enforced to winter abroad un- der beasts skins (to which they were the more easily induced, because then first they received pay) and to make vows never to return without victory.

At length, winning the city by a mine, they got so large spoils, that they consecrated their tents to *Apollo Pythius*; and the whole people in general, were called to the ransacking of the city. But they were no less unthankful to *Camillus* for his service, than before they had been to *Coriolanus*; for they banish'd him the city, upon some occasion of inequality in dividing the spoils: yet he requited their unkindness with a new piece of service, a- gainst the fury of the *Gauls*; who being a popu- lous country, and very healthful, the fathers (as sometimes now) lived so long, that the sons, desti- tute of means, were enforced to rove abroad, seek- ing some place, where to set up their rest: and withal being a nation vast in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, wandered as rovers over many countries. Some of them lighting on *Italy*,

set upon *Clusium*, a town in *Hetruria*; whereof *Rome* having information (and being careful of her confederate towns) sent ambassadors, warning them to desist from such injurious enterprises. But the barbarous people, not regarding the message, upon some injury offered by the *Roman* ambassadors, converted their forces from *Clusium* towards *Rome*; and giving a great overthrow unto the *Romans*, by the river *Allia*, upon the sixteenth day before the *Calends* of *August* (which day was after branded for unlucky, and called *Alliensis* in the *Roman Calendar*) they hastened towards the city. Then was *Rome* the true map of misery and desolation. For some leaving the city, some creeping into holes, priests hiding their reliques, and every one shifting for himself; ere the enemy came, *Rome* was abandoned, as indefensible. The vestal virgins, in this tumult, were safely conveyed away; the ancients of the city, gathering boldness out of desperate fear, did put on their robes, and taking their leave of the world, did seat themselves in thrones, in their several houses, hourly expecting the messengers of death, and meaning to die, as they had lived, in state. The younger sort, with *M. Manlius* their captain, took upon them to make good the capitol.

By this, the *Gauls* were entred the city, who seeing all quiet, at first suspected some ambush; after finding all secure, they fell to the spoil, committing all to the fire and sword. As for the old senators, they sat in their majesty, with a grave resolution: having first revered them as *Gods*, anon they tried whether they would die like *Men*. When the city was thoroughly rifled, they attempted the capitol; which held them work for the space of seven months. Once they were like to have surprized it by night, but being descried by the gaggling of geese, *M. Manlius* did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a composition was agreed upon: the *Gauls* being weary, and the *Romans* hungry. The bargain was, that the *Gauls* should take a thousand pound weight in gold, to desist from their siege. Whilst the gold was in weighing, the *Gauls*, with open insolency, made their weights too heavy: *Brennus*, their captain, casting his sword into the balance, and, with a proud exprobration, saying, that the vanquished must be patient *per* force. But in the midst of this cavilling, came *Furins Camillus* with an army from *Ardea*, (where he had lived in his banishment) and fell upon the *Gauls* with such violence, that he dispersed their troops, quenched the fire of the city with their blood, forcing them to restore the spoils with advantage, and forbear the gold, in accepting which, they had lately been so nice. Further, having rid the city of them, he so hotly pursued them through a great part of *Italy*, that the remainder of their army which escaped from him, was very small. Other armies of the *Gauls*, which followed this first, had the like ill success. They were often beaten by the *Romans*; especially the victories of *M. Torquatus*, and of *M. Valerius Corvinus* (each of which in single fight slew a champion of the *Gauls*) abated their presumption, and restored courage to the *Romans*. *Camillus*, for his notable service, was afterwards accounted a second *Romulus*.

The people, after this destruction of their city, were earnestly bent to go to the *Veii* to inhabit; but *Camillus* dissuaded them.

About the same time, somewhat before the siege of *Veii*, they changed their government from consuls to military tribunes. The government of these also, after some years, was by civil dissention in-

terrupted: so that one while consuls ruled; another while there was an anarchy: then the tribunes were restored and ruled again, till after many years expired, the consular authority was established; it being enacted, that one of the consuls should always be a *Plebeian*. This was after the building of the city, three hundred sixty five years. And now *Rome*, by suppression of her neighbour countries, creeping well forward out of her minority, dares set forth against the warlike *Samnites*, who dwelt almost one hundred and thirty miles off; situated between *Campania* and *Apulia*. These did so strongly invade the *Campanians* their neighbours, that they forced them to yield themselves subjects to *Rome*, and undergo any conditions of tribute, or whatsoever else, to obtain protection: which the *Romans*, although both countries had been their confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fish, should devour the less, easily allowed of; aiming themselves at the good situation of *Campania*, the abundance of corn and wine, pleasant cities and towns, but especially *Capua* it self, the fairest city then in all *Italy*.

The Families of the *Papyrii* and *Fabii* were most employed in the managing of this war, which endured the space of fifty years. And in this season were the *Romans* often-times dangerously encountered by the *Samnites*; as when *T. Veturius*, and *Sp. Posthumius* were consuls; and discomfited by *Pontius* at *Caudium*, with no small ignominy; and when *Q. Fabius Gurges* lost the field with three thousand men. But for these losses, many great victories made large amends: the greatest whereof were gotten by *L. Papyrius*, and by *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

The *Samnites* drew the *Hetrurians* into their quarrel. But the force of the *Samnites* was well broken, ere the *Hetrurians* (the greater and richer, but less warlike nation) began to stir. So the one and the other of these two countries, became at length, tributary to *Rome*.

In the continuance of this long war it was, (though in time of truce between the *Romans* and the *Samnites*) that the *Latins* began to challenge equal freedom in the corporation of *Rome*, and right in bearing office, so that they required to have one of the consuls yearly chosen out of them.

This demand of the *Latins* was not unreasonable. For the *Romans* themselves were a *Latin* colony; besides all which, they made offer, to change their name, and to be all called *Romans*. But the *Romans* were too proud, to admit any such capitulation. So a great battel was fought between them; wherein the fortune of *Rome* prevailed, by the virtue of the consuls.

Manlius Torquatus, and the elder *Decius*, were then consuls, whom the sooth-layers advertised, that the side should be victorious which lost the general in fight. Hereupon, *Decius* the consul, exposed his life to the enemy, and purchased victory (as was believed) by his death. In which kind of devoting himself for his army, the son of this *Decius*, being after consul, did imitate his father, in the *Hetrurian* war. But (as *Tully* well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these *Decii*, that purchased victory, by rushing into the midst of the enemies, wherein their soldiers followed them, than any great commendation of such a religion as required the lives of so worthy citizens to be sacrificed for their country. The discipline of *Manlius* was no less resolute than the valour of *Decius*. He forbade any one to forsake his place, and fight single with an enemy. For breach of which order, he caused his son to be put to death, who had slain

slain a captain of the *Latins*, being challenged in single fight.

When the *Latins*, the *Æqui*, *Volsi*, *Hernici*, *Campani*, *Samnites*, and *Ætrurians*, with some other people, were brought under obedience; it was a vain labour for any people of *Italy*, to contend against the *Romans*.

Yet the *Sabines* adventured to try their fortune; and found it bad; for *Curius Dentatus*, the *Roman* consul, wasting all their country with fire and sword, from the river *Nar* and *Velia*, to the *Adriatick* sea, brought them into quiet subjection.

The last of the *Italians* that made trial of the *Roman* arms, were the *Tarentines*, and their adherents. These had interposed themselves as Mediators between the *Romans* and *Samnites*; with a peremptory denunciation of war unto that party which should dare to refuse the peace by them tendered. These threats, which discovered their bad affection unto *Rome*, ended in words; but when the *Samnites* were utterly subdued, matter enough of quarrel was found to examine their ability of performance.

The *Romans* complained that certain ships of theirs were robbed, and sent ambassadors unto *Tarentum*, to require amends. Upon some wrong done to these ambassadors, was laid the foundation of that war, wherein the *Lucans*, *Messapians*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, joining with the *Tarentines*, procured the *Samnites*, and other subjects of *Rome*, to rebel and take their part. But some experience of the *Roman* strength, taught all these people to know their own weakness. Wherefore, they agreed to send for *Pyrrhus*, by whose aid being a *Grecian*, as the *Tarentines* also were) great hope was conceived, that the dominion of *Rome* should be confined unto more narrow bounds than all *Italy*, which already, in a manner, it did overspread.

SECT. II.

How Pyrrhus warred upon the Romans, and vanquished them in two battels.

PYRRHUS, forsaken by the *Macedonians*, and unable to deal with *Lyfimachus*, was compelled a while to live in rest; which he abhorred no less, than a wiser prince would have desired. He had a strong army, and a good fleet, which in that unsettled estate of things, was enough to purchase a kingdom; but the fall of *Demetrius* had so increased the power of *Lyfimachus*, that it was no point of wisdom to make an offensive war upon him, without far greater forces. *Antigonus*, the son of *Demetrius*, held *Corinth* at the same time, and some other towns, with the remainder of his father's army and treasures, left in his hand. Upon him it is like that *Pyrrhus* might have won; but it was better to let him alone, that he might serve to give some hindrance to *Lyfimachus*.

In this want of employment, and covetous desire of finding it, the *Tarentine* ambassadors came very fitly to *Pyrrhus*; and they came with brave offers, as needing none other aid than his good conduct, which to obtain, they would call themselves under his protection. They had in their company some of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, *Messapians*, and others; which promised, in behalf of their several nations, as much as could be desired. This encouraged *Pyrrhus*, and filled him with hopes of goodly conquests, that he might enlarge his empire to the west, as far as *Alexander* had gotten eastward; and still, by one victory, open the gate unto another. To which effect, it is said, that once he answered *Cyneas*, his

chief counsellor, asking what he meant to do after every of the victories which he hoped to get; that, having won *Rome*, he would soon be master of all *Italy*; that, after *Italy*, he would quickly get the isle of *Sicil*; that out of *Sicil* he would pass over into *Africk*, and win *Carthage*, with all the rest of the country; and being strengthened with the force of all these provinces, he would be too hard for any of those that were now so proud and troublesome. But *Cyneas* enquired yet further what they should do, when they were lords of all; whereunto *Pyrrhus* (finding his drift) answered pleasantly, that they would live merrily; a thing (as *Cyneas* then told him) that they presently might do without any trouble, if he could be contented with his own.

Nevertheless, this *Italian* expedition seemed unto *Pyrrhus* a matter of such consequence, as was not to be omitted, in regard of any scholastical disputation. Wherefore he prepared his army, of almost thirty thousand men, well sorted, and well trained soldiers; part of which he sent over before him unto *Cyneas*, with the rest he followed in person. At his coming, he found the *Tarentines* very prompt of tongue; cut in matter of execution, utterly careless to provide for the war. Wherefore he was fain to shut up their theater, and other places of pleasure and resort; enforcing them to take arms, and making such a strict muster, as was to them very unpleasant, though greatly behoving to their estate.

Whilst he was occupied with these cares, *Levinus* the *Roman* consul drew near, and began to waste *Lucania*, a province confederate with the *Tarentines* in this war.

The *Lucanians* were not ready to defend their own country; the *Samnites* were careless of the harm, that fell not (as yet) upon themselves; the *Tarentines* were better prepared than they would have been, but their valour was little; all of these had been accustomed to shrink, for fear of the *Roman* fortitude; and therefore it fell out happily, that *Pyrrhus* relied more upon his own forces, than the issue of their vaunting promises. He was now driven either to set forward with those that himself had brought into *Italy*, and the assistance of the *Tarentines*, wherein little was to be reposed; or else to weaken the reputation of his own sufficiency, which by all means he was careful to uphold. In good time, a great part of his forces that had been scattered by foul weather at sea, were safely come to him; with which he resolved to assay the valour of the *Romans*, against whom he proudly marched.

Levinus, the consul, was not affrighted with the terrible name of a great king; but came on confidently to meet him, and give him battle ere all his adherents should be ready to join with him. This boldness of the *Roman*, and the slackness of the *Messapians*, *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, and others, whom the danger most concerned, caused *Pyrrhus* to offer a treaty of peace; requiring to have the quarrel between the *Romans* and his *Italian* friends, referred to his arbitrement. Whether he did this to win time, that the *Samnites* and their fellows might arrive at his camp; or whether, considering better at near distance, the weight of the business which he had taken in hand, he were desirous to quit it with his honour; the short answer that was returned to his proposition, gave him no means of either the one or the other; for the *Romans* sent him this word, that *they had neither chosen him their judge, nor feared him their enemy*.

Hereupon both armies hastened their march unto the river of *Siris*; *Levinus* intending to fight before the arrival of the *Samnites*; *Pyrrhus*, to hinder him from passing that river, until his own army

my were full. Upon the first view of the *Roman* camp, it was readily conceived by *Pyrrhus*, that he had not now to do with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a brave discipline of war: which caused him to set a strong *Corps de garde* upon the passage of the river, that he might not be compelled to fight, until he saw his best advantage. But he quickly found that this new enemy was not only skilful in the art of war, but courageous in execution; for the *Roman* army entered the ford in face of his *corps de garde*; and their horse at the same time began to pass the river in sundry places, which caused the *Greeks* to forsake the defence of their bank, and speedily retired unto their camp.

This audacity forced *Pyrrhus* to battle, where-with he thought it best to present them ere their whole army had recovered firm footing, and were in order. So, directing his captains how to marshal his battels, himself with the horse charged upon the *Romans*, who stoutly received him, as men well exercised in sustaining furious impressions. In this fight, neither did his courage transport him beyond the duty of a careful general, nor his providence, in directing others, hinder the manifestation of his personal valour. It behoved him, indeed, to do his best; for he never met with better opposers. Once, and shortly after the fight began, his horse was slain under him; afterwards he changed armour with a friend, but that friend paid his life for the use of his king's armour, which was torn from his back. This accident had almost lost him the battle; but he perceiving it, discovered his face, and thereby restored courage to his men, and took from the *Romans* their vain joy. The fight was obstinate, and with the greater loss (at least of more eminent men) on *Pyrrhus's* side, as long as only spear and sword were used. But when the elephants were brought into the wings, whose unusual form and terrible aspect the horses of the *Romans* (unaccustomed to the like) were not able to sustain, then was the victory quickly gotten; for the *Roman* battles perceiving their horse put to rout, and driven out of the field, finding also themselves both charged in flank, and overborn by the force and huge bulk of those strange beasts, gave way to necessity, and saved themselves as well as they could by hasty flight: in which consternation, they were so forgetful of their discipline, that they carried not to defend their camp, but ran quite beyond it, leaving both it, and the honour of the day, entirely to *Pyrrhus*.

The fame of this victory was soon spread over *Italy*; and the reputation was no less than the fame; for it was a matter very rare to be heard, that a *Roman* consul, with a select army, should lose in plain battle not only the field, but the camp it self, being so notably fortified as they always were. And this honour was the more bravely won by *Pyrrhus*, for that he had with him none of his *Italian* friends, save the unwarlike *Tarentines*. Neither could he well dissemble his content that he took, in having the glory of this action peculiarly his own, at such time as he blamed the *Lucans* and *Samnites* for coming (as we say) a day after the fair. Nevertheless, he wisely considered the strength of the *Romans*, which was such as would better endure many such losses, than he could endure many such victories. Therefore he thought it good to compound with them, whilst with his honour he might; and to that purpose, he sent unto them *Cyneas*, his ambassador, demanding only to have the *Tarentines* permitted to live at rest, and himself accepted as their especial friend. This did *Cyneas*, with all his cunning, and with liberal gifts, labour to effect: but neither

man nor woman could be found in *Rome*, that would take any bribe of him; neither did their desire of recovering their captives, or their danger, by the rising of many states in *Italy* against them, so incline them to peace, as the vehement exhortation of *Appius Claudius*, an old and blind senator, did stir them up to make good their honour by war. So they returned answer, that whilst *Pyrrhus* abode in *Italy*, they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was the report that *Cyneas* made at his return, of the *Roman* puissance and virtue, as kindled in *Pyrrhus* a great desire of confederacy with that gallant city. Hereupon many kind offices passed between them: but still when he urged his motion of peace, the answer was, *He must first depart out of Italy, and then treat of peace.*

In the mean season each part made provision for war; the *Romans* levying a more mighty army than the former; and *Pyrrhus* being strengthened with access unto his forces, of all the east parts of *Italy*. So they came to trial of a second battle, wherein (tho' after long and cruel fight) the boistrous violence of the elephants gave to *Pyrrhus* a second victory. But this was not altogether so joyful as the former had been: rather it gave him cause to say, that such another victory would be his utter undoing. For he had lost the flower of his army in this battle, and tho' he drove the *Romans* into their camp, yet he could not force them out of it, nor saw any likelihood of prevailing against them that were like to be relieved with daily supplies, whilst he should be driven to spend upon his old stock. Neither could he expect that his elephants should always stand him in stead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight, would soon teach the *Romans*, that were apt scholars in such learning, how to make them unserviceable. Wherefore he desired nothing more, than how to carry his honour safe out of *Italy*: which to do (seeing the *Romans* would not help him, by offering or accepting any fair conditions of peace or of truce) he took a slight occasion, presented by fortune, that followeth to be related.

SECT. III.

The great troubles in Macedon and Sicil. How Pyrrhus being invited into Sicil, forsook Italy; won the most of the isle, and lost it in short space. Pyrrhus returns into Italy; where he is beaten by the Romans, and so goes back to his own kingdom.

WHEN *Ptolemy Ceraunus* had traiterously murdered his benefactor and patron *Seleucus*, he presently seized upon all the dominions of *Lyfimachus* in *Europe*, as if they had been the due reward unto him, that had slain the conqueror. The houses of *Cassander* and *Lyfimachus* were then fallen to the ground: neither was there in *Macedon* any man of strength and reputation enough to advance himself against *Ceraunus*. The friends of *Lyfimachus* were rather pleased to have him their king, that had (as he protested) revenged their lord's death, than any way offended with the odiousness of his fact, by which they were freed from subjection, to one, against whom they had stood in opposition. Many there were, that upon remembrance of his father's great virtue, gathered hope of finding the like in *Ceraunus*: persuading themselves that his reign might prove good, tho' his entrance had been wicked. These affections of the *Macedonians* did serve to defeat *Antigonus* the son of *Demetrius*, that made an attempt upon the kingdom.

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As for *Antigonus*, the son of *Seleucus*, he was far off, and might be questioned about some part of *Asia*, ere he should be able to bring an army near unto *Europe*. Yet he made great shew of meaning to revenge his father's death: but being stronger in money than in arms, he was content, after a while, to take fair words, and make peace with the murderer. While these three strove about the kingdom, *Pyrrhus*, who thought his claim as good as any of theirs, made use of their dissension: threatening war, or promising his assistance to every one of them. By these means he strengthened himself, and greatly advanced his *Italian* voyage, which he had then in hand: requesting money of *Antiochus*, ships of *Antigonus*, and soldiers of *Ptolemy*, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and lent him a strong power of *Macedonian* soldiers, and of elephants (covenanting to have them restored at two years end) more for fear than for love: that so he might free himself from trouble, and quietly enjoy his kingdom. Thus *Ptolemy* grew mighty on the sudden; and the power that by wicked means he had gotten, by means as wicked he increased.

All *Macedon* and *Thrace* being his, the strong city of *Cassandria* was held by *Arfinoe* his sister, the widow of *Lyfimachus*, who lay therein with her young children. Her he circumvented by making love to her, and (according to the fashion of those times, wherein princes regarded no degree of consanguinity) taking her to wife, with promise to adopt her children: a promise that he meant not to perform; for it was not long ere he slew them and drove her into exile.

In the pride of this good success which his villany found, vengeance came upon him from afar, by the fury of a nation that he had never heard of. *Belgius* a captain of the *Gauls*, having forced his passage thro' many countries, unto the confines of *Macedon*, sent a proud message to *Ceraunus*, commanding him to buy peace with money, or otherwise to look for all the miseries of war. These *Gauls* were the race of those that issued out of their country, to seek new seats in that expedition, wherein *Brennus* took and burnt the city of *Rome*. They had divided themselves at their setting forth, into two companies; of which the one fell upon *Italy*, the other passing through the countries that lie on the northern side of the *Adriatic* sea, made long abode in *Pannonia*, and the regions adjoining, where they forced all the neighbour princes to redeem peace with tribute, as now they would have compelled *Ceraunus* to do, upon whose borders they came, about an hundred and eight years after such time as their fellows had taken *Rome*.

When their ambassadors came to *Ptolemy*, asking what he would give: his answer was, that he would be contented to give them peace, but it must be with condition, that they should put into his hands their princes as hostages, and yield up their arms, for otherwise he would neither pardon their boldness, nor give any credit to their words. At this answer, when it was returned, the *Gauls* did laugh; saying, that they would soon confute with deeds the vanity of such proud words. It may seem strange, that he, who had given away part of his army unto *Pyrrhus* for very fear, should be so confident in undertaking more mighty enemies. The king of the *Dardanians* offered to lend him twenty thousand men against the *Gauls*, but he scorned the offer; saying, that he had the children of those, who, under the conduct of *Alexander*, had subdued all the east. Thus he issued forth against the barbarous people, with his famous *Macedonians*, as if

the victory must needs have followed the reputation of a great name. But he soon found his great error, when it was too late. For the enemies were not only equal in strength of body and fierceness of courage, but so far superior to the *Macedonians* in numbers, that few or none escaped their fury: *Ptolemy* himself grievously wounded, fell into their hands whilst the battel continued, and they presently struck off his head, which they shewed to his men on the top of a lance, to their utter astonishment.

The report of this great overthrow filled all *Macedon* with such desperation, that the people fled into walled towns, and abandoned the whole country as lost. Only *Sosthenes*, a valiant captain, animating as many as he could, gathered a small army, with which he many times got the upper hand, and hindered *Belgius* from using the victory at his whole pleasure. In regard of this his virtue, the soldiers would have made him king, which title he refused, and was content with the name of a general. But (as mischiefs do seldom come alone) the good success of *Belgius*, drew into *Macedon* *Brennus*, another captain of the *Gauls*, with an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse; against which mighty army, when *Sosthenes* with his weak troops made opposition, he was easily beaten, and the *Macedonians* again compelled to hide themselves within their walls, leaving all their country to the spoil of the *Barbarians*.

Thus were the *Macedonians* destitute of a king, and trodden down by a nation that they had not heard of in less than fifty years after the death of *Alexander*, who sought to discover and subdue unknown countries, as if all *Greece*, and the empire of *Persia* had been too little for a king of *Macedon*.

Very seasonably had these news been carried to *Pyrrhus* in *Italy*, who sought a fair pretext of relinquishing his war with the *Romans*, had not other tiding out of *Sicily* distracted him, and carried him away in pursuit of nearer hopes. For, after the death of *Agathocles*, who reigned over the whole island, the *Carthaginians* sent an army to conquer *Sicily*, out of which, by him, they had been expelled. This army did so fast prevail, that the *Sicilians* had no other hope to avoid slavery, than in submitting themselves to the rule of *Pyrrhus*; whom, being a *Grecian*, and a noble prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, than to live under the well known heavy yoke of *Carthage*. To him therefore the *Syracusans*, *Leontines*, and *Agraguntines*, principal estates of the isle, sent ambassadors, earnestly desiring him to take them into his protection.

It grieved *Pyrrhus* exceedingly, that two such notable occasions, of enlarging his dominions, should fall out so unluckily, both at one time. Yet, whether he thought the business of *Sicily* more important, or more full of likelihood; or whether perhaps he believed (as came after to pass) that his advantage, upon *Macedon*, would not so hastily pass away, but that he might find some occasion to lay hold on it, at better leisure, over into *Sicily* he transported his army, leaving the *Tarentines* to shift for themselves; yet not leaving them free as he found them, but with a garrison in their town, to hold them in subjection.

As his departure out of *Italy*, was rather grounded on headlong passion, than mature advice; so were his actions following, until his return unto *Epirus*, rather many and tumultuous, than well ordered or note-worthy. The army which he carried into that Isle, consisted of thirty thousand

foot, and two thousand five hundred horse : with which, soon after his descent in *Sicily*, he forc'd the *Carthaginians* out of all, in effect, that they held therein. He also won the strong City of *Eryx* ; and having beaten the *Mamertines* in battel, he began to change condition, and turn tyrant. For he drove *Sostratus* (to whom his cruelty was suspected) out of the island, and put *Thenon* of *Syracuse* to death, being jealous of his greatness ; which two persons had faithfully served him, and delivered the great and rich city of *Syracuse* into his hands. After this, his fortunes declined so fast, as he served himself, and salv'd the dis-reputation of his leaving *Sicily*, by an embassy sent him from the *Tarentines*, and *Samnites*, imploring his present help against the *Romans*, who, since his leaving *Italy*, had well near dispossest'd them of all that they had.

Taking this fair occasion, he embarked for *Italy* ; but was first beaten by the *Carthaginian* gallies, in his passage ; and secondly assailed in *Italy* it self, by eighteen hundred *Mamertines*, that attended him in the straits of the country. Lastly, after he had recovered *Tarentum*, he fought a third battel with the *Romans*, led by *M. Curius*, who was victorious over him, and forced him out of *Italy*, into his own *Epirus*.

A prince he was far more valiant than constant, and had he been but a general of an army for some other great king or state, and had been directed to have conquered any one country or kingdom, it is to be thought, that he would have purchased no less honour, than any man of war, either preceding or succeeding him ; for a greater captain, or a valianter man, hath been no where found. But he never staid upon any enterprize ; which was indeed the disease he had, whereof not long after he died in *Argos*.

S E C T. IV.

How Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, delivered Macedon from the Gauls. How Pyrrhus won the kingdom of Macedon from Antigonus.

THE virtue of *Sostrhenes* being too weak, to defend the kingdom of *Macedon* ; and the fortune which had accompanied him against *Belgius*, failing him in his attempts against *Brennus* : the *Macedonians* were no less glad to submit themselves unto the government of *Antigonus*, than they had formerly been desirous to free themselves, from the impotent rule of his father *Demetrius*. His coming into the country, with an army, navy, and treasure, befeeming a king, did rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them with much confidence : for he was driven to use against the *Barbarians*, only those forces which he brought with him, having none other than good wishes of the *Macedons* to take his part. *Brennus*, with the main strength of his army, was gone to spoil the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, having left no more behind him, than he thought necessary to guard the borders of *Macedon*, and *Pannonia* ; which were about fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse. These could not be idle, but thought to get somewhat for themselves, in the absence of their fellows : and therefore sent unto *Antigonus*, offering to sell him peace, if he would pay well for it ; which, by the example of *Ceraunus*, he had learnt (as they thought) not to refuse. *Antigonus* was unwilling to weaken his reputation, by condescending to their proud demands : yet he judged it unfit to exasperate their furious choler, by uncourteous words or usage, as *Ceraunus* had overfondly done. Wherefore he entertained their ambaf-

sadors in very loving and sumptuous manner with a royal feast ; wherein he expos'd to their view such abundance of massy gold and silver, that they were not so much delighted with the meat, as with sight of the vessels wherein it was served. He thought hereby to make them understand how great a prince he was, and how able, if need required, to wage a mighty army.

To which end, he likewise did shew unto them his camp and navy, but especially his elephants. But all this bravery served only to kindle their greedy appetites ; who, seeing his ships heavy loaden, his camp full of wealth and ill fortified, himself (as it seem'd) secure, and his men, both in strength and courage, inferior unto the *Gauls*, thought all time lost, wherein they suffered the present possessors to spend the riches which they accounted assuredly their own. They returned therefore to their companions, with none other news in their mouths, than of spoil and purchase ; which tale carried the *Gauls* headlong to *Antigonus's* camp, where they expected a greater booty, than the victory over *Ceraunus* had given to *Belgius*. Their coming was terrible and sudden ; yet not so sudden, but that *Antigonus* had notice of it, who, distrusting the courage of his own men, dislodged somewhat before their arrival, conveyed himself, with his whole army and carriage, into certain woods adjoining, where he lay close.

The *Gauls*, finding his camp forsaken, were not hasty to pursue him, but fell to ransacking the empty cabbins of the soldiers, in hope of finding all that was either lost or hidden. At length, when they had searched every place in vain, angry at their lost labour, they marched with all speed toward the sea-side, that they might fall upon him, whilst he was busy in getting his men and carriages a-ship-board. But the success was no way answerable to their expectation ; for, being proud of the terror which they had brought upon *Antigonus*, they were so careless of the sea-men, that without all order, they fell to the spoil of what they found on the shore, and in such ships as lay on ground.

Part of the army had left *Antigonus*, where he lay in covert, and had saved it self by getting aboard the fleet ; in which number were some well experienced men of war, who discovering the much advantage offered unto them, by the desperate presumption of their enemies, took courage, and encouraged others, to lay manly hold upon the opportunity. So the whole number both of soldiers and mariners, landing together, with great resolution, gave so brave a charge upon the disordered *Gauls*, that their contemptuous boldness was thereby changed into sudden fear ; and they, after a great slaughter, driven to cast themselves into the service of *Antigonus*.

The same of this victory caused all the barbarous nations in those quarters, to re-entertain their ancient belief of the *Macedon* valour ; by which the terrible and resistless oppressors of so many countries were overthrown.

To speak more of the *Gauls*, in this place ; and to shew how, about these times, three tribes of them passed over into *Asia* the less, with their wars and conquests there, I hold it needless : the victorious arms of the *Romans*, taming them hereafter in the countries which now they won, shall give better occasion to rehearse these matters briefly.

Howsoever the good success of *Antigonus* got him reputation among the barbarous people, yet his own soldiers, that without his leading had won this victory, could not thereupon be perswaded to think him a good man of war, knowing that he had no interest in the honour of the service, wherein his conduct was no better, than creeping into a wood.

This

SECT. V.

How Pyrrhus failed for Sparta without success. His enterprize upon Argos, and his death.

This (as presently will appear) was greatly helpful unto *Pyrrhus*; though, as yet, he knew not so much. For *Pyrrhus*, when his affairs in *Italy* stood upon hard terms, had sent unto *Antigonus* for help; not without threats, in case it were denied. So was he sure to get either a supply, wherewith to continue his war against the *Romans*, or some seeming honourable pretence to forsake *Italy*, under colour of making his word good, in seeking revenge. The threats which he had used in bravery, mere necessity forced him, at his return into *Epirus*, to put in practice.

He brought home with him eight thousand foot and five hundred horse; an army too little to be employed, by his restless nature, in any action of importance; yet greater than he had means to keep in pay. Therefore he fell upon *Macedon*, intending to take what spoil he could get, and make *Antigonus* compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his first entrance into this business, two thousand of *Antigonus's* soldiers revolted unto *Pyrrhus*; and many cities, either willingly or perforce, received him. Such fair beginnings easily persuaded the courage of this daring prince to set upon *Antigonus* himself, and to hazard his fortune, in trial of a battel, for the whole kingdom of *Macedon*.

It appears, that *Antigonus* had no desire to fight with this hot warrior; but thought it the wisest way, by protracting of time, to weary him out of the country. For *Pyrrhus* overtook him in a strait passage, and charged him in the rear, wherein were the *Gauls* and the elephants, which were thought the best of his strength; a manifest proof that he was in retreat. The *Gauls* very bravely sustain'd *Pyrrhus's* impression, yet were broken at length (when most of them were slain) after a sharp fight; wherein, it seems, that *Antigonus*, keeping his *Macedon phalanx* within the streight, and not advancing to their succour, took away their courage, by deceiving their expectation. The captains of the elephants were taken soon after, who, finding themselves exposed to the same violence that had consumed so many of the *Gauls*, yielded themselves and the beasts. All this was done in full view of *Antigonus* and his *Macedonians*, to their great discomfort; which emboldened *Pyrrhus* to charge them where they lay in their strength. Where the *phalanx* could be charged only in a front, it was a matter of extreme difficulty (if not impossible) to force it. But the *Macedonians* had seen so much, that they had no desire to fight against *Pyrrhus*, who discovered so well their affections, that he adventured to draw near in person, and exhort them to yield. Neither the common soldier, nor any leader, refused to become his follower. All forsook *Antigonus*, a few horse-men excepted, that fled along with him to *Theſſalonica*, where he had some small forces left, and money enough to entertain a greater power, had he known where to levy it. But whilst he was thinking how to allure a sufficient number of the *Gauls* into his service, whereby he might repair his loss, *Ptolemy* the son of *Pyrrhus* came upon him; and easily defeating his weak forces, drove him to fly from the parts about *Macedon*, to those towns afar off in *Peloponnesus*, in which he had formerly lurked, before such time as he looked abroad into the world, and made himself a king.

This good success revived the spirits of the *Epirot*, and caused him to forget all sorrow of his late misfortunes in the *Roman* war; so that he sent for his son *Helenus* (whom he had left with a garrison in the castle of *Tarentum*) willing him to come over into *Greece*, where was more matter of conquest, and let the *Italians* shift for themselves.

PYRRHUS had now conceived a great hope, that nothing should be able to withstand him, seeing that in open fight he had vanquished the *Gauls*; beaten *Antigonus*, and won the kingdom of *Macedon*. There was not in all *Greece*, nor indeed in all the lands that *Alexander* had won, any leader of such name and worth, as deserved to be set up against him; which filled him with the opinion that he might do what he pleased. He raised therefore an army, consisting of twenty-five thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants; pretending war against *Antigonus*, and the giving liberty to those towns in *Peloponnesus*, which the same *Antigonus* held in subjection; though it was easily discovered, that such great preparations were made for accomplishment of some design more important, than war against a prince already vanquished, and almost utterly dejected; especially the *Lacedemonians* feared this expedition, as made against their state. For *Cleonymus*, one of their kings, being expelled out of his country, had betaken himself to *Pyrrhus*, who readily entertained him, and promised to restore him to his kingdom. This promise was made in secret, neither would *Pyrrhus* make shew of any displeasure that he bare unto *Sparta*; but contrariwise, professed that it was his intent to have two of his younger sons trained up in that city, as in a place of noble discipline. With such colours he deluded men, even till he entered upon *Laconia*, where presently he demeaned himself as an open enemy; excusing himself, and his former dissembling words, with a jest; *That he followed herein the Lacedemonian custom, of concealing what was truly purposed.* It had been indeed the manner of the *Lacedemonians*, to deal in like sort with others, whom, in the time of their greatness, they sought to oppress; but now they complained of that as falshood in *Pyrrhus*, which they always practised as wisdom, till it made them distrustful, forsaken, and almost contemptible. Nevertheless, they were not wanting to themselves in this dangerous extremity; for the old men and women laboured in fortifying the town, causing such as could bear arms to reserve themselves fresh against the assault, which *Pyrrhus* had unwisely deferred, upon assurance of prevailing.

Sparta was never fortified before this time, otherwise than with armed citizens. Soon after this (it being built upon uneven ground, and, for the most part, hard to approach) the lower and more accessible places were fenced with walls; at the present, only trenches were cast, and barricadoes made with carts, where the entrance seemed most easy. Three days together it was assailed by *Pyrrhus* exceeding fiercely, and no less stoutly defended. The desperate courage of the citizens preserved the town the first day, whereinto the violence of *Pyrrhus* had forced entrance the second day, but that his wounded horse threw him to the ground, which made his soldiers more mindful of saving the person of their king, than of breaking into the city, though already they had torn in sunder the barricadoes. Presently after this, one of *Antigonus's* captains got into *Sparta* with a good strength of men, and *Arens* the king returned out of *Crete* (where he had been helping his friends in war) with two thousand men, little knowing the danger in which his own country stood, until he was almost at home. These succours did not more animate the *Spartans*, than kindle in *Pyrrhus* a desire

a desire to prevail against all impediments. But the third day's work shewed, how great his error had been in forbearing to assault the town at his first coming; for he was so manfully repelled, that he saw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwise than by a long siege; in which tedious course he had no desire to spend his time.

Antigonus had now raised an army, though not strong enough to meet the enemy in plain field, yet able to hinder all his purposes. This made *Pyrrhus* doubtful what way to take, being diversly affected, by the difficulty of his enterprize in hand, and the shame of taking a repulse in his first attempt. Whilst he was thus perplexed, letters came from *Argos*, inviting him thither, with promise to deliver that city into his hands.

Civil dissent on raging then hotly in *Argos*, caused the heads of several factions, to call in *Pyrrhus* and *Antigonus*; but the coming of these two princes taught the citizens wit, and made them desirous to rid their hands of such powerful assistants, as each of the two kings pretended himself to be. *Antigonus* told the *Argives*, that he came to save them from the tyranny of *Pyrrhus*; and that he would be gone, if they needed not his help. On the other side, *Pyrrhus* would needs persuade them, that he had none other errand, than to make them safe from *Antigonus*; offering in like manner to depart, if they so desired.

The *Argives* took small pleasure in hearing the fox and kite at strife, which of them should keep the chickens from the enemy; and therefore prayed them both to divert their powers some other way. Hereunto *Antigonus* readily condescended, and gave hostages to assure his word; for he was the weaker, and stood in need of good-will. But *Pyrrhus* thought it enough to promise; hostages he would give none to his inferiors, especially, meaning deceit. This made them suspect his purpose to be such, as indeed it was. Yet he less regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthy of assurance, by giving such a bond as he intended to break ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a gate of the city should be opened by night unto *Pyrrhus*, by his complices within *Argos*; which was accordingly performed. So his army, without any tumult, entered the city; till the elephants, with towers on their backs, cloyed the way, being too high to pass the gate. The taking off and setting on again of those towers, with the trouble thereto belonging, did both give alarm to the city, and some leisure to take order for defence,

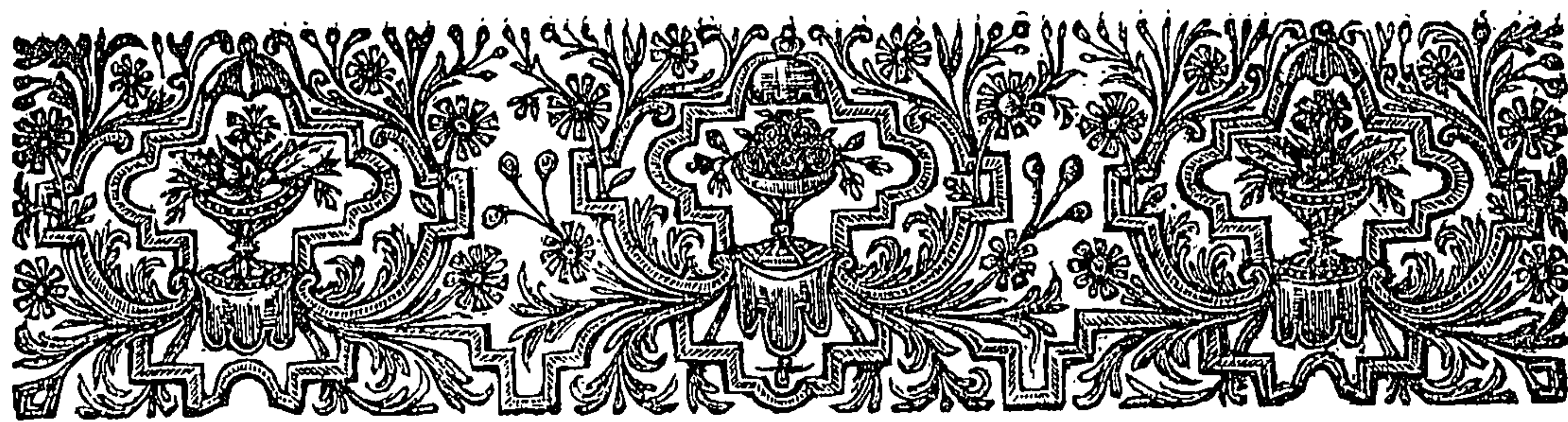
before so many were entered as could fully master it. *Argos* was full of ditches, which greatly hindered the *Gauls* (that had the vanguard) being ignorant of the ways in the dark night. The citizens, on the other side, had much advantage, by their knowledge of every by-passage; and setting upon the enemies on all sides, did put them to great loss, and more trouble.

Pyrrhus therefore understanding by the confused noise and unequal shoutings of his own men, that they were in distress, entered the city in person, to take order for their relief, and assurance of the place. But the darkness, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, until break of day. Then began he to make his passage by force, and so far prevailed, that he got into the market-place. It is said, that seeing in that place the image of a wolf and a bull, in such posture as if they had been combatant, he called to mind an oracle, which threatened him with death when he should behold a bull fighting with a wolf; and that hereupon he made retreat.

Indeed the coming of *Antigonus* to the rescue, the disorder and confusion of his own men, with divers ill accidents, gave him reasonable cause to have retired out of the city, though the wolf and bull had been away. The tumult was such, that no directions could be heard; but as some gave back, so did others thrust forward, and the *Argives*, pressing hard upon him, forced *Pyrrhus* to make good his retreat with his own sword. The tops of the houses were covered with women, that stood looking on the fight. Among these was one, that saw her own son in dangerous case, fighting with *Pyrrhus*. Wherefore, she took a tile-stone or slate, and threw it so violently down on the head of *Pyrrhus*, that he fell to the ground astonished with the blow; and lying in that case, had his head cut off.

Thus ended the restless ambition of *Pyrrhus*, together with his life; and thus returned the kingdom of *Macedon* to *Antigonus*, who forthwith possessed the army, the body, and the children of his enemy. The body of *Pyrrhus* had honourable funeral, and was given by *Antigonus* unto *Helenus*, his son, which young prince he graciously sent home into his father's kingdom of *Epirus*. From this time forwards, the race of *Antigonus* held the kingdom of *Macedon*; the posterity of *Seleucus* reigned over *Asia* and *Syria*; and the house of *Ptolemy* had quiet possession of *Egypt*, until such time as the city of *Rome*, swallowing all up, digested these, among other countries, into the body of her own empire.

The End of the Fourth Volume.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD:

INTREATING of the

*Times from the settled Rule of ALEXANDER'S
Successors in the East, until the ROMANS,
prevailing over all, made Conquest of ASIA
and MACEDON.*

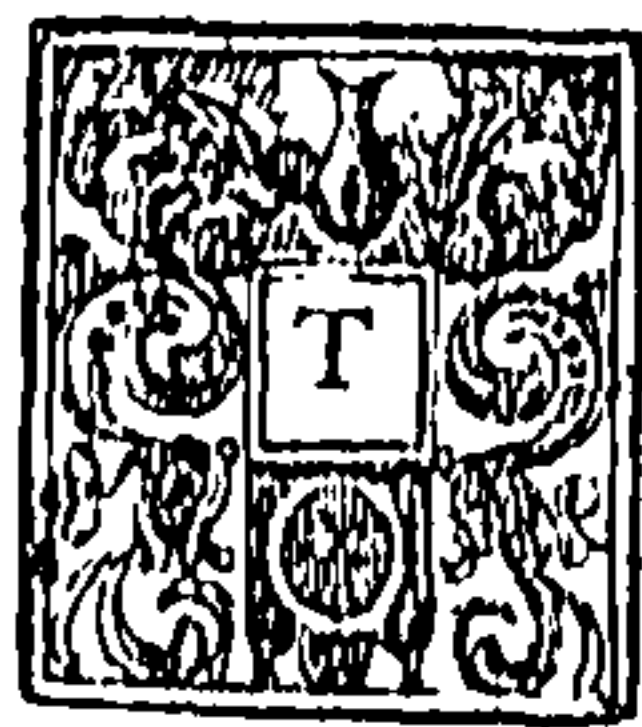
The FIFTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the First Punic War.

SECT. I.

*A discussion of that problem of Livy; Whether the Romans could have resisted
the great Alexander? That neither the Macedonian nor the Roman soldier,
was of equal valour to the English.*



HAT question handled by *Livy*; *Whether the great Alexander could have prevailed against the Romans, if, after his eastern conquest, he had bent all his forces against them,* hath been, and is, the subject of much dispute; which (as it seems

to me) the arguments on both sides do not so well explain, as doth the experience that *Pyrrhus* hath given of the *Roman* power in his days. For, if he, a commander (in *Hannibal's* judgment) inferior to *Alexander*, tho' to none else, could with

small strength of men, and little store of money, or of other needful helps in war, vanquish them in two battels, and endanger their estate, when it was well settled, and held the best part of *Italy* under a confirmed obedience: what would *Alexander* have done, that was abundantly provided of all which is needful to a conqueror, wanting only matter of employment, coming upon them before their dominion was half so well settled? It is easy to say, that *Alexander* had no more than thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse (as indeed, at his first passage into *Asia*, he carried over not many more) and that

that the rest of his followers were no better than base effeminate *Asiatics*. But he that considers the armies of *Perdiccas*, *Antipater*, *Craterus*, *Eumenes*, *Ptolemy*, *Antigonus*, and *Lysimachus*, with the actions by them performed, every one of which (to omit others) commanded only some fragment of this dead emperor's power; shall easily find, that such a reckoning is far short of the truth.

It were needless to speak of treasure, horses, elephants, engines of battery, and the like: of all which the *Macedonian* had abundance; the *Roman* having nought, save men and arms. As for sea-forces; he that shall consider after what sort the *Romans*, in their first *Punic* war, were trained, in the rudiments of navigation, sitting upon the shoar, and beating the sand with poles, to practise the stroke of the oar, as not daring to lanch their ill-built vessels into the sea; will easily conceive, how far too weak they would have proved in such services.

Now for helpers in war; I do not see, why all *Greece* and *Macedon*, being absolutely commanded by *Alexander*, might not well deserve to be laid in balance against those parts of *Italy*, which the *Romans* held in ill-assured subjection. To omit therefore all benefit, that the eastern world, more wealthy indeed than valiant, could have afforded unto the *Macedonian*: let us only conjecture, how the states of *Sicily* and *Carthage*, nearest neighbours to such a quarrel (had it happened) would have stood affected. The *Sicilians* were, for the most part, *Greeks*; neither is it to be doubted, that they would readily have submitted themselves unto him, that ruled all *Greece* besides them. In what terms they commonly stood, and how ill they were able to defend themselves, it shall appear anon. Sure it is, that *Alexander's* coming into those parts, would have brought excessive joy to them that were fain to get the help of *Pyrrhus*, by offering to become his subjects. As for the *Carthaginians*; if *Agathocles*, the tyrant of *Syracuse*, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his own besieged city, could, by adventuring to sail into *Afric*, put their dominion, yea, and *Carthage* it self, in extream hazard; shall we think that they would have been able to withstand *Alexander*? But, why do I question their ability, seeing that they sent embassadors, with their submission, as far as *Babylon*, ere the war drew near them? wherefore it is manifest, that the *Romans* must, without other succour, than perhaps of some few *Italian* friends (of which yet there were none that forsook them not, at some time, both before and after this) have opposed their valour, and good military discipline, against the power of all countries, to them known, if they would have made resistance. How they could have sped well, in undertaking such a match, it is uneasy to find in discourse of human reason. It is true, that virtue and fortune work wonders; but it is against cowardly fools, and the unfortunate: for whosoever contends with one too mighty for him, either must excell in these, as much as his enemy goes beyond him in power; or else must look, both to be overcome, and to be cast down so much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and virtue renders him suspected, as likely to make head another time against the vanquisher. Whether the *Roman*, or the *Macedonian*, were in those days the better soldier, I will not take upon me to determine: tho' I might, without partiality, deliver mine own opinion, and prefer that army, which followed not only *Philip* and *Alexander*, but

also *Alexander's* princes after him, in the greatest dangers of all sorts of war; before any, that *Rome* either had, or in long time after did send forth. Concerning fortune, who can give a rule that shall always hold? *Alexander* was victorious in every battle that he fought; and the *Romans* in the issue of every war. But forasmuch as *Livy* hath judged this a matter worthy of consideration; I think it a great part of *Rome's* good fortune, that *Alexander* came not into *Italy*: where, in three years after his death, the two *Roman* consuls, together with all the power of that state, were surpris'd by the *Samnites*, and enforced to yield up their arms. We may therefore permit *Livy* to admire his own *Romans*, and to compare with *Alexander* those captains of theirs, which were honoured sufficiently, in being thought equal to his followers: that the same conceit should blind our judgment, we cannot permit without much vanity.

Now in deciding such a controversy, methinks it were not amiss, for an *Englishman*, to give such a sentence between the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being chosen arbitrators between the *Ardeates* and *Aricini*, that strove about a piece of land; saying, that it belonged unto neither of them, but unto the *Romans* themselves.

If therefore it be demanded, whether the *Macedonian*, or the *Roman*, were the best warrior? I will answer, the *Englishman*. For it will soon appear, to any that shall examine the noble acts of our nation in war, that they were performed by no advantage of weapon; against no savage or unmanly people; the enemy being far superiour unto us in numbers, and all needful provisions; yea, as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exercise of war.

In what sort *Philip* won his dominion in *Greece*, what manner of men the *Persians* and *Indians* were, whom *Alexander* vanquished; as likewise of what force the *Macedonian phalanx* was, and how well appointed, against such arms as it commonly encountered; any man, that hath taken pains to read the fore-going story of them, doth sufficiently understand. Yet was this *phalanx* never, or very seldom, able to stand against the *Roman* armies; which were embattelled in so excellent a form, as I know not, whether any nation beside them have used, either before or since. The *Roman* weapons likewise, both offensive and defensive, were of greater use, than those with which any other nation hath served, before the fiery instruments of gunpowder were known. As for the enemies, with which *Rome* had to do, we find, that they, which did over-match her in numbers, were as far over-matched by her, in weapons; and that they, of whom she had little advantage in arms, had as little advantage of her in multitude. This also (as *Plutarch* well observeth) was a part of her happiness; that she was never over-lay'd with too great wars at once.

Hereby it came to pass, that having at first increased her strength, by accession of the *Sabines*; having won the state of *Alba*, against which she adventured her own self, as it were in wager, upon the heads of three champions; and having thereby made herself princeps of *Latium*; she did afterwards, by long war, in many ages, extend her dominion over all *Italy*. The *Carthaginians* had well-near oppressed her, but their soldiers were mercenary; so that for want of proper strength, they were easily beaten at their own doors. The *Etrurians*, and

^a Liv. Dec. 1. l. 3.

with them, all, or the most of *Greece*, assisted her against *Philip* the *Macedonian*; he being beaten, did lend her his help to beat the same *Etolians*. The wars against *Antiochus* and other *Asiatics*, were such, as gave to *Rome* small cause of boast, though much of joy: for those opposites were as base of courage, as the lands which they held were abundant of riches. *Sicily*, *Spain*, and all *Greece*, fell into her hands by using her aid, to protect them against the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I shall not need to speak of her other conquests; it was easy to get more when she had gotten all this. It is not my purpose to disgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blemish the reputation of so many famous victories: I am not so idle. This I say; that among all their wars, I find not any wherein their valour hath appeared comparable to the *English*. If my judgment seem over-partial, our wars in *France* may help to make it good.

First therefore it is well known, that *Rome* (or perhaps all the world besides) had never any so brave a commander in war as *Julius Cæsar*; and that no *Roman* army was comparable unto that which served under the same *Cæsar*. Likewise it is apparent, that this gallant army, which had given fair proof of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Helvetian* war when it first entered into *Gaul*, was nevertheless utterly disheartened when *Cæsar* led it against the *Germans*. So that we may justly impute all that was extraordinary in the valour of *Cæsar's* men, to their long exercise, under so good a leader, in so great a war. Now let us in general compare with the deeds done by these best of *Roman* soldiers, in their principal service, the things performed in the same country by our common *English* soldiers, levied in haste from following the cart, or sitting on the shop-stall; so shall we see the difference. Herein will we deal fairly, and believe *Cæsar*, in relating the acts of the *Romans*, but will call the *French* historians to witness what actions were performed by the *English*. In *Cæsar's* time *France* was inhabited by the *Gauls*, a stout people, but inferior to the *French*, by whom they were subdued; even when the *Romans* gave them assistance. The country of *Gaul* was rent in sunder (as *Cæsar* witnesseth) into many lordships, some of which were governed by petty kings, others by the multitude; none ordered in such sort as might make it applicable to the nearest neighbour. The factions were many, and violent; not only in general through the whole country, but between the petty states; yea, in every city, and almost in every house. What greater advantage could a conqueror desire? Yet there was a greater. *Ariovistus*, with his *Germans*, had over-run the country, and held much part of it in a subjection, little different from mere slavery; yea, so often had the *Germans* prevailed in war upon the *Gauls*, that the *Gauls* (who had sometimes been the better soldiers) did hold themselves no way equal to those daily invaders. Had *France* been so prepared unto our *English* kings, *Rome* itself by this time, and long ere this time, would have been ours. But when king *Edward III.* began his war upon *France*, he found the whole country settled in obedience to one mighty king; a king, whose reputation abroad was no less than his puissance at home; under whose ensign the king of *Bohemia* did serve in person; at whose call the *Genoese* and other neigh-

bour states were ready to take arms: finally, a king, unto whom one ^a prince gave away his dominion for love, ^b another sold away a goodly city and territory for money. The country lying so open to the *Roman*, and being so well fenced against the *English*, it is note-worthy, not who prevailed most therein (for it were mere vanity to match the *English* purchases with the *Roman* conquest) but whether of the two gave the greater proof of military virtue therein. *Cæsar* himself doth witness, that the *Gauls* complained of their own ignorance in the art of war, and that their own hardness was over-mastered by the skill of their enemies. Poor men, they admired the *Roman* towers and engines of battery, raised and planted against their walls, as more than human works. What greater wonder is it that such a people was beaten by the *Roman*, than that the *Caribes*, a naked people, but valiant as any under the sky, are commonly put to the worse by small numbers of *Spaniards*? Besides all this, we are to have regard of the great difficulty that was found in drawing all the *Gauls*, or any great part of them, to one head, that with joint forces they might oppose their assailants; as also the much more difficulty of holding them long together. For hereby it came to pass, that they were never able to make use of opportunity, but sometimes compelled to slay for their fellows, and sometimes driven to give or take battel, upon extreme disadvantages, for fear lest their companies should fall asunder; as indeed, upon any little disaster, they were ready to break, and return every one to the defence of his own. All this, and (which was little less than all this) great odds in weapon, gave to the *Romans* the honour of many gallant victories. What such help, or what other worldly help, than the golden metal of their soldiers had our *English* kings against the *French*? Were not the *French* as well experienced in feats of war? yea, did they not think themselves therein our superiors? were they not in arms, in horse, and in all provision, exceedingly beyond us? let us hear what a *French* writer saith of the inequality that was between the *French* and *English*, when their king *John* was ready to give the onset upon the *Black Prince*, at the battel of *Poitiers*. *John had all advantages over Edward, both of number, force, shew, country, and conceit (the which is commonly a consideration of no small importance in worldly affairs) and withal, the choice of all his horsemen (esteemed then the best in Europe) with the greatest and wisest captains of his whole realm.* And what could he wish more?

I think it would trouble a *Roman* antiquary to find the like example in their histories; the example, I say, of a king brought prisoner to *Rome* by an army of eight thousand, which he had surrounded with forty thousand, better appointed, and no less expert warriors. This I am sure of, that neither *Syphax* the *Numidian*, followed by a rabble of half scullions, as *Livy* rightly terms them, nor those cowardly kings *Perseus* and *Genetius*, are worthy patterns. All that have read of *Cressy* and *Agincourt* will bear me witness, that I do not alledge the battel of *Poitiers*, for lack of other, as good examples of the *English* virtue; the proof whereof hath left many a hundred better marks in all quarters of *France*, than ever did the valour of the *Romans*. If any man impute these

^a The Dauphin of Viennois.

^b The king of Majorca.

^c Johan de Serres.

^d Jean avoit tout l'avantage par dessus Edouard, le nombre, la force, le lustre, le pays, le préjugé (qui n'est pas communément une considération de peu d'importance aux affaires du monde) & avec soi l'élite de la Cavallerie, l'on estimée la meilleure de tout son royaume.

victories of ours to the long-bow, as carrying farther, piercing more strongly, and quicker of discharge than the *French* cross-bow: my answer is ready; that, in all these respects, it is also (being drawn with a strong arm) superior to the musket; yet is the musket a weapon of more use. The gun and the cross-bow are of like force, when discharged by a boy or a woman, as when by a strong man: weakness, or sickness, or a sore finger, makes the long bow unserviceable. More particularly, I say, that it was the custom of our ancestors to shoot, for the most part, *point-blank*: and so shall he perceive, that will note the circumstances of almost any one battel. This takes away all objection: for when two armies are within the distance of a butt's length, one flight of arrows, or two at the most, can be delivered before they close. Neither is it in general true, that the long-bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceth more strongly than the cross-bow; but this is the rare effect of an extraordinary arm, whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man shall ask, How then came it to pass that the *English* won so many great battels, having no advantage to help him? I may, with best commendation of modesty, refer him to the *French* historian; who, relating the victory of our men at *Crevant*, where they passed a bridge in the face of the enemy, useth these words; *The English comes with a conquering bravery, as he that was accustomed to gain every where, without any slay: he forceth our guard placed upon the bridge to keep the passage.* Or I may cite another place of the same author, where he tells how the *Britons*, being invaded by *Charles VIII*, king of *France*, thought it good policy to apparel twelve hundred of their own men in *English* cassocks, hoping that the very sight of the *English* red cross would be enough to terrify the *French*. But I will not stand to borrow of the *French* historians (all which, excepting *De Serres*, and *Paulus Aemilius*, report wonders of our nation) the proposition which first I undertook to maintain; *That the military virtue of the English prevailing against all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of the Romans, which was assisted with all advantages that could be desired.* If it be demanded; Why then did not our kings finish the conquest, as *Cesar* had done? my answer may be (I hope without offence) that our kings were like the race of the *Acidae*, of whom the old poet *Ennius* gave this note; *Bellipotentes sunt magis quam sapientipotentes*; They were more warlike than politic. Whoso notes their proceedings, may find, that none of them went to work like a conqueror, save only king *Henry V*, the course of whose victories it pleased God to interrupt by his death. But this question may easily be answered, if another be first made; Why did not the *Romans* attempt the conquest of *Gaul*, before the time of *Cesar*? why not alter the *Macedonian* war? why not alter the *Punic*, or alter the *Numantian*? At all these times they had good leisure, and then especially had they both leisure, and fit opportunity, when, under the conduct of *Marius*, they had newly vanquished the *Cimbri* and *Tentones*, by whom the country of *Gaul* had been piteously wasted. Surely the words of *Tully* were true; that with other nations the *Romans* fought for dominion, with the *Gauls* for preservation of their own safety.

Therefore they attempted not the conquest of *Gaul*, until they were lords of all other countries to them known. We, on the other side, held only the one half of our own island; the other half be-

ing inhabited by a nation (unless perhaps in wealth and numbers of men somewhat inferior) every way equal to our selves; a nation anciently and strongly allied to our enemies the *French*, and in that regard enemies to us. So that our danger lay both before and behind us; and the greater danger at our backs, where commonly we felt, always we feared, a stronger invasion by land, than we could make upon *France*, transporting our forces over-sea.

It is usual with men that have pleased themselves in admiring the matters which they find in ancient histories, to hold it a great injury done to their judgment, if any take upon him, by way of comparison, to extol the things of later ages. But I am well persuaded, that as the divided virtue of this our island, hath given more noble proof of it self; than under so worthy a leader, that *Roman* army could do, which afterwards could win *Rome*, and all her empire, making *Cesar* a monarch: so hereafter, by God's blessing, who hath converted our greatest hindrance into our greatest help, the enemy that shall dare try our forces, will find cause to wish that, avoiding us, he had rather encountered as great a puissance, as was that of the *Roman* empire. But it is now high time that, laying aside comparisons, we return to the rehearsal of deeds done; wherein we shall find how *Rome* began, after *Pyrrhus* had left *Italy*, to strive with *Carthage* for dominion, in the first *Punic* war.

S E C T. II.

The estate of Carthage, before it entred into war with Rome.

THE city of *Carthage* had stood above six hundred years, when first it began to contend with *Rome* for the mastery of *Sicily*. It forewent *Rome* one hundred and fifty years in antiquity of foundation; but in the honour of great achievements, it excelled far beyond this advantage of time. For *Carthage* had extended her dominion in *Africa* it self, from the west part of *Cyrene*, to the streights of *Hercules*, about fifteen hundred miles in length, wherein stood three hundred cities. It had subduged all *Spain*, even to the *Pyrenean* mountains, together with all the islands in the *Mediterranean* sea, to the west of *Sicily*, and of *Sicily* the better part. It flourished about seven hundred and thirty years, before the destruction thereof by *Scipio*, who, besides other spoils, and all that the soldiers reserved, carried thence four hundred and seventy thousand weight of silver; which make of our money (if our pounds differ not) fourteen hundred and ten thousand pounds sterling. So as this glorious city ran the same fortune, which many other great ones have borne both before and since. The ruin of the goodliest pieces of the world, fore-shews the dissolution of the whole.

About one hundred years after such time as it was cast down, the senate of *Rome* caused it to be rebuilt; and by *Gracchus* it was called *Junonia*: it was again and again abandoned and re-peopled, taken and retaken; by *Genfericus* the *Vandal*, by *Belisarius*, under *Justinian*, by the *Persians*, by the *Egyptians*, and by the *Mahometans*. It is now nothing. The seat thereof was exceeding strong, and, while the *Carthaginians* commanded the sea, invincible. For the sea compassed it about, saving that it was tied to the main by a neck of land, which passage had two mile and more of breadth (*Appian* saith three mile and one furlong) by which we may be induced to believe the common report, that the city it self

was above twenty miles in compass ; if not that of *Strabo*, affirming the circuit to have been twice as great.

It had three walls without the wall of the city, and between each of those three or four streets, with vaults under-ground of thirty foot deep, in which they had place for three hundred elephants and all their food. Over these they had stables for four thousand horse, and granaries for all their provender. They had also lodgings in these streets between these out-walls for four thousand horse-men and twenty thousand foot-men, which (according to the discipline used now by those of *China*) never pestered the city. It had, towards the south part, the castle of *Byrsa*, to which *Servius* gives twenty-two furlongs in compass, that make two miles and a half. This was the same piece of ground which *Dido* obtained of the *Libyans*, when she got leave to buy only so much land of them as she could compass with an ox-hide. On the west side it had also the salt sea, but in the nature of a standing pool ; for a certain arm of land, fastned to the ground on which the city stood, stretched it self toward the west continent, and left but seventy foot open for the sea to enter. Over this standing sea was built a most sumptuous arsenal, having their ships and gallies riding under it.

The form of their commonwealth resembled that of *Sparta* ; for they had titular kings, and the *Aristocratical* power of senators. But (as *Regius* well observeth) the people in latter times usurped too great authority in their councils. This confusion in government, together with the trust that they reposed in hired soldiers, were helping causes of their destruction in the end. Two other more forcible causes of their ruin, were their avarice and their cruelty. ^a Their avarice was shewed both in exacting from their vassals (besides ordinary tributes) the one ^b half of the fruits of the earth ; and in conferring of great offices, not upon gentle and merciful persons, but upon those who could best tyrannize over the people, to augment their treasures. Their cruelty appeared in putting them to death without mercy, that had offended through ignorance. The one of these rendered them odious to their vassals, whom it made ready, upon all occasions, to revolt from them : the other did break the spirits of their generals, by presenting, in the heat of their actions abroad, the fear of a cruel death at home. Hereby it came to pass, that many good commanders of the *Carthaginian* forces, after some great loss received, have desperately cast themselves, with all that remained under their charge, into the throat of destruction ; holding it necessary, either to repair their losses quickly, or to ruin all together ; and few of them have dared to manage their own best projects after that good form wherein they first conceived them, for fear lest the manner of their proceeding should be misinterpreted : it being the *Carthaginian* rule to cruelty not only the unhappy captain, but even him whose bad counsel had prosperous event. The faults wherewith in general they of *Carthage* are taxed by *Roman* historians, I find to be these ; lust, cruelty, avarice, craft, unfaithfulness, and perjury. Whether the *Romans* themselves were free

from the same crimes, let the trial be referred unto their actions. The first league between *Carthage* and *Rome* was very ancient, having been made the year following the expulsion of *Tarquin*. In that league the *Carthaginians* had the superiority, as imposing upon the *Romans* the more strict conditions. For it was agreed, that the *Romans* should not so much as have trade in some part of *Africa*, nor suffer any ship of theirs to pass beyond the head-land, or cape, then called the *Fair Promontory*, unless it were by force of tempest ; whereas on the other side, no haven in *Italy* was forbidden to the *Carthaginians*. A second league was made long after, which (howsoever it hath pleased ^c *Livy* to say, that the *Romans* granted it at the *Carthaginians* intreaty) was more strict than the former ; prohibiting the *Romans* to have trade in any part of *Africa*, or in the island of *Sardinia*.

By these two treaties it may appear, that the *Carthaginians* had an intent not only to keep the *Romans* (as perhaps they did other people) from getting any knowledge of the state of *Africa* ; but to countenance and uphold them in their troubling all *Italy*, whereby they themselves might have the better means to occupy all *Sicily*, whilst that island should be destitute of *Italian* succours. Hereupon we find good cause of the joy that was in *Carthage*, and of the crown of gold weighing twenty-five pounds, sent from thence to *Rome*, when the *Samnites* were overthrown. But the little state of *Rome* prevailed faster in *Italy*, than the great power of *Carthage* did in *Sicily*. ^d For that mighty army of three hundred thousand men, which *Hannibal* conducted out of *Africa* into *Sicily*, was consumed by pestilence ; many great fleets were devoured by tempests ; and howsoever the *Carthaginians* prevailed at one time, the *Sicilians*, either by their own valour, or by assistance of their good friends out of *Greece*, did at some other time repair their own losses, and take revenge upon these invaders. But never were the people of *Carthage* in better hope of getting all *Sicily*, than when the death of *Agathocles* the tyrant had left the whole island in combustion ; the estate of *Greece* being such at that time, that it seemed impossible for any succour to be sent from thence. But whilst the *Carthaginians* were busy in making their advantage of this good opportunity, *Pyrrhus*, invited by the *Tarentines* and their fellows, came into *Italy*, where he made sharp war upon the *Romans*. These news were displeasing to the *Carthaginians*, who, being a subtil nation, easily foresaw that the same busy disposition which had brought this prince out of *Greece* into *Italy*, would as easily transport him over into *Sicily*, as soon as he could finish his *Roman* war. To prevent this danger, they sent *Mago* ambassador to *Rome*, who declared in their name, that they were sorry to hear what misadventure had befallen the *Romans*, their good friends, in this war with *Pyrrhus* ; and that the people of *Carthage* were very willing to assist the state of *Rome*, by sending an army into *Italy*, if their help were thought needful against the *Epirots*.

It was indeed the main desire of the *Carthaginians*, to hold *Pyrrhus* so hardly to his work in *Italy*, that they might, at good leisure, pursue their

^a In *Pol. Arist.* l. 2. c. 9. ^b The Turks at this day do also take the one half of the poor man's corn that labours the earth ; yea, they take tribute both of the bodies and of the souls of the Christians their vassals, by borrowing them of their ablest children, and bringing them up in the Mahometan religion. The Irish take the fourth sheaf, and were wont to eat up with their hork men, foot men, and dogs, what they pleased of the other three parts remaining. The husbandman and the woman of England are the freest of all the world ; and reason good, for of them have the bodies of our victorious armies been compounded. And it is the freeman, and not the slave, that hath courage, and the posse of shame deserved by cowardise. How free the English yeomen have been in times not long since past, *Fontenue* hath shewed in his praise of our country's laws. But I may say, that they are more free now than ever, and are valiant and gentry more forcible ; for since the excessive bravery, and vain expense of our grandees, hath taught them to raise their rents ; since by inclosures, and dismembering of manors, the court-baron, and the court-leet, the principalities of the gentry of England have been dissolved, the tenants having paid unto their lords their rack-rent, owe them now no service at all, and (perhaps) as little love. ^c *Liv.* Dec. 1. l. 7. ^d *Xenoph. Grec. Hist.* l. 2.

business in *Sicily*, which caused them to make such a goodly offer. But the *Romans* were too high-minded, and refused to accept any such aid of their friends, lest it should blemish their reputation, and make them seem unable to stand by their own strength. Yet the message was taken lovingly, as it ought, and the former league between *Rome* and *Carthage* renewed, with covenants added, concerning the present business; that if either of the two cities made peace with *Pyrrhus*, it should be with reservation of liberty to assist the other, in case that *Pyrrhus* should invade either of their dominions. All this notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the same *Mago* went and treated with *Pyrrhus*, using all means to sound his intentions (a matter very difficult where one upon every new occasion changeth his own purposes;) yet *Pyrrhus* found leisure to make a step into *Sicily*, where, though in fine, he was neither getter nor saver, yet he clean defeated the purposes of *Carthage*, leaving them at his departure from thence, as far from any end, as when they first began.

So many disasters in an enterprize, that, from the first undertaking, had been so strongly pursued through the length of many generations, might well have induced the *Carthaginians* to believe, that an higher providence resisted their intendment. But their desire of winning that fruitful island was so inveterate, that, with unwearied patience, they still continued in hope of so much the greater harvest, by how much their cost and pains therein buried had been the more. Wherefore they re-continued their former courses; and, by force or practice, recovered in few years all their old possessions; making peace with *Syracuse*, the chief city of the island, that so they might the better enable themselves to deal with the rest.

Somewhat before this time a troop of *Campanian* soldiers, that had served under *Agathocles*, being entertained within *Messina* as friends, and finding themselves too strong for the citizens, took advantage of the power that they had to do wrong, and, with perfidious cruelty, slew those that trusted them; which done, they occupied the city, lands, goods, and wives of those whom they had murdered. These mercenaries called themselves *Mamertines*. Good soldiers they were, and like enough it is, that mere desperation of finding any that would approve their barbarous treachery, added rage unto their stoutness. Having therefore none other colour of their proceedings, than *the law of the stronger*, they overran all the country round about them.

In this course at first they sped so well, that they did not only defend *Messina* against the cities of *Sicily* confederate; to wit, against the *Syracusians*, and others; but they rather won upon them, yea, and upon the *Carthaginians*, exacting tribute from many neighbouring places. But it was not long ere fortune turning her back to these *Mamertines*, the *Syracusians* won salt upon them; and finally, confining them within the walls of *Messina*, they also with a powerful army besieged the city. It happened ill, that about the same time a contention began between the *Syracusan* soldiers then lying at *Megara*, and the citizens of *Syracuse*, and governors of the commonwealth; which proceeded so far, that the army elected two governors among themselves; to wit, *Artemidorus*, and *Hieron*, that was afterwards king. *Hieron* being, for his years, excellently adorned with many virtues, although it was contrary to the policy of that state to approve any election made by the soldiers; yet for the great clemency he used at his first entrance, was, by general consent,

established and made governor. This office he rather used as a scale, thereby to climb to some higher degree, than rested content with his present preferment.

In brief, there was somewhat wanting, whereby to strengthen himself within the city, and somewhat without it, that gave impediment to his obtaining and safe keeping of the place he sought; to wit, a powerful party within the town, and certain mutinous troops of soldiers without, often and easily moved to sedition and tumult. For the first, whereby to strengthen himself, he took to wife the daughter of *Leptines*, a man of the greatest estimation and authority among the *Syracusians*. For the second, leading out the army to besiege *Messina*, he quartered all those companies which he had suspected on the one side of the city, and leading the rest of his horse and foot unto the other side, as if he would have assaulted it in two several parts, he marched away under covert of the town walls, and left the mutineers to be cut in pieces by the besieged. So returning home, and levying an army of his own citizens, well trained and obedient, he hastened again towards *Messina*, and was by the *Mamertines* (grown proud by their former victory over the mutineers) encountered in the plains of *Myleum*, where he obtained a most signal victory; and leading with him their commander captive into *Syracuse*, himself, by common consent, was elected and saluted king. Hereupon the *Mamertines* finding themselves utterly enfeebled, some of them resolved to give themselves to the *Carthaginians*, others to crave assistance of the *Romans*; to each of whom the several factions dispatched ambassadors for the very same purpose.

The *Carthaginians* were soon ready to lay hold upon the good offer; so that a captain of theirs got into the castle of *Messina*, whereof they that had sent for him gave him possession. But within a little while, they that were more inclinable to the *Romans*, had brought their companions to so good agreement, that this captain, either by force or by cunning, was turned out of doors, and the town reserved for other masters.

These news did much offend the people of *Carthage*, who crucified their captain, as both a traitor and coward; and sent a fleet and army to besiege *Messina*, as a town that rebelled, having once been theirs. *Hieron*, the new made king of *Syracuse* (to gratify his people, incensed with the smart of injuries lately received) added his forces to the *Carthaginians*, with whom he entered into league for exterminating the *Mamertines* out of *Sicily*. So the *Mamertines* on all sides were closed up within *Messina*, the *Carthaginians* lying with a navy at sea, and with an army on the one side of the town, whilst *Hieron* with his *Syracusians* lay before it on the other side.

In this their great danger came *Appius Claudius*, the *Roman* consul, with an army to the streights of *Sicily*; which passing by night with notable audacity, he put himself into the town, and sending messengers to the *Carthaginians*, and to *Hieron*, required them to depart; signifying unto them, that the *Mamertines* were now become confederates with the people of *Rome*, and that therefore he was come to give them protection, even by force of war, if reason would not prevail.

This message was utterly neglected, and so began the war between *Rome* and *Carthage*; wherein it will then be time to shew, on which part was the justice of the quarrel, when some actions of the *Romans*, lately foregoing this, have been first considered.

S E C T. III.

The beginning of the first Punic war. That it was unjustly undertaken by the Romans.

WHEN *Pyrrhus* began his wars in *Italy*, the city of *Rhegium* being well affected to *Rome*, and not only fearing to be taken by the *Epirot*, but much more distrusting the *Carthaginians*, as likely to seize upon it in that busy time, sought aid from the *Romans*, and obtained from them a legion, consisting of four thousand soldiers, under the conduct of *Decius Campanus*, a *Roman* Prefect, by whom they were defended and assured for the present. But after a while, this *Roman* garrison, considering at good leisure the fact of the *Mamertines*, committed in *Messina* (a city in *Sicily*, situate almost opposite to *Rhegium*, and no otherwise divided than by a narrow sea, which severeth it from *Italy*) and rather weighing the greatness of the booty, than the odiousness of the villany by which it was gotten, resolved finally to make the like purchase, by taking the like wicked course. Confederating therefore themselves with the *Mamertines*, they entertained their hosts of *Rhegium* after the same manner, dividing the spoil and all which that state had among themselves.

When complaint was made to the senate and people of *Rome* of this outrage, they finding their honour thereby greatly stained (for no nation in the world made a more severe profession of justice than they did, during all the time of their growing greatness) resolved, after a while, to take revenge upon the offenders; and this they performed shortly after, when they had quenched the fires kindled in *Italy* by *Pyrrhus*. For, notwithstanding that those *Romans* in *Rhegium* (as men for the foulness of their fact, hopeless of pardon) defended themselves with an absolute resolution, yet in the end the assailants forced them, and those, which escaped the present fury, were brought bound to *Rome*, where, after the usual torments by whipping inflicted, according to the custom of the country, they had their heads stricken from their shoulders, and the people of *Rhegium* were again restored to their former liberties and estates.

This execution of justice being newly performed, and the fame thereof sounding honourably through all quarters of *Italy*, messengers came to *Rome* from *Messina*, desiring help against the *Carthaginians* and *Syracusians*, that were in a readiness to inflict the like punishment upon the *Mamertines* for the like offence. A very impudent request it was which they made, who, having both given example of that villany to the *Roman* soldiers, and helped them with joint forces to make it good, intreat the judges to give them that assistance, which they were wont to receive from their fellow-thieves.

The *Romans* could not suddenly resolve whether the way of honesty or of profit were to be followed; they evermore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They considered how contrary the course of succouring the *Mamertines* was to their former counsels and actions, seeing for the same offences they had lately put to torment and to the sword their own soldiers, and restored the oppressed to their liberty. Yet, when they beheld the description of the *Carthaginian* dominion, and that they were already lords of the best parts of *Africa*, of the *Mediterranean* islands, of a great part of *Spain*, and some part of *Sicily* itself, whilst also they feared, that *Syracuse* therein seated (a city in beauty and riches little at that time inferior to *Carthage*, and far superior to *Rome* it-

self) might become theirs; the safety of their own estate spake for these *Mamertines*, who, if they (driven to despair by the *Romans*) should deliver *Messina*, with those other holds that they had, into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, then would nothing stand between *Carthage* and the lordship of all *Sicily*; for *Syracuse* itself could not, for want of succour, any long time subsist, if once the *Carthaginians*, that were masters of the sea, did fasten upon that passage from the main land. It was further considered, that the opportunity of *Messina* was such, as would not only debar all succours out of the continent from arrival in *Sicily*, but would serve as a bridge, whereby the *Carthaginians* might have entrance into *Italy* at their own pleasure.

These considerations of profit at hand, and of preventing dangers that threatened from afar, did so prevail above all regard of honesty, that the *Mamertines* were admitted into confederacy with the *Romans*, and *Ap. Claudius*, the consul, presently dispatched away for *Messina*, into which he entred, and undertook the protection of it, as is shewed before. The besiegers were little troubled with his arrival, and less moved with his requiring them to desist from their attempt. For they did far exceed him in number of men; the whole island was ready to relieve them in their wants, and they were strong enough at sea to hinder any supply from getting into the town. All this *Appius* himself well understood, and against all this he thought the stiff metal of his *Roman* soldiers a sufficient remedy. Therefore he resolved to issue out into the field, and to let the enemies know, that his coming was to send them away from the town, not to be besieged by them within it.

In executing this determination, it was very beneficial to him, that the enemy lay encamped in such sort, as one quarter was not well able to relieve another in distress. *Hieron* was now exposed to the same danger, whereinto he had wilfully cast his own mutinous followers not long before; only he was strong enough (or thought so) to make good his own quarter without help of others. Against him *Appius Claudius* issued forth, and (not attempting by unexpected sally to surprize his trenches) arranged his men in order of battel, wherewith he presented him. The *Syracusan* wanted not courage to fight, but surely he wanted good advice; else would he not have hazarded all his power against an enemy of whom he had made no trial, when it had been easy, and as much as was required, to defend his own camp. It may be, that he sought to get honour wherewith to adorn the beginning of his reign, but he was well beaten, and driven to save himself within his trenches, by which loss he learned a point of wisdom that stood him and his kingdom in good stead all the days of his life. It was a foolish desire of revenge that had made the *Syracusians* so busy in helping those of *Carthage* against the *Mamertines*.

Had *Messina* been taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuse* itself must have sought help from *Rome*, against those friends which it now so diligently assisted. *Hieron* had (in respect of those two mighty cities) but a small flock, which it behoved him to govern well; such another loss would have made him almost bankrupt, therefore he quietly brake up his camp and retired home, intending to let them stand to their adventures that had hope to be gainers by the bargain. The next day, *Claudius* perceiving the *Sicilian* army gone, did with great courage, and with much alacrity of his soldiers, give charge upon the *Carthaginians*, wherein he sped so well, that the enemy forsook both field and camp, leaving

ing all the country open to the *Romans*, who, having spoiled all round without resistance, intended to lay siege unto the great city of *Syracuse*.

These prosperous beginnings, howsoever they animated the *Romans*, and filled them with hopes of attaining to greater matters than at first they had expected, yet did they not imprint any form of terror in the city of *Carthage*, that had well enough repaired greater losses than this, in which no more was lost than what had been prepared against the *Mamertines* alone, without any suspicion of war from *Rome*.

Now in this place I hold it seasonable to consider of those grounds whereupon the *Romans* entred into this war, not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honesty (for questionless the enterprize was much to their benefit, though as much to their shame;) but how allowable in strict terms of lawfulness, whereupon they built all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the *Mamertines* did yield themselves and all that they had into the *Romans* hands (as the *Campanes*, distressed by the *Samnites*, had done) I cannot find, neither can I find how the messengers of those folk, whereof one part had already admitted the *Carthaginians*, could be enabled to make any such surrendry in the publick name of all.

If therefore the *Mamertines*, by no lawful surrendry of themselves and their possessions, were become subject unto *Rome*, by what better title could the *Romans* assist the *Mamertines* against their most ancient friends the *Carthaginians*, than they might have aided the *Campanes* against the *Samnites*, without the same condition? which was (as they themselves confessed) by none at all. But let it be supposed, that some point serving to clear this doubt is lost in all histories. Doubtless it is, that no company of pirates, thieves, outlaws, murderers, or such other malefactors, can, by any good success of their villany, obtain the privilege of civil societies, to make league or truce, yea, or to require fair war; but are by all means, as most pernicious vermin, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take upon me to maintain that opinion of some *Civilians*, that a prince is not bound to hold his faith with one of these; it were a position of ill consequence: This I hold, that no one prince or state can give protection to such as these as long as any other is using the sword of vengeance against them, without becoming accessory to their crimes. Wherefore we may esteem this action of the *Romans* so far from being justifiable, by any pretence of confederacy made with them, as that contrariwise, by admitting this nest of murderers and thieves into their protection, they justly deserved to be warred upon themselves by the people of *Sicily*; yea, although *Messina* had been taken, and the *Mamertines* all slain, ere news of this confederacy had been brought unto the besiegers. The great *Alexander* was so far perswaded herein, that he did put to the sword all the *Branchiadae* (a people in *Sogdiana*) and rased their city, notwithstanding that they joyfully entertained him as their lord and king, because they were descended from a company of *Mulefians*, who, to gratify king *Xerxes* had robbed a temple, and were by him rewarded with the town and country, which these of their posterity enjoyed. Nevertheless, in course of human justice, long and peaceable possession gives *jus acquistum*, a kind of right by prescription, unto that which was at first obtained by wicked means, and doth free the descendants from the crime of their

ancestors, whose villanies they do not exercise. But that the same generation of thieves, which by a detestable fact hath purchased a rich town, should be acknowledged a lawful company of citizens, there is no shew of right. For even the conqueror, that by open war obtaineth a kingdom, doth not confirm his title by those victories which gave him first possession, but length of time is requisite to establish him, unless by some alliance with the ancient inheritors he can better the violence of his claim, as did our king *Henry I.* by his marriage with *Maud*, that was daughter of *Malcolm*, king of the *Scots*, by *Margaret*, the niece of *Edmund Ironside*. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Romans* had no better ground (if they had so good) of justice in this quarrel, than had the *Goths*, *Huns*, *Vandals*, and other nations, of the wars that they made upon the *Roman* empire, wherein *Rome* herself, in the time of her visitation, was burnt to the ground.

S E C T. IV.

Of the island of Sicily.

†. I.

The quality of the island, and the first inhabitants thereof.

THE defence of the *Mamertines*, or the possession of *Messina*, being now no longer, since the first victories of *Appius Claudius*, the objects of the *Roman* hopes; but the dominion of all *Sicily* being the prize for which *Rome* and *Carthage* are about to contend: it will be agreeable unto the order, which in the like cases we have observed, to make a brief collection of things concerning that noble island, which hath been the stage of many great acts, performed as well before and after, as in this present war.

That *Sicily* was sometime a *Peninsula* or *Demy Isle* adjoining to *Italy*, as a part of *Brutium* in *Calabria* near unto *Rhegium*, and afterwards by violence of tempest severed from the same, it is a general opinion of all antiquity; but at what certain time this division happened, there is no memorial remaining in any ancient writer. *Strabo*, ^a *Pliny*, and *Dionysius* affirm, that it was caused by an earthquake; ^b *Silius* and *Cassiodorus*, do think it to have been done by the rage and violence of the tide and surges of the sea. Either of these opinions may be true; for so was *Eubœa* severed from *Boœtia*, *Atalante* and *Macris* from *Eubœa*, *Scilly* here in *England* from the cape of *Cornwall*, and *Britain* itself (as may seem by *Verslegan's* arguments) from the opposite continent of *Gaul*; but for *Sicily*, they which lend their ears to fables, do attribute the cause of it to *Neptune* (as *Eusebius* witnesseth) who with his three-forked mace, in favour of *Jocastus*, the son of *Æolus*, divided it from the main land, and so made it an island, which before was but a *Demy Isle*, that by that means he might the more safely inhabit and possess the same. ^c *Diodorus Siculus*, moved by the authority of *Hesiodus*, ascribeth the labour of sundring it from *Italy* to *Orion*; who, that he might be compared to *Hercules* (cutting through the rocks and mountains) first opened the *Sicilian* streights, as *Hercules* did those of *Gibraltar*.

They, which value the islands of the midland sea, according to their quantity and content, do make this the greatest, as *Eusebius* and *Strabo*, who affirm this, not only to excel the rest for big-

^a Plin. l. 2. c. 91.

^b Sil. l. 5.

^c Orion. l. 4. c. 14. Diod. l. 6. Ovid. de Fall. 4.

ness, but also for goodness of soil. As concerning the form of this island, *Pomponius Mela* saith, it is like that capital letter of the *Greeks* which they call *Delta*, namely, that it hath the figure of a triangle, which is generally known to be true. That the whole island was consecrated to *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, all old writers with one consent affirm. To *Ceres* it was dedicated, because it first taught the rules of setting and sowing of corn; to *Proserpina*, not so much for that she was from hence violently taken by *Pluto*, as because (which *Plutarch* and *Diodorus* do report for truth) that *Pluto*, as soon as she, uncovering herself, first shewed herself to be seen of him, gave her the dominion thereof.

Of the fertility and riches of this country, there is a famous testimony writ by *Cicero*, in his second oration against *Verres*, where he saith, that *Marcus Cato* did call it the granary and store-house of the commonwealth, and the nurse of the vulgar sort. The same *Cicero* doth add in that place, that it was not only the store-house of the people of *Rome*, but also that it was accounted for a well furnished treasury. For without any cost or charge of ours (saith he) it hath usually cloathed, maintained, and furnished our greatest armies with leather, apparel and corn. ^a *Strabo* reporteth almost the same thing of it. Whatsoever *Sicily* doth yield (saith *Solinus*) whether by the sun and temperature of the air, or by the industry and labour of man, it is accounted next unto those things that are of best estimation; were it not, that such things as the earth first putteth forth are extremely overgrown with fallow. *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that in the fields near unto *Leontium*, and in divers other places of this island, wheat doth grow of itself, without any labour or looking to of the husbandman. *Martianus* sheweth, that there were in it six colonies, and sixty cities; there are that reckon more, whereof the names are found scatteringly in many good authors.

Now besides many famous acts done by the people of this island, as well in peace as war, there be many other things which have made it very renowned; as the birth of *Ceres*, the ravishing of *Proserpina*, the giant *Enceladus*, the mount *Aetna*, *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, with other antiquities and rarities; besides those learned men the noble mathematician *Archimedes*, the famous geometrician *Euclides*, the painful historian *Diodorus*, and *Empedocles* the deep philosopher.

That *Sicily* was at first possessed and inhabited by giants, *Læstrigones*, and *Cyclopes*, barbarous people and uncivil, all histories and fables do jointly with one consent aver. Yet *Thucydides* saith, that these savage people dwelt only in one part of the island. Afterwards the *Sicani*, a people of *Spain* possessed it. That these *Sicani* were not bred in the isle (although some do so think) *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* do constantly avouch.

Of these it was named *Sicania*. These *Sicani* were invaded by the *Siculi*; who, inhabiting that part of *Latium* whereon *Rome* was afterwards built, were driven by the *Pelasgi* from their own seats, and finding no place upon the continent which they were able to master and inhabit, passed over into this island, three hundred years before the *Greeks* sent any colonies thither: And (saith *Philiſtus*) eighty years before the fall of *Troy*. These *Siculi* gave the name of *Sicilia* to the island, and making war upon the *Sicani*, drove them from the east and northern part thereof into the west and south.

At their landing they first built the city *Zancle*, afterwards called *Messina*; and after that *Catana*, *Leontium*, and *Syracuse* itself, beating from thence the *Etolians*, who long before had set up a town in that place. As for the name of *Syracuse*, it was not known till such time as *Archias* of *Corinth* (long after) won that part of the island from the *Siculi*; neither did the *Siculi* at their first arrival dispossess the *Etolians* thereof, but some hundred years after their descent, and after such time as they had founded the cities before-named, with *Nea*, *Hybla*, *Trinacia*, and divers others.

After these *Siculi* came another nation out of *Italy*, called *Morgetes*, who were thence driven by the *Oenotrians*. These sat down in that part of *Sicily* where they afterwards raised the cities of *Morgentum* and *Leontium*. For at this time the *Siculi* were divided, and by a civil war greatly in-feeble. Among these ancient stories, we find the last voyage, and the death of *Minos*, king of *Crete*. *Thucydides*, an historian of unquestionable sincerity, reports of *Minos*, that he made conquest of many islands, and some such business, perhaps, drew him into *Sicily*. But the common report is, that he came thither in pursuit of *Dedalus*. The tale goes thus: *Dedalus* flying the revenge of *Minos*, came into *Sicily* to *Cocalus*, king of the *Sicani*, and during his abode there, he built a place of great strength near unto *Megara*, for *Cocalus* to lay up his treasure in, together with many notable works, for which he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the rest, he cast a ram in gold, that was set up in the temple of *Venus Erycina*; which he did with so great art, as those that beheld it, thought it rather to be living than counterfeit.

Now *Minos*, hearing that *Cocalus* had entertained *Dedalus*, prepares to invade the territory of *Cocalus*; but when he was arrived, *Cocalus* doubting his own strength, promiseth to deliver *Dedalus*. This he performs not, but in the mean while kills *Minos* by treason, and perswades the *Cretans*, *Minos's* followers, to inhabit a part of *Sicily*; the better (as it seems) to strengthen himself against the *Siculi*. Hereunto the *Cretans* (their king being dead) gave their consent, and built for themselves the city of *Minos*, after the name of their king *Minos*. After, they likewise built the town of *Engium*, now called *Gange*; and these were the first cities built by the *Greeks* in *Sicily*, about two ages before the war of *Troy*; for the grand-children of *Minos* served with the *Greeks* at the siege thereof.

But after such time as the *Cretans* understood, that their king had by treason been made away, they gathered together a great army to invade *Cocalus*; and landing near unto *Camicus*, they besieged the same five years, but in vain. In the end (being forced to return without any revenge taken) they were wrack'd on the coast of *Italy*; and having no means to repair their ships, nor the honour they had lost, they made good the place whereon they fell, and built *Ilyria*, or *Ilyrium*, between the two famous ports of *Brundisium* and *Tarentum*. Of these *Cretans* came those nations afterwards called *Iapyges* and *Messapii*.

After the taking of *Troy*, *Egeſtus* and *Elymus* brought with them certain troops into *Sicily*, and seated themselves among the *Sicani*, where they built the cities of *Egeſta* and *Elyma*.

^a *Strabo*, l. 6.

It is said that *Aeneas* visited these places in his passage into *Italy*, and that some of the *Trojans*, his followers, were left behind him in these towns of *Sicily*; whereof there want not good authors that make *Aeneas* himself the founder.

About the same time the *Phenicians* seized upon the promontories of *Pachinus* and *Lilybaeum*, and upon certain small isles adjoining to the main island; which they fortified, to secure the trades that they had with the *Sicilians*; like as the *Portugals* have done in the *East-Indies*, at *Goa*, *Ormuz*, *Mosambique*, and other places. But the *Phenicians* stay'd not there; for after they had once assured their descents, they built the goodly city of *Panormus*, now called *Palermo*.

These we find were the nations that inhabited the isle of *Sicily* before the war of *Troy*, and ere the *Greeks* in any numbers began to straggle in those parts.

It may perchance seem strange to the reader, that in all ancient story he finds one and the same beginning of nations after the flood; and that the first planters of all parts of the world were said to be mighty and giant-like men; and that as *Phenicia*, *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Greece*, had *Hercules*, *Orestes*, *Anteus*, *Typhon*, and the like; as *Denmark* had *Starchaterus*, remembred by ^a *Saxo Grammaticus*; as *Scythia*, *Britany*, and other regions had giants for their first inhabitants: so this isle of *Sicily* had her *Læstriogones* and *Cyclopes*. This discourse I could also reject for fained and fabulous, did not *Moses* make us know, that the *Zamzummins*, *Emims*, *Anakims*, and *Og of Basban*, and others, which sometime inhabited the mountains and desarts of *Moab*, *Ammon*, and mount *Seir*, were men of exceeding strength and stature, and of the races of giants; and were it not that ^b *Tertullian*, *St. Augustine*, *Nicephorus*, *Procopius*, *Istodore*, *Pliny*, *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Solinus*, *Plutarch*, and many other authors, have confirmed the opinion. Yea, *Vesputius*, in his second navigation into *America*, hath reported, that himself hath seen the like men in those parts. Again, whereas the self-same is written of all nations that is written of any one, as touching their simplicity of life, their mean fare, their feeding on acorns and roots, their poor cottages, the covering of their bodies with the skins of beasts, their hunting, their arms and weapons, and their warfare, their first passages over great rivers and arms of the sea upon rafts of trees tied together; and afterwards, their making boats, first of twigs and leather, then of wood; first with oars, and then with sail; that they esteemed as gods the first finders out of arts; as of husbandry, of laws, and of policy; it is a matter that makes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For they all lived in the same newness of time, which we call old-time, and had all the same want of his instruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hath by degrees taught all mankind. For other teaching had they none, that were removed far off from the *Hebrews*, who

inherited the knowledge of the first patriarchs, than that from variable effects they began by time and degrees to find out the causes: from whence came philosophy natural, as the moral did from disorder and confusion, and the law from cruelty and oppression.

But it is certain, that the age of time hath brought forth stranger and more incredible things than the infancy. For we have now greater giants for vice and injustice than the world had in those days for bodily strength; for cottages and houses of clay and timber we have raised palaces of stone; we carve them, we paint them, and adorn them with gold; insomuch, as men are rather known by their houses, than their houses by them; we are fallen from two dishes to two hundred; from water to wine and drunkenness; from the covering of our bodies with the skins of beasts, not only to silk and gold, but to the very skins of men. But to conclude this digression, time will also take revenge of the excess which it hath brought forth; *Quam longa dies peperit, longiorque auxit, longissima subruet*; Long time brought forth, longer time increased it, and a time longer than the rest shall overthrow it.

†. II.

The plantation of the Greeks in Sicily.

WHEN the first inhabitants had contended long enough about the dominion of all *Sicily*, it happened that one *Theocles*, a *Greek*, being driven upon that coast by an easterly wind, and finding true the commendations thereof which had been thought fabulous, being delivered only by poets, gave information to the *Athenians* of this his discovery, and proposed unto them the benefit of this easy conquest, offering to become their guide. But *Theocles* was as little regarded by the *Athenians*, as *Columbus*, in our grand-fathers times, was by the *English*. Wherefore he took the same course that *Columbus* afterwards did. He over-laboured not himself in perswading the noble *Athenians* (who thought themselves to be well enough already, to their own profit, but went to the *Chalcidians*, that were needy and industrious, by whom his project was gladly entertained. By these was built the city of *Naxos*, and a colony planted of *Eubeans*.

But the rest of the *Greeks* were wiser than our western princes of *Europe*; for they had no pope that should forbid them to occupy the void places of the world. *Archias* of *Corinth* followed the *Eubeans*, and, landed in *Sicily*, near unto that city called afterward ^c *Syracuse*; of which that part only was then compassed with a wall, which the *Etolians* called *Homothermon*; the *Greeks* *Nafos*; the *Latins* *Insula*. He, with his *Corinthians*, having overcome the *Siculi*, drove them up into the country; and after a few years, their multitudes increasing, they added unto the city of the island that of *Acradina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*. So as well by the commodity of the double port, capable of

^a Saxo G. in præfat. hilt.

^b Tertul. de Resurr. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 9. Et quæst. in Gen. Niceph. l. 2.

^c 37. Procop. l. 2. de Bello Goth. Plin. l. 7. c. 2.

^e Syracuse, as Cicero relates, was the greatest and most goodly city of all that the Greeks possessed. For the situation is both strong and of an excellent prospect, from every entrance by land or sea. The port was (for the most part) environed with beautiful buildings; and that part which was without the city, was on both sides bank'd up, and sustained with beautiful walls of marble. The city itself was one of the greatest in the world: For it had in compass (as Strabo reporteth) without the treble wall thereof, 180 furlongs, which made of our miles about 18. It was compounded of four cities (Strabo saith of five) to wit, *Insula*, *Acradina*, *Tycha* and *Neapolis*; of which greatness the ruins and foundations of the walls do yet witness. After such time as the Doræ of Peloponnesus had driven out the *Sicilians*, this goodly city, for a long time, became the seat of tyrants. The first whereof was *Gelon*; the second, *Hiero*, the elder; the third, *Thrasybulus*; the fourth and fifth, *Dionysius*, the elder and younger; the sixth, *Dion*; the seventh, *Agathocles*; the eighth, *Pyrrhus*; the ninth, *Hiero* the younger; the tenth and last, *Hieronimus*: who, being slain at *Leontium*, at length the Romans conquered it under the conduct of *Marcellus*.

as many ships as any haven of that part of *Europe*, as by the fertility of the soil; *Syracuse* grew up in great haste to be one of the goodliest towns of the world. In short time the *Greeks* did possess the better part of all the sea-coast, forcing the *Sicilians* to withdraw themselves into the fast and mountainous parts of the island, making their royal residence in *Trinacia*.

Some seven years after the arrival of *Archias*; the *Chalcidians*, encouraged by the success of the *Corinthians*, did assail and obtain the city of *Leontium*, built and possessed by the *Siculi*. In brief, the *Greeks* won from the *Siculi*, and their associates, the cities of *Catana* and *Hybla*, which, in honour of the *Megarians* that forced it, they called *Megara*.

About five and forty years after *Archias* had taken *Syracuse*; *Antiphemus* and *Entimus*, the one from *Rhodes*, the other from *Crete*, brought an army into *Sicily*, and built *Gela*; whose citizens, one hundred and eight years after, did erect that magnificent and renowned city of *Agrigentum*, governed according to the laws of the *Dorians*.

The *Syracusians* also, in the seventieth year after their plantation, did set up the city of *Acra*, in the mountains; and in the nineteenth year *Casmene*, in the plains adjoining; and again, in the hundred and thirtieth year of their dwelling in *Syracuse*, they built *Camerina*; and soon after that, *Enna*, in the very center of the island. So did the *Cumani*, about the same time, recover from the *Siculi* the city of *Zancle*, which they had founded in the streight between *Sicily* and *Italy*. They of *Zancle* had been the founders of *Himera*.

Not long after this, *Dorieus* the *Lacedemonian* built *Heracleia*; which the *Phenicians* and *Carthaginians*, fearing the neighbourhood of the *Spartans*, soon after invaded and ruined, tho' the same were again ere long re-edified.

Selirius also was built by a colony of *Megara*; and *Zancle* was taken by the *Messenians*; who having lost their own country, gave the name thereof unto this their new purchase. Such were the beginnings of the greatest cities in this island.

† III.

Of the government and affairs of Sicily, before Dionysius's tyranny.

THE most part of the cities in *Sicily*, were governed by the rule of the people, till such time as *Phalaris* began to usurp the state of *Agrigentum*, and to exercise all manner of tyranny therein.

This was that *Phalaris*, to whom *Perillus*, the cunning artificer of a detestable engine, gave an hollow bull of brass, wherein to inclose men, and scorch them to death: praising the device with this commendation; that the noise of one tormented therein, should be like the bellowing of a bull. The tyrant gave a due reward to the inventor, by causing the first trial to be made upon himself. He reigned one and thirty years, saith *Eusebius*; others give him but sixteen: howsoever it were, one *Telemachus*, in the end, fell upon him with the whole multitude of *Agrigentum*, and stoned him to death; being thereto animated by *Zeno*, even whilst the tyrant was tormenting the same *Zeno* to make him confess some matter of conspiracy.

After the death of *Phalaris*, the citizens recovered their liberty, and enjoy'd it long, till *Thero*

usurped the government of the common-wealth; at which time also *Panetius* made himself lord of *Leontium*; and *Cleander*, of *Gela*: but *Cleander*, having ruled seven years, was slain by one of the citizens. *Cleander* being dead, his brother *Hippocrates* succeeded in his room, and greatly afflicted the people of *Naxos*, of *Zancle* or *Messina*, and of *Leontium*; whom, with divers others of the ancient inhabitants, he forced to acknowledge him their lord. He also made war with the *Syracusians*, and in the end got from them, by composition, the city of *Camerina*. But when he had reigned seven years, he was slain in a battel against the *Siculi*, before *Hybla*.

At this time did the *Syracusians* change their form of government, from *Popular* to *Aristocratical*; a preparation towards a principality, whereinto it was soon after changed. After the death of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon* (descended from the *Rhodians*, which together with the *Cretans* had long before, among other of the *Greeks*, seated themselves in *Sicily*) that had commanded the forces of *Hippocrates*, in the former war, with notable success, became lord of *Gela*. He, after his master's death, breaking the trust committed unto him by *Hippocrates* over his children, and being in possession of *Gela*, took the occasion and advantage of a contention in *Syracuse*, between the magistrates and the people. For coming with a strong army to the succour of the governours, driven out by the multitude, they elected him their prince, being the first, and (indeed) the most famous, that ever governed the *Syracusians*.^a This change happened in the second year of the three-score and twelfth *Olympiad*; wherein the better to establish himself, he took to wife the daughter of *Thero*, who had also usurped the state of *Agrigentum*.

Now this *Gelon*, the son of *Dinomenes*, had three brethren; *Hiero*, *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasylbulus*: to the first of which he gave up the city of *Gela*, when he had obtained the principality of *Syracuse*. For, after that time, all his thoughts travelled in the strengthening, beautifying, and amplifying of *Syracuse*. He defaced *Camerina*, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the *Syracusians* who built it, and brought the citizens to *Syracuse*. The *Megarians*, that had moved a war against him, he overcame; the richer sort he brought to *Syracuse*; and the people he sold for slaves. In like manner dealt he with other places upon the like occasion. Not long after this, *Thero*, a prince of the *Agrigentines*, having dispossessed *Terillus* of his city *Himera*, the *Carthaginians* were drawn into the quarrel by *Anaxilus*, lord of *Messina*, father-in-law to *Terillus*: and *Gelon* also was solicited by his father-in-law, *Thero*. *Gelon* was content, and in fine, after divers conflicts, the *Carthaginians*, and other *Africans*, led by *Amilcar*, were overthrown by *Gelon*: and an hundred and fifty thousand of them left their bodies in *Sicily*.

This *Gelon* it was, to whom the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians* sent for succour, when *Xerxes* with his huge army pass'd the *Hellepont*. He, for their relief, having armed thirty thousand soldiers, and two hundred ships, refused nevertheless to send them into *Greece*, because they refused him the commandment of one of their armies, either by sea or by land. So he used to their ambassadors only this saying, *That their spring was withered*; accounting the army, by him prepared, to be the very flower of the *Greek* nation.

^a Pausan. l. 6. ^b Herod. & Diod.

The *Carthaginians*, after this great loss received, fearing the invasion of their own country, sent to *Gelon* by their ambassadors, to desire peace; who grants it them on these conditions: That from thenceforth they should not sacrifice their children to *Saturn*: That they should pay him two thousand talents of silver; and present him with two armed ships, in sign of amity. These conditions the *Carthaginians* not only willingly accepted, but with the two thousand talents, and the ships for war, they sent unto *Demarata*, *Gelon's* wife, a crown, valued at an hundred talents of gold, with other presents. Whereby we see that some nations and some natures are much the better for being well beaten. The wars ended, and *Sicily* in peace, *Gelon* beautified the temples of the gods, and erected others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloved and honoured of his subjects, he left the world, and left for his successor his brother *Hiero*. *Philistus* and *Pliny* report, that when his body was burnt, according to the custom of that age, a dog of his, which always waited on him, ran into the fire, and suffered himself to be burnt with him.

To *Gelon*, *Hiero* his brother succeeded; a man rude, cruel, covetous, and so suspicious of his brethren *Polyzelus* and *Thrasylbulus*, as he sought by all means to destroy them. Notwithstanding all this; by the conversation which he had with *Simonides*, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the study of good arts. Divers quarrels he had, as well with *Theron* of *Agrigentum*, as with other cities: all which he shortly after compounded, and gave a notable overthrow to the *Carthaginians*, whom *Xerxes* had incited to invade *Sicily*, fearing the succours which *Gelon* had prepared, to aid the *Grecians*, against him. He also overthrew in battle, *Thrasylbulus* the son of *Theron*, and thereby restored the *Agrigentines* to their former liberty. But in the end he lost the love of the *Syracusians*; and after he had reigned eleven years, he left the kingdom to his brother *Thrasylbulus*, who became a most unjust and bloody tyrant. *Thrasylbulus* enjoy'd his principality no longer than ten months. For notwithstanding the force of mercenary soldiers, which he entertained for his guards, he was beaten out of *Syracuse* by the citizens; to whom, being besieged in *Acradina*, he restored the government, and was banished the island. From thence he sailed into *Greece*, where he died a private man, among the *Locrians*.

And now had the *Syracusians* recovered again their former liberty, as all the rest of the cities did, after which they had never fought, had the successors of *Gelon* inherited his virtue, as they did the principality of *Syracuse*. For in all changes of estates, the preservation ought to answer the acquisition. Where a liberal, valiant, and advised prince, hath obtained any new signiory, and added it to that of his own, or exalted himself from being a private man, to the dignity of a prince; it becometh the successor to maintain it by the same way and art, by which it was gotten.

To conclude, *Syracuse* (tho' not without blows, ere she could cleanse her self of the creatures and lovers of *Gelon*) was now again become mistress of her self, and held her self free well near threescore years, to the time of *Dionysius*; tho' she were in the mean while greatly endangered by a citizen of her own, called *Tindario*.

Now, to prevent the greatness of any one among them, for the future, they devised a kind of banishment of such among them as were suspected; taking pattern from the *Athenian Ostracism*. They

called this their new devised judgment of exile, *Petalismus*, wherein every one wrote upon an olive leaf (as at *Athens* they wrote upon shells) the name of him, whom he would have expelled the city. He that had most suffrages against him, was banished for five years. Hereby, in a short time it came to pass, that those of judgment, and best able to govern the common-wealth, were by the worst able, either suppress'd or thrust out of the city. Yea, such as feared this law, tho' they had not yet felt it, withdrew themselves as secretly as they could; seeking some place of more security, wherein to maintain themselves. And good reason they had so to do; seeing there is nothing so terrible in any state, as a powerful and authorized ignorance. But this law lasted not long. For their necessity taught them to abolish it, and restore again the wiser sort to the government; from which, the nobility having practised to banish one another, the state became altogether popular. But after a while, being invaded by *Ducetius*, king of the *Sicilians*, that inhabited the inner part of the island (who had already taken *Enna*, and some other of the *Grecian* cities, and overthrown the army of the *Agrigentines*) the *Syracusians* sent forces against him, commanded by an unworthy citizen of theirs, called *Bolcon*. This their captain made nothing so much haste to find *Ducetius*, against whom he was imploy'd, as he did to fly from the army he led, as soon as *Ducetius* presented him battle. So, for want of conduct, the greatest number of the *Syracusians* perished.

But making better choice among those whom they had banished, they levy other troops: by whom, in conclusion, *Ducetius* being beaten, submiteth himself, and is constrained to leave the island for a time. Yet it was not long ere he returned again, and built the city *Collatina* on the sea-side.

Ducetius being dead; all the *Greek* cities did in a sort acknowledge *Syracuse*: *Trinacia* excepted; which also by force of arms, in the fourscore and fifth *Olympiad*, they brought to reason.

But they do not long enjoy this their superintendency. For the citizens of *Leontium*, being oppress'd by them, seek aid from the *Athenians*, about the sixth year of the *Peloponnesian* war. In this suit they prevailed by the eloquence of *Gorgias* their orator; and got an hundred *Athenian* galleys to succour them, under the leading of *Laches*, and *Charoades*. To this fleet the *Leontines* and their partners added one hundred more; with which forces, and with some supplies brought by *Sophocles*, *Pythodorus*, *Eurymedon*, and other *Athenian* captains, they invaded the territories of the *Syracusians*, and their partisans; won and lost divers places; took *Messina*; and in the seventh year of the *Peloponnesian* war, lost it again. They also, at the same time, attempted *Himera*, but in vain. The fire of this quarrel took hold upon many cities, which invaded each other's territory with great violence. But when they had wearied themselves on all hands, and yet could see no issue of the war; the *Leontines*, without the advice of the *Athenians*, came to an accord with the *Syracusians*, and were admitted into their society with equal freedom. So the *Athenians*, who hoped to have greatness themselves in *Sicily*, by the division and civil war, were disappointed of their expectation, by the good agreement of the *Sicilians*, and fain to be gone with the broken remainder of their fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the custom of popular estates) by taking revenge upon their own commanders. So they banished

Pythodorus,

Pythodorus and *Sophocles*, and laid an heavy fine upon *Eurymedon*. Shortly after this, followed the most memorable war that ever was made by the *Greeks* in *Sicily*; which was that of the *Athenians* against the *Selinuntines* and *Syracusians*, in favour of the cities of *Egesta*, *Leontium*, and *Catana*. They of *Selinus* had oppressed the *Egestans*, and they of *Syracuse* the *Leontines*, and the *Catanians*; which was the ground of the war. For the *Athenians* undertook the protection of their old friends; and, in hatred of the *Athenians*, aid from *Lacedemon* was sent to the *Syracusians*. The *Lacedemonians* dealt plainly, having none other end than that which they pretended, namely, to help a people of their own tribe, that craved their succour, being in distress. The *Athenians* scarce knew what to pretend, for their preparations were so great, as discovered their intent to be none other than the conquest of the whole island; yet they, which had called them in, were so blinded with their own passions, that they would not believe their own eyes, which presented unto them a fleet and army far greater than the terrible report of fame had made it.

In this expedition the city of *Athens* had engaged all her power, as regarding not only the greatness of the enterprize, but the necessity of finishing it in a short space of time. For the *Lacedemonians* (as hath already been shewed in due place) stood at that time in such broken terms of peace with *Athens*, as differed not much from open war. Wherefore it was thought necessary either to spare no cost in this great expedition, or altogether to forbear it, which was likely to be hindered by wars at home, if their proceedings were slack abroad. And surely, had not the desire of the *Athenians* been overpassionate, the arguments of *Nicias* had caused them to abstain from so chargeable a business, and to reserve their forces for a more needful use. But young counsels prevailed against the authority of ancient men, that were more regardful of safety than of honour.

Of this business mention hath been already made, in that which we have written of the *Peloponnesian* war. But what was there delivered in general terms, as not concerning the affairs of *Greece*, otherwise than by consequence, doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter wherein the whole state of *Sicily* was like to have felt a great conversion.

Though *Alcibiades* had prevailed against *Nicias*, in exhorting the people to this great voyage; yet *Nicias*, together with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*, was appointed to be one of the chief commanders therein.

These had commission and direction, as well to succour the *Segeßans*, and to re-establish the *Leontines*, cast out of their places by the *Syracusians*, as also by force of arms to subject the *Syracusians*, and all their adherents in *Sicily*, and compel them by tribute to acknowledge the *Athenians* for their supreme lords. To effect which, the fore-named captains were sent off with an hundred and thirty galleys, and five thousand one hundred soldiers, besides the thirty ships of burden, which transported their victuals, engines, and other munitions for the war; and these were *Athenians*, *Mantineans*, *Rhodiens*, and *Candians*: there were, besides these, six thousand *Megarians* light armed, with thirty horsemen.

With these troops and fleets they arrive at *Rhegium*, where the *Rhegians* refuse to give them entry; but sell them victuals for their money. From

thence they sent to the *Egestans*, to know what treasure they would contribute towards the war, seeing, for their sakes, they had entered thereinto. But they found, by their answers, that these *Egestans* were poor, and that they had abused the *Athenian* ambassadors with false shews of gold, having in all but thirty talents. The *Athenians* further were discouraged, when they found that the *Rhegians*, their ancient friends, and allied unto the *Leontines*, refused to trust them within their walls. Hereupon *Nicias* adviseth to depart towards the *Selinuntines*, and to force them, or persuade them to an agreement with the *Egestans*; as likewise to see what disbursements the *Egestans* could make, and so return again into *Greece*, and not to waste *Athens* in a needless war. *Alcibiades*, on the other side, would solicit the cities of *Sicily* to confederacy against the *Syracusians*, and *Selinuntines*, whereby to force them unto restitution of all that they had taken from the *Leontines*. *Lamachus*, he persuades them to assail *Syracuse* it self, before it were prepared against them. But in the end (being excluded out of divers cities) they surprize *Catana*; and there they take new counsel how to proceed. Thence they employed *Nicias* to those of *Egesta*, who received from them thirty talents towards his charges, and one hundred and twenty talents more there were of the spoils they had gotten in the island. Thus, the summer being spent in idle consultations and vain attempts, the *Athenians* prepare to assail *Syracuse*. But *Alcibiades*, having been accused at home in his absence, was sent for back by the *Athenians*, to make his answer, and the army was left to the conduct of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. These commanders obtain a landing-place very near unto *Syracuse*, by this device.

They employ to *Syracuse* an inhabitant of *Catana*, whom they trust, and instruct him to promise unto the *Syracusians*, that he would deliver into their hands all the *Athenians* within *Catana*. Hereupon the *Syracusians* draw thitherward with their best forces. But in the mean while, the *Athenians* setting sail from *Catana*, arrive at *Syracuse*, where they land at fair ease, and fortify themselves against the town. Shortly after this, they fight, and the *Syracusians* had the loss; but the *Athenians* wanting horse, could not pursue their victory to any great effect. They then retire themselves, with a resolution to refresh their army at *Catana*, for the winter-season. From thence they made an attempt upon *Messina*, hoping to have taken it by an intelligence, but in vain; for *Alcibiades* had discovered such as were traitors within the city to the *Messinians*. This he now did, in despite of his own citizens the *Athenians*, because they had recalled him from his command, with a purpose either to have put him to death, or to have banished him; whereof being assured by his friends, he took his way towards the *Lacedemonians*, and to them he gave mischievous counsel against his country. While this winter yet lasted, the *Syracusians* sent ambassadors to *Lacedemon* and *Corinth* for aid; as likewise the *Athenian* captains in *Sicily*, send to *Athens* for supplies; which both the one and the other obtained.

In the spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth year of the *Peloponnesian* war) the *Athenians* in *Sicily* sail from the port of *Catana* to *Megara*, forsaken of the inhabitants; from whence foraging the country, they obtain some small victories over the stragling *Syracusians*; and, at their return to *Catana*, they receive a supply of two hundred men at arms, but without horse, which they hoped to furnish in the island, from the *Segeßans*,

^a Thucyd. l. 6. c. 9.

and other their adherents: they were also strengthened with a company of archers, and with three hundred talents in money.

Hereupon they take courage, and encamp near *Syracuse*, upon the banks of the great port, repelling the *Syracusians* that sallied to impeach their intrenchments. They also received from their confederates four hundred horse-men, with two hundred other horse, to mount their men at arms. *Syracuse* was now in effect block'd up, so as hardly any succours could enter, but such as were able to force their passage: yet the *Athenians* receive divers losses; among which it was not the least, that *Lamachus*, one of their best commanders, was slain.

In the mean while, *Gylippus* and *Python*, with the *Lacedemonian* and *Corinthian* forces, arrive, and take land at *Himera*. The citizens of *Himera*, and of *Gela*, together with the *Selinuntines*, join with them; so that with these, and his own troops, *Gylippus* ventured to march over-land towards *Syracuse*. The *Syracusians* send a part of their forces to meet him, and conduct him. The *Athenians* prepare to encounter them, expecting his arrival near unto the city, upon a place of advantage. At the first encounter they had the better of their enemies, by reason that the *Syracusan* horse-men could not come to fight in those streights; but soon after, *Gylippus*, charging them again, brake them, and constrained *Nicias* to fortify himself within his camp. Whereupon *Nicias* made the state of his affairs known by his letters to the *Athenians*; shewing, that without great supplies by sea and land, the enterprize would be lost, together with the small army remaining. These letters received, the *Athenians* appoint two other generals, *Eurymedon* and *Demosthenes*, to join with *Nicias*; the one they dispatch presently with some supply; the other they send after him in the spring following.

In the mean while *Gylippus*, at *Syracuse*, fights with the *Athenians* both by sea and land; sometimes with ill, sometimes with good success; but in conclusion, he took from them their fort near unto *Syracuse*, at the promontory called *Plummyrium*, wherein the *Athenians* lost their treasure, and a great part of all their provisions. Notwithstanding which loss, and that the *Athenians* themselves in *Greece* were (in effect) besieged within *Athens*, by the *Lacedemonians*; yet were they most obstinate in prosecuting the war in *Sicily*, and dispatched away *Demosthenes* with new succours. *Demosthenes*, in his way towards *Sicily*, encountered with *Polyanthes* the *Corinthian* with his fleet, both the captains being bound for *Sicily*; the one to succour *Nicias*, the other *Gylippus*. The loss between them was in effect equal, and neither so broken, but that each of them prosecuted the enterprize they had in hand. But before the succours arrive to either, *Gylippus* and *Ariston* had assailed the *Athenians* in the great port of *Syracuse*, and in a sea-fight put them to the worst, to the great discouragement of the *Athenians*. On the neck of this, *Demosthenes* arrived with seventy-three galleys, charged with foot-men; and (blaming the sloth of *Nicias*) he invaded the *Syracusians* the same day that he arrived. But he made more haste than he had good speed, being shamefully beaten and repulled with great loss. Hereupon *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon* determine to rise up from before *Syracuse*, and return to the succour of *Athens*; but *Nicias* disputed to the contrary, pretending that he had good intelligence within *Syracuse*, whereby he learned that the town could not long hold out.

Whatsoever *Nicias's* intelligence was, upon the arrival of a new supply into the town, the *Athe-*

nians had all consented to depart, and to lodge at *Catana*, had not an eclipse of the moon, boding (as was thought) ill success, caused them to defer their departure. But this superstition cost them dear. For the *Syracusians*, *Lacedemonians*, and *Corinthians*, with seventy seven sail of galleys, entered the great port of *Syracuse*, wherein the *Athenians* kept their fleet, and whereon they had fortified themselves. The *Athenians*, in the same port, encountered them with eighty-six galleys, commanded by *Eurymedon*; in which the *Athenian* fleet was beaten by the lesser number, and *Eurymedon* slain. Now, though it were so that the *Syracusians* received the more loss by land (for the fight was general;) yet when the *Athenians* were beaten by sea, in which kind they thought themselves invincible, they were wonderfully cast down. For it was well said of *Gylippus* to the *Syracusians*; *When any people do find themselves vanquished in that manner of fight, and with those weapons in which they persuade themselves that they exceed all others, they not only lose their reputation, but their courage.* The *Athenians*, besides the galleys sunk and wrack'd, had 17 taken and possessed by the enemy; and with great labour and loss they defended the rest from being fired, having drawn them within a pallisado, in one corner of the port, unadvisedly; for it is as contrary to a sea-war, to thrust ships into a streight room and corner, as it is to scatter foot in a plain field against horse; the one subsisting by being at large, the other by close embatteling.

The *Syracusians* having now weakened the *Athenian* fleet, resolve to imprison them within the port. And to that purpose they range all their galleys in the mouth of the haven, being about a mile over, and there they came to anchor; filling the out-let with all manner of vessels, which they man most strongly, because the *Athenians*, being now made desperate, should not with double ranks of galleys break through the *Syracusan* fleet, which lay but single, because they were forced to range themselves over all the out-let of the port. They therefore not only moored themselves strongly by their anchors, but chained the sides of their galleys together, and laid behind them again certain ships, which served in the former war for victuallers; to the end, that if any of their galleys were sunk, or the chain which joined them to their fellows broken, the *Athenians* might yet find themselves a second time entangled and arrested. To disorder also those *Athenian* galleys which came on in form of a wedge, to break through and force a passage, the *Syracusians* had left within these galleys and ships inchained together a certain number of loose ones, to stop their course and fury; for where the way of any vessel using oar or sails is broken, and their speed fore-slowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence the resistance opposing.

On the other side, the *Athenians* knew that they were utterly lost, except, with an invincible resolution, they could make their way, and break down this great bridge of boats; or (at least) force a passage through them in some part or other; which they resolve to hazard with all their shipping (to the number of one hundred and ten of all sorts) and with all the strength of their land-army, in them embarked. But the galleys, which were within the bridge of boats, did so disorder the *Athenian* fleet, ere they came to force the bridge, as, albeit some few of them had broken through the chains; yet, being stopped by the ships without, and assailed by other loose galleys of the *Syracusians*, which were purposely left at large in the sea, they were either taken or sunk. Three great disadvantages the *Athenians* had; the first, that fighting within a haven,

and (as it were) in a streight, they had no room to turn themselves, nor to free themselves one from another, being entangled; the second, that having over-pettered their gallies with soldiers, who used offensive arms of darts and slings, they had not place upon the decks to stretch their arms; the third was, the discomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a passage, by which they might save themselves by running away. To be short, the fight was no less terrible than the confusion, the slaughter great on all sides, and the noise and the cries so loud and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the *Athenians*, as many as survived, were beaten back to the land, with the loss of sixty of their gallies, broken, sunk, or abandoned. The *Syracusians* did also lose twenty of theirs, with *Python*, the commander of the *Corinthians*. The rest of the *Athenian* gallies running themselves into the bottom of the port, saved themselves by the help and countenance of the land-army, there fortified. In this desperate estate, the *Athenian* commanders go to counsel. *Demosthenes* persuades them to furnish with fresh soldiers those few gallies which remained; and, while the *Syracusians* were triumphing, and made secure by their present victory, to set upon them, and forcing their way out of the port, to return to *Athens*. This was no ill counsel; for, as we have heard of many great captains (yea, the greatest number of all that have been victorious) that have neglected the speedy prosecution of a beaten enemy; so might we produce many examples of those, who, having slept securely in the bosom of good success, have been suddenly awakened by the rallied companies of a broken army, and have thereby lost again all the honour and advantage formerly gotten. But *Nicias* opposeth the advice of *Demosthenes*; others say, that the sea-men were against it. Whereupon abandoning their gallies, they all resolve to march over-land to the cities of their confederates, till some more favourable fortune should call them thence. On the other side, *Gylippus*, and other the *Lacedemonian* and *Corinthian* captains, with *Hermocrates*, exhort the *Syracusians* to put themselves presently into the field, and to stop all the passages leading to those cities of their enemies, to which the *Athenians* might make their retreat. But many were weary, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the present. Which humour in some of our commanders at *Cadez*, lost us both the *Indian* fleet, and the spoils of many other neighbouring places. *Hermocrates* the *Syracusan*, finding it a lost labour to persuade his countrymen to any hasty prosecution, devised this good stratagem, thereby to gain time; not doubting, but that after a day or two, he should draw them willingly out. He sent two or three horse-men out of *Syracuse* by night, willing them to find *Nicias*, and (after they had assured him that they were of the *Athenians* faction) to give him advice not to march away over-hastily from the place wherein he was fortified; alledging, that the *Syracusians* had lodged their army, which could not long stay there upon the passages and places of advantage, leading towards the cities of their allies. These tidings *Nicias* easily believed, and put off his journey to the third day; for men newly beaten, are (for the most part) more fearful than wise, and to them every thistle in the field appears, by night, a man at arms.

The third day (leaving all their gallies, and all their baggage) they remove, being pierced and pursued with the lamentable out-cries of those that were sick and hurt, whom they abandon to the cure of

their enemy's swords. The rest march away, to the number of forty thousand, and make their first passage by force over the river of *Anapus*, notwithstanding the opposition of their enemies. But being every day charged in their marches, and by the *Syracusan* horse-men beaten in from foraging and provision of food, they grow weak and heartless. The *Syracusians* also possess the mountain *Lepas*, by which they were to pass towards *Camerina*, and thereby force them to fall back again towards the sea-coast, and to take what way they could, being unable to proceed in their journey intended. Many hard stints they made in difficult passages, and blind marches by night, which they were fain to endure, as having none other means to escape from the enemy that pursued them, and held them waking with continual skirmishing. To keep all in order, *Nicias* undertook the leading of the vanguard, and *Demosthenes* conducted the rear. At the river *Eri-neus*, *Nicias* takes the start of a whole night's march, leaving *Demosthenes* to make the retreat, who being encompassed, and over-pressed with numbers, surrenders himself. The conditions he obtained, were far better than he could have hoped for; and the faith of his enemies far worse than he suspected; for he was afterwards, with *Nicias*, murdered in prison. The army of *Demosthenes* being dissolved, they pursue *Nicias* with the greater courage, who being utterly broken upon the passage of the river *Assinarus*, surrendered himself to *Gylippus* upon honest conditions. *Gylippus* sought to preserve him, and to have had the honour to have brought these two to *Sparta*; *Nicias*, as a noble enemy to the *Lacedemonians*, and who, at the overthrow which they received at *Pylus*, by the *Athenians*, had saved the lives of the vanquished; *Demosthenes*, as one that had done to *Lacedemon* the greatest hurt. *Hermocrates* also, the commander of the *Syracusan* army, dissuaded the rest, by all the art he had, from using any barbarous violence after so noble a victory. But the cruel and cowardly sort (cowardise and cruelty being inseparable passions) prevailed, and caused these brave captains to be miserably murdered; one part of their soldiers to be starved in loathsome prisons, and the rest sold for slaves. This was the success of the *Sicilian* war, which took end at the river *Assinarus*, the twenty-fourth day of *May*, in the ninety-first *Olympiad*.

The *Athenians* being beaten out of *Sicily*, the *Egeffians* (for whose defence against the *Selinuntines*, this late war had been taken in hand) fearing the victorious *Syracusians*, sought help from the *Carthaginians*, to whom they offered themselves and their city as their vassals. The *Carthaginians*, though ambitious enough of enlarging their dominion in *Sicily*, yet considering the prosperity of the *Syracusians*, and their late victories over the *Athenians*, they staid a while to dispute of the matter, whether they should refuse or accept the offer made unto them; for the *Selinuntines* were streightly allied to the *Syracusians*, as may appear by what is past. In the end, the senators of *Carthage* resolve upon the enterprize; and (by a trick of their *Punic* wit) to separate the *Syracusians* from the *Selinuntines*, they send ambassadors to *Syracuse*; praying that city, as in the behalf of the *Egeffians*, to compel the *Selinuntines* to take reason, and to rest content with so much of the lands in question, as they of *Syracuse* should think meet to allow them. The *Syracusians* approved the motion, for it tended to their own honour. But the *Selinuntines* would make no such appointment; rather they took it ill, that the *Syracusians*, with whom they had run one course of fortune in the *Athenian* war, should offer to trouble them by interposing

terposing as arbitrators, in a business that themselves could end by force. This was right as the *Carthaginians* would have it. For now could they of *Selinus* with an ill grace crave aid of *Syracuse*, and the *Syracusians* as ill grant it unto those that had refused to stand to the arbitrement, which the *Carthaginians* would have put into their hands. Hereupon an army of three hundred thousand men is set out from *Carthage*, under the conduct of *Hannibal*, nephew to that *Amilcar*, who (as you have heard before) was overthrown with the great *Carthaginian* army at *Himera* by *Gelon*. *Hannibal* was exceeding greedy of this employment, that he might take revenge, as well of his uncle's as of his father's death, the one of them having been slain by the *Himerans*, the other by those of *Selinus*. Both these cities *Hannibal*, in this war, won by force of arms, sack'd them and burnt them; and having taken three thousand of the *Himerans* prisoners, he caused them to be led unto the place where *Amilcar* was slain, and buried them there.

After this followed some trouble at *Syracuse*, occasioned by the banishment of *Hermocrates*, who had lately been general of the *Syracusian* forces against the *Athenians*. The malice of his enemies had so far prevailed with the ingratul multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his mere virtue, at such time as he was aiding the *Lacedemonians* in their war against *Athens*, wherein he did great service. All the honest sort within *Syracuse* were sorry for the injury done unto him, and sought to have him repealed. *Hermocrates* himself returning into *Sicily*, gathered an army of six thousand, with which he began to repair *Selinus*, and by many noble actions, laboured to win the love of his citizens; but the faction that opposed him was the stronger. Wherefore he was advised to seize upon a gate of *Syracuse*, with some strength of men, whereby his friends within the town might have the better means to rise against the adverse party. This he did; but presently the multitude fell to arms, and set upon him, in which conflict he was slain. But his son-in-law, *Dionysius*, shall make them wish *Hermocrates* alive again.

†. IV.

Of *Dionysius* the tyrant; and others, following him, in *Syracuse*.

THE *Syracusians* had enjoyed their liberty about threelcore years, from the death of *Thrasybulus*, to the death of *Hermocrates*; at which time *Dionysius* was raised up by God to take revenge, as well of their cruelty towards strangers, as of their ingratitude towards their own best citizens. For, before the time of *Dionysius*, they had made it their pastime to reward the virtue of their worthiest commanders with death or disgrace; which custom they must now be taught to amend.

Dionysius obtained the principality of *Syracuse*, by the same degrees that many others before him had made themselves masters of other cities, and of *Syracuse* itself. For, being made *Prætor*, and commanding their armies against the *Carthaginians* and other their enemies, he behaved himself so well, that he got a general love among the people and men of war. Then began he to follow the example of *Pisistratus*, that made himself Lord of *Athens*; obtaining a band of six hundred men to defend his person; under pretence, that his private enemies, being traiterously affected to the state of *Syracuse*, had laid plots how to murder him, because of his good services. He doubled the pay of the soldiers; alledging, that it would

encourage them to fight manfully; but intending thereby to assure them to himself. He perswaded the citizens to call home out of exile those that had been banished, which were the best men of *Syracuse*; and these were afterwards at his devotion, as obliged unto him by so great a benefit. His first favour among the *Syracusians*, grew from his accusation of the principal men. It is the delight of base people to reign over their betters; wherefore, gladly did he help them to break down, as fetters imprisoning their liberty, the bars that held it under safe custody. Long it was not, ere the chief citizens had found whereat he aimed. But what they saw, the people would not see; and some that were needy, and knew not how to get offices without his help, were willing to help him, though they knew his purpose to be such, as would make all the city to smart. He began early to hunt after the tyranny, being but twenty-five years of age when he obtained it: but like, it was his desire to reign long. His first work of making himself absolute lord in *Syracuse*, was the possession of the citadel; wherein was much good provision, and under it the galleys were moored. This he obtained by allowance of the people; and having done this, he cared for no more, but declared himself without all shame or fear: the army, the chief citizens restored by him from banishment, all the needy sort within *Syracuse*, that could not thrive by honest courses; and some neighbour-towns bound unto him, either for his help in war, or for establishing the faction reigning at that present, were wholly affected to his assistance. Having therefore gotten the citadel into his hands, he needed no more, save to assure what he had already. He strengthened himself by divers marriages; taking first to wife the daughter of *Hermocrates*, and after her, two at once; the one a *Locrian*, *Doris*, by whom he had *Dionysius*, his successor; the other *Aristomache*, the daughter of *Hipparinus*, and sister to *Dion*, honourable men in *Syracuse*, which bare unto him many children, that served to fortify him with new alliances.

Yet it was not long ere some of the *Syracusians* (envying his prosperity) incited the multitude, and took arms against him, even in the novelty of his rule. But their enterprize was more passionately than wisely governed. He had shamefully been beaten by the *Carthaginians* at *Gela*; which as it vexed the *Sicilian* men at arms, making them suspect that it was his purpose to let the *Carthaginians* waste all, that he might afterwards take possession of the desolate places; so it inflamed them with a desire to free themselves from his tyranny. They departed therefore from him, and marched hastily to *Syracuse*, where they found friends to help them: there they forced his palace, ransacked his treasures, and so shamefully abused his wife, that, for the grief thereof, she poisoned her self. But he follow'd their heels apace, and firing a gate of the city by night, entered soon enough to take revenge, by making a speedy rid-dance of them; for he spared none of his known, no, not of his suspected enemies. After that, he grew so doubtful of his life, as he never durst trust barber to trim him, nor any person, no, not so much as his brother, to enter into his chamber unstripped and searched. He was the greatest robber of the people that ever reigned in any state; and withal the most unrespectively cruel.

After this, he separated with fortification that part of the city called the island, from the rest; like as the *Spaniards* did the citadel of *Antwerp*; therein he lodged his treasures and his guards.

He then began to make war upon the free cities of *Sicily*; but while he lay before *Herbessa*, an island town, the *Syracusians* rebelled against him; so as, with great difficulty, he recovered his citadel; from

from whence, having allured the old foldiers of the *Campanians*, who forced their paffage through the city with twelve hundred horfe, he again recovered the mastery over the *Syracusians*: and when a multitude of them were buſied in gathering in their harveſt, he diſarmed all the townſmen remaining, and new ſtrengthened the fort of the iſland with a double wall. He incloſed that part alſo called *Epipoles*; which, with threeſcore thouſand labourers, he finiſhed in three weeks, being two leagues in compaſs. He then built two hundred new gallies, and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and forty thouſand targets, with as many ſwords and head-pieces, with fourteen thouſand corſlets, and all other ſuitable arms. Which done, he ſent word to the *Carthaginians* (greatly enfeebled by the plague) that except they would abandon the *Greek* towns which they held in *Sicily*, he would make war upon them; and, not ſtaying for answer, he took the ſpoil of all the *Phenician* ſhips and merchandiſe within his ports; as king *Philip* the ſecond did of our *Engliſh* before the war in our late queen's time. He then goes to the field with fourſcore thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, and ſends his brother *Leptines* to ſea with two hundred gallies and five hundred ſhips of burthen. Moſt of the towns which held for *Carthage*, yielded unto him, ſaving *Panormus*, *Segeſta* or *Egeſta*, *Ancyra*, *Motya*, and *Entella*. Of theſe, he firſt won *Motya* by aſſault, and put all therein to the ſword; but before *Egeſta* he loſt a great part of his army, by a fall of the citizens. In the mean while *Himilco* arrives, but ere he took land, he loſt in a fight at ſea with *Leptines* fifty ſhips of war, and five thouſand foldiers, beſides many ſhips of burthen. This notwithstanding, he recovered again *Motya* upon his firſt deſcent. From thence marching towards *Meffina*, he took *Lypara*, and (ſoon after) *Meffina*, and razed it to the ground. Now began *Dionyſius* greatly to doubt his eſtate. He therefore fortified all the places he could in the territory of the *Leontines*, by which he ſuppoſed that *Himilco* would paſs toward *Syracuſe*, and he himſelf took the field again with 34000 foot and 1000 horſe. Now, hearing that *Himilco* had divided his army into two parts, marching with the one half over-land, and ſending *Mago* with the other by ſea: he ſent *Leptines* his brother to encounter *Mago*. But *Leptines* was utterly beaten by the *Carthaginians*; twenty thouſand of his men were ſlain, and an hundred of his gallies loſt. It is very ſtrange, and hardly credible, which yet good authors tell us, that one city ſhould be able to furniſh five hundred fail of ſhips, and two hundred gallies (for ſo many did *Syracuſe* arm in this war;) and more ſtrange it is, that in a batel at ſea, without any great artillery or muſket-ſhot, twenty thouſand ſhould be ſlain in one fight. In all our fights againſt the *Turks*, of which that at *Lepanto* was the moſt notable, we hear of no ſuch number loſt; nor in any other fight by ſea, that ever happened in our age, nor before us. When *Charles* the fifth went to beſiege *Algier*, he had in all his fleet, tranſports and others, but two hundred and fifty fail of ſhips, and fixty-five gallies: for the furniſhing of which fleet he ſought help from all the cities and ports of *Spain*, *Naples*, and the reſt of *Italy*. But in old times it was the manner to carry into the field, upon extremity, as many as were needful, of all that could bear arms, giving them little wages, or other allowance: in our days it is not ſo, neither indeed is it often requiſite. Upon this overthrow, *Dionyſius* poſts away to *Syracuſe*, to ſtrengthen it: *Himilco* follows him, and beſiegeth the town both by land and ſea. But the tyrant having received aid

from the *Lacedemonians*, under the conduct of *Pharacidas*, puts himſelf to ſea, to make proviſion for his citizens, who in his abſence take twenty of the *Carthaginian* gallies, and ſink four. Hereupon, finding their own ſucceſs prosperous, and that of the tyrant exceeding ill, having alſo at the preſent weapons in their hands, they conſult how to recover their liberty. And this they had done, had not *Pharacidas* the *Lacedemonian* reſiſted them. It alſo fell out, to his exceeding advantage, that the plague was ſo increaſed, and ſo violent among the *Carthaginians*, as it is ſaid, that above 100000 of them died thereof. He therefore, with the power that he could gather together, ſets upon them both by ſea and land; and having ſlain great numbers of them, forceth *Himilco* to deſire peace. This peace *Dionyſius* ſold him for a great ſum of money, on condition that he ſhould ſteal away with his *Carthaginians* only; which he baſely accepted, betraying the reſt of the *Africans* and *Spaniards*. Yet no faith was kept with him, for he was purſued, and left many of his *Carthaginians* behind him. The reſt of the *Africans* fell under the ſwords of their enemies; only the *Spaniards*, after they had a while bravely defended themſelves, were (after their ſubmiſſion) entertained, and ſerved the conqueror.

Many ſuch examples of perfidious dealing have I noted in other places, and can hardly forbear to deliver unto memory the like practices, when they meet with their matches: that which happened unto *Monſieur de Piles*, was very ſuitable to this treachery, wherewith *Dionyſius* purſued *Himilco*. I was preſent when *De Piles* related the injury done unto him. He had ſurrendered *St. John de Angely* to the *French* king *Charles IX.* who beſieged him therein. He ſurrendered it upon promiſe made by the faith of a king, that he ſhould be ſuffered to depart in ſafety, with all his followers. Yet, in preſence of the king himſelf, of the duke of *Anjou* his brother, general of his army, of the queen-mother, and of divers dukes and marſhals of *France*, he was ſet upon and broken in his march, ſpoiled of all that he had, and forced to ſave his life by flight, leaving the moſt of his ſoldiers dead upon the place; the king's hand and faith, warranting him to march away with enſigns diſplay'd, and with all his goods and proviſions, no whit availing him. It needs not therefore ſeem ſtrange, that an heathen tyrant ſhould thus break his faith, ſince kings, profeſſing chriſtianity, are bold to do the like, or command their captains to do it for them.

Dionyſius, after this great victory, took care to re-edify *Meffina*. *Mago*, who ſtaid in *Sicily*, to hold up the *Carthaginians* therein, is again beaten by *Dionyſius*, who is alſo beaten by the *Tauromenians*. A new ſupply of fourſcore thouſand ſoldiers is ſent from *Carthage* to *Mago*; but theſe take eggs for their money, and make peace with *Dionyſius*, leaving the *Sicilians* in *Tauromenium* to ſhift for themſelves, whom *Dionyſius*, after a long ſiege, overcame, and gave their city to his mercenary ſoldiers.

He then paſſed into *Italy*, obtained divers victories there, brought the *RLegians* on their knees, forced them to pay him one hundred and fourſcore thouſand crowns, to furniſh him with threeſcore gallies, and to put in an hundred pledges, for aſſurance of their future obſervance of covenants. This he did, not with any purpoſe to perform unto them the peace that they had ſo dearly bought; but that having taken from them their gallies, he might beſiege them, and ruin them utterly with the more eafe. Now, to the end he might not, without ſome colour, falſify the faith that he had given to them; he pre-

tended to want victuals for his army, at such time as he seemed ready to depart out of *Italy*, and sent to them to furnish him therewith, promising to return them the like quantity, at his coming home to *Syracuse*.

His resolution was, that if they refused to furnish him, he would then make their refusal the cause of his quarrel; if they yielded to aid him with the proportion which he desired, that then they should not be able, for want of food, to endure a siege any long time against him. For to ruin them he had fully determined, at what price soever. And great reason he had to take revenge of them, if he had done it fairly, and without breach of faith. For when, in the beginning of his reign, he desired them to bestow a daughter of some of their nobility upon him for a wife, they answered, that they had not any one fit for him, save the hangman's daughter. Princes do rather pardon ill deeds than villainous words. *Alexander* the great, forgave many sharp swords, but never any sharp tongues; no, though they told him but truly of his errors. And certainly, it belongs to those that have warrant from God, to reprehend princes, and to none else, especially in public.

It is said, that *Henry IV.* of *France* had his heart more inflamed against the Duke of *Biron*, for his over-bold and biting taunts that he used against him before *Amiens*, than for his conspiracy with the *Spaniard* or *Savoyan*; for he had pardoned ten thousand of such as had gone farther, and drawn their swords against him. The contemptuous words that Sir *John Parret* used of our late queen *Elizabeth* were his ruin, and not the counterfeit letter of the romish priest produced against him. So fared it with some other greater than he, that thereby ran the same and a worse fortune soon after.

To be short, he made them know new bread from old. He assaulted their town on all sides, which he continued to do eleven months, till he won it by force. He used his victory without mercy, especially against *Phyton*, who had commanded within it.

Some other wars he made with the *Carthaginians*, after the taking and raising of this city, and those with variable success. For as in one encounter he slew *Mago* with ten thousand *Africans*, so the son of *Mago* beat him, and slew his brother *Leptines*, with fourteen thousand of his soldiers. After which he bought his peace of the *Carthaginians*, as they had formerly done of him, following therein the advice of prosperity and adversity, as all kings and states do.

When he had reigned eight and thirty years he died; some say in his bed peaceably, which is the most likely, though others report it otherwise. A cruel man he was, and a faithless; a great poet, but a foolish one. He entertained *Plato* a while, but afterwards, for speaking against his tyranny, he gave order to have him slain or sold for a slave. For he could endure no man that flattered him not beyond measure. His parasites therefore stiled his cruelty, *The hate of evil men*; and his lawless slaughter, *The ornaments and effects of his justice*. True it is, that flatterers are a kind of vermin which prosper better than the worthiest and valiantest men do; And I wonder not at it; for it is a world; and as our *Saviour Christ* hath told us, *The world will love her own*.

To this *Dionysius*'s son, of the same name, succeeded, and inherited both his kingdom and his vices. To win the love of the people, he pardoned and released out of prison a great number of persons, by his father lock'd up and condemned.

Withal, he remitted unto his citizens divers payments by his father imposed upon them. Which done, and thereby hoping that he had fastened unto himself the people's affections, he cast off the sheep's skin, and put on that of the wolf. For being jealous of his own brethren, as men of more virtue than himself, he caused them all to be slain, and all the kindred that they had by their mother's side. For *Dionysius* his father (as hath been said) had two wives; *Doris* of *Locris*, and *Aristomache* a *Syracusan*, the sister of *Dion*, which brother-in-law of his he greatly enriched.

By *Doris* he had this *Dionysius*, who succeeded unto him; and by *Aristomache* he had two sons and two daughters; of which the elder, called *Sophrosyne*, he gave in marriage to his eldest son, and her half brother *Dionysius*; the younger, called *Arete*, he bestowed on his brother *Theorides*; after whose death, *Dion* took her to wife, being his niece.

This *Dion*, a just and valiant man, finding that *Dionysius* had abandoned all exercise of virtue, and that he was wholly given over to sensuality, prevailed so much with *Plato*, whose disciple he had been, as he drew him into *Sicily* to instruct the young king. And having persuaded the king to entertain him, he wrought so well with him, as *Dionysius* began to change condition, to change tyranny into monarchy, and to hold the principality that he had, rather by the love of his people and the national laws, than by the violence of his guards and garrisons. But this goodness of his lasted not long. For *Philistus* the historian, and other his parasites that hated *Dionysius*'s severity, wrought him out of the tyrant's favour, and caused him soon after to be banished out of *Sicily*, to the great grief of the whole nation. For whereas *Dion* had made offer to the king, either to compound the quarrels between him and the *Carthaginians*, of whom *Dionysius* stood in great fear, or (at least) if they refused it, to furnish him with fifty galleys at his own charge, during the war against them: his enemies found means, by sinister interpretation, to convert his good will into matter of treason. They told *Dionysius*, that all the great commendations given of *Plato*, had tended to none other end, than to soften his mind, and to make him neglect his own affairs by the study of philosophy; whilst *Dion*, in the mean time, having furnished fifty galleys, under colour of the king's service, had it in his own power, either to deliver to the *Syracusians* their former liberty, or to make himself lord and sovereign of their state.

It is likely, that the honest and liberal offer which he made to serve the king with so great a preparation at his own charge, begot him many enemies. For they that had served the king for none other end than to raise and enrich themselves, and had already been raised and enriched, thought themselves bound to make the same offer that *Dion* had made, if the king had had the grace to conceive it aright. But these covetous and ignorant cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring that *Dion* had, were bold to stifle his *Love* and *Liberality*, *Pride* and *Presumption*, and heartened the young king in his oppressing and eating up his own people, of whose spoils they themselves shared no small portion. I have heard it, that when *Charles V.* had the repulse at *Algier* in *Africa*, *Ferdinando Cortes*, one of the bravest men that ever *Spain* brought forth, offered unto the emperor to continue the siege at his own charge. But he had never good day after it. For they that envied his victories, and his conquest of *Mexico* in the *West-Indies*, persuaded

perswaded the emperor, that *Cortese* sought to value himself above him, and to have it said, that what the emperor could not, *Cortese* had effected, and was therefore more worthy of the empire than he that had it.

When *Dion* was newly banished, the tyrant was contented at first to send him the revenues of his lands, and permit him to dispose of his moveables at his own pleasure: not without giving hope to recall him in short time. Had he continued in this good mood, like enough it is, that *Dion* would have been well pleased to live well, as he did at *Athens*. But after some time, *Dionysius* made port-sail of this nobleman's goods, and thereby urged him to take another course, even to seek the restitution of his country to liberty. The virtues of *Dion*, especially his great liberality, had purchased much love in *Greece*. This love made him suspected and hated of the tyrant: but it stood him in good stead, when he sought to raise men, with whose help he might return into *Sicily*. Yet he got not above eight hundred (for he carried the matter closely) to follow him in this adventure. But many of them were men of quality, and fit to be leaders. Neither did he doubt of finding in *Syracuse*, as many as should be needful, that would readily assist him. Therefore he landed boldly in *Sicily*, marched to *Syracuse*, entered the city without resistance; armed the multitude, and won all, save the citadel.

Dionysius was then absent in *Italy*, but he quickly had advertisement of this dangerous accident. Wherefore he returned hastily to *Syracuse*: whence, after many vain treaties of peace, and some forceable attempts to recover the town, he was fain to depart; leaving yet the castle to the custody of *Apollocrates*, his eldest son. Yet ere he went, his minion *Philistus*, coming with a strength of men to assist him, was beaten, taken, and put to death by torment. But *Dion*, for the recovery of his country's liberty, had the same reward that all worthy men have had from popular estates. He was disgraced, assaulted, and forced to abandon the city. He retired himself to the *Leontines*, who receive him with great joy. Soon after his departure from *Syracuse*, new troops enter the castle: they fall out, assail, spoil and burn a great part of the city. *Dion* is sent for, with humble request: yet, ere he could arrive, *Dionysius's* soldiers were retired; and the townsmen thinking themselves secure, shut the gates against *Dion*. But the next night, they of the castle fall again with greater fury than ever; they kill man, woman, and child, and set fire in all parts of the town. In this their extremity, *Dion* comes the second time to their succour; the love of his country surmounting all the injuries that he had received. He sets upon the garrison of the castle with the one part of his army; and quencheth the fire, every where kindled with the other part. In conclusion, after he had conquered both the fire and the sword, that had well near burnt to ashes and depopulated *Syracuse*, he recovered the castle, with the munition and furniture thereof, and sent *Apollocrates* after *Dionysius* his father into *Italy*. But their malice, of whom he had best deserved, and whom he had loved most, gave an untimely end to his days. For he was soon after this his victory, murdered by *Calippus*; who, after he had with ill success, a while governed *Syracuse*, was slain with the same dagger, with which he had murdered *Dion*.

Ten years after the death of *Dion*, *Dionysius*, with the assistance of his friends in *Italy*, recovers his estate, and returns to *Syracuse*, driving *Nysseus* thence, whom he found governour therein.

The better sort of the citizens, fearing, more than ever, his cruelty, fly to *Iceles*, a *Syracusan* born, and then ruling the *Leontines*. *Iceles* enters into confederacy with the *Carthaginians*, hoping by their assistance, not only to prevail against *Dionysius*, but by the hatred of the *Syracusians* towards *Dionysius*, to make him also lord of their city. The *Syracusians* being deservedly afflicted on all sides, send to the *Corinthians* for succour. *Iceles* also sends thither, and dissuades the *Corinthians*, as well as he can, from intermeddling in the business. He tells them by his messengers, that he had entered into league with the *Carthaginians*, who were so strong by sea, that it was not in the power of *Corinth* to land an army in *Sicily*. But the *Corinthians*, being by this treason of *Iceles*, more enraged than dissuaded, sent *Timoleon* with nineteen galleys to deliver *Syracuse* from tyranny. In the mean while, *Iceles* had entered *Syracuse*, and with the help of the *Carthaginians*, driven *Dionysius* into the castle, wherein he besieged him.

Iceles, being himself a tyrant in *Leontium*, rather sought how to enlarge his power, than how to deliver his country. Therefore, hearing that *Timoleon* was arrived at *Rhegium*, he sent to persuade him to return his fleet, for that all things were (in effect) established in *Sicily*. The *Carthaginian* galleys were also in the same port of *Rhegium*; whose captains advised *Timoleon* to get him gone in peace. They had far more galleys there than he had, and were like to compel him, if he would not be persuaded. *Timoleon* finding himself over-mastered, makes request to the *Carthaginian* captains, that they would be pleased to enter into *Rhegium*, and there, in an open assembly of the people, to deliver unto him those arguments for his return, which they had used to him in private; that he might, by public testimony, discharge himself to the senate of *Corinth*.

The *Carthaginians* persuading themselves, that a victory obtained by a few fair words, was without loss, and far more easy than that of many blows and wounds, yielded to *Timoleon's* desire. But while the orations were delivering, *Timoleon*, favoured by the *Rhegians*, stole out of the press; and having set sail before the gates were opened to the *Carthaginians*, he recovered the port of *Tauromenium*, where he was joyfully received by *Andromachus* the governour. From thence he marched towards *Adranum*, where surprising *Iceles's* army, he slew a part thereof, and put the rest to run. It is the nature of victory to beget friends. The *Adranitans* joined with him, and so did *Mamercus* the tyrant of *Catana*. *Dionysius* also sent to *Timoleon*, offering to surrender the castle of *Syracuse* into his hands: as thinking it better to yield up himself, and the places which he could not defend, unto the *Corinthians*, than either to *Iceles*, whom he disdained, or the *Carthaginians*, whom he hated. Now *Timoleon*, who within fifty days after his arrival, had recovered the castle of *Syracuse*, and sent *Dionysius* to *Corinth*, to live there a private man, was still invaded by the armies, and molested by the practices of *Iceles*. For he besieged the *Corinthians* within the castle of *Syracuse*, and attempted (but in vain) the murder of *Timoleon*.

The *Corinthians* send unto *Timoleon* a supply of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, which are staid in *Italy* by foul weather. *Iceles* is strengthened with three score thousand *Africans*, brought unto him by *Mago* (all which he lodgeth within *Syracuse*) and with an hundred and fifty galleys to keep the port. This was the first time that ever the *Carthaginians* had dominion within the walls of

of that city. With this great army, *Icetes* assaulteth the castle. *Timoleon* sends them victuals and succour in small boats by night from *Catana*. *Mago* and *Icetes* do therefore resolve to besiege *Catana*; but they were no sooner on their way towards it, with part of their forces, than *Leon*, captain of the *Corinthians*, sallied out of the castle, and took that part of *Syracuse*, called *Acradina*, which he fortified.

In the mean while the two thousand *Corinthians* arrive: with whom, and two thousand other soldiers, *Timoleon* marched towards *Syracuse*. *Mago* abandoneth *Icetes*, being frighted out of *Sicily* (which he might easily have conquered) with an idle rumour of treason. This made him return to *Carthage*, where the general exclamation against his cowardize, did so much affright him, that for fear of farther punishment, he hanged himself. *Timoleon* enters the city, and beats down the castle (which he called *the nest of tyrants*) to the ground. But he found the city, when the strangers were fled, in effect desolate, so as their horses did feed on the grass growing in the market-place. Therefore he writes to *Corinth* for people to re-inhabit it. Ten thousand are sent out of *Greece*; many come from *Italy*, others from other parts of the island.

But a new storm ariseth. *Asdrubal* and *Amilcar*, *Carthaginians*, arrive about *Lilybeum*, with three-score and ten thousand soldiers transported (with all their provision) in a thousand ships of burthen, and two hundred galleys. *Timoleon* marcheth thither, and chargeth this great army upon the passage of a river.

A tempest of rain, hail, and lightning, with boistrous winds beating upon the faces of the *Carthaginians*, they were utterly broken: ten thousand slain, five thousand taken, with all their carriages and provisions: among which, there were found a thousand corslets, gilt and graven. After this, *Timoleon* gave an overthrow to *Icetes*, and following his victory, took him, with his son *Eupolemus*, and the general of his horse, prisoners, whom he caused all to be slain: and afterwards (which was imputed to him for great cruelty) he suffered *Icetes's* wives and daughters to be put to death. But this was the revenge of God upon *Icetes*, who (after the murder of *Dion*) had caused *Arete*, *Dion's* wife, and a young child of his, with *Aristomache* his sister, to be cast into the sea.

He again prevailed against *Mamercus*, tyrant of *Catana*, and won *Catana* it self. *Mamercus* fled to *Hippon*, tyrant of *Messina*: but *Timoleon* pursuing him, won the town, delivering *Hippon* to his citizens, who tormented him to death. The same end had *Mamercus*, and all other, the tyrants in *Sicily*.

Finally, he made peace with the *Carthaginians*; on condition, that they should not pass the river of *Tanus*. After this, he lived in great honour among the *Syracusians*, till his death, and was solemnly buried by them in the market-place of their city: the day of his funerals being for ever ordained to be kept holy among them.

After such time as *Timoleon* had delivered *Syracuse* from the tyranny of *Dionysius*, and brought peace to the whole island, the inhabitants enjoyed their liberty in peace about twenty years. The cities and temples were repaired, the trade renewed, the merchant sailed in safety, and the labouring man enjoyed the fruits of the earth in quiet. But it was impossible that a nation, which neither knew how to govern, nor how to obey; which could neither en-

dure kings, nor men worthy to be kings to govern them, should any long time subsist.

Twenty years after the death of *Timoleon*, there started up one *Agathocles* among them, a man of base birth, and of baser condition, who, from a beggar to a common soldier, from a soldier to a captain, and so from degree to degree, rising to be a pretor; finally, became lord and sovereign of the *Syracusians*. Many fortunes he ran, and underwent as many dangers ere he obtained the principality. For he had more than once attempted it, and was therein both beaten and banished. A passing valiant man he was, and did notable service, as well for those by whom he was imploy'd, as also for the *Syracusians*, and against them. For in their wars against those of *Enna* and the *Campanes*, he did them memorable service: and on the contrary, as memorable service for the *Murgantines*, against the *Syracusians*. For, being entertained by the people of *Murgantia*, and made general of their forces, he sack'd *Leontium*; and besieged *Syracuse* so streightly, that the citizens were driven to crave aid, even from their ancient and natural enemies, the *Carthaginians*. *Amilcar* was sent by the *Carthaginians* to relieve *Syracuse*. With him *Agathocles* wrought so well, that he got him to make peace between himself and the *Syracusians*, binding himself by promise and oath, to remain a friend and servant to the estate of *Carthage* for ever after. *Amilcar* entertained the business, and compounded the quarrels between *Agathocles* and the *Syracusians*. *Agathocles* is chosen pretor, he entertains five thousand *Africans*, and divers old soldiers of the *Murgantines*, under colour of a purpose to besiege *Herbita*. With these, and with the assistance of the poor and discontented *Syracusians* (the city being also divided into many factions) he assails the senators, kills all his enemies and opposites, divides the spoil of the rich among the poor, and gives liberty to his soldiers to rob, to ravish, and to murder, for two whole days and nights, without controulment: the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous appetites, and strewed the streets with ten thousand dead carcases, besides those that had broken their necks over the walls, their fury had no further subject to work on.

Agathocles, in an assembly of the people (being an eloquent knave) perswaded them, that for the violent sickness, by which the common-wealth was utterly consumed, he found no better than the violent remedies which he had administered; and that he had affected no other thing, than the reducing of the state from an *Oligarchy*, or the rule of a few tyrannous magistrates, to the ancient and indifferent *Democracy*, by which it had been governed, from the first institution, with so great glory and prosperity. This he did, to have the crown clap'd on his head (as it were) perforce. For, as he knew that he had left none living within the city fit nor able to exercise the office of a magistrate; so knew he right well, that all they, which had assisted in the murder and spoil of their fellow citizens, had no other hope of defence, than the support of a lawless lord, who had been partaker with them in their villanies and cruelties committed. So as this rabble, his oration ended, proclaimed him king: again and again, saluting, and adoring him by that name, as if it had been given to him by some lawful election. Hence had our king *Richard* the third a piece of his pattern; but the one was of base, the other of kingly parents; the one took liberty from a common-wealth, the other sought only to succeed in a

monarchy; the one continued his cruelty to the end, the other, after he had obtained the crown, sought, by making good laws, to recover the love of his people.

The life of this tyrant is briefly written by *Justin*; more largely and particularly by *Diodorus Siculus*: the sum whereof is this. The same *Amilcar*, that had brought him into *Syracuse*, and that had lent him five thousand men to help in the massacre of the citizens, was also content to wink at many wrongs that he did unto the confederates of the *Carthaginians*. It was the purpose of *Amilcar*, to settle *Agathocles* in his tyranny, and to let him vex and waste the whole island, because it was thereby like to come to pass, that he should reduce all *Sicily* into such terms, as would make it become an easy prey to *Carthage*. But when the cities confederate with the *Carthaginians* sent their ambassadors with complaint of this ill dealing to *Carthage*; the *Punic* faith (so much taunted by the *Romans*, as no better than meer falshood) shewed it self very honourable, in taking order for the redress. Ambassadors were sent to comfort the *Sicilians*, and to put *Agathocles* in mind of his covenants; *Amilcar* was recalled home into *Africa*, and a new captain appointed to succeed in his charge, with such forces, as might compel *Agathocles* to reason, if otherwise he would not hearken to it. All this tended to save their confederates from suffering such injuries in the future. For that which was past (since it could not be recalled) they took order to have it severely punished. *Amilcar* was accused secretly, and by way of scrutiny: the suffrages being given, but not calculated, and so reserved until he should return. This was not so closely handled, but that *Amilcar* had soon notice of it. In managing his business with *Agathocles*, it is likely that he had an eye to his own profit, as well as to the publick benefit of his country. For he had made such a composition with the *Syracusan*, as gave him not only means to weaken others, but to strengthen himself both in power and authority, even against the *Carthaginians*. Such is commonly the custom of those that hope to work their own ends by cunning practices; thinking to deal subtilly, and finally, they spin their threads so small, that they are broken with the very wind. *Amilcar* saw that his *Carthaginians* had a purpose to deal substantially, and that therefore it would be hard for him to make them follow his crooked devices: which if he could not do, it was to be expected, that their anger would break out into so much the greater extremity, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore he followed the example which some of his foregoers had taught him; and for fear of such a death as the judges might award him, he ended his own life in what sort he thought best. This desperation of *Amilcar* served to inform *Agathocles* of the *Carthaginians* intent. He saw they would not be deluded with words, and therefore resolved to get the start of them in action. He dissembled no longer; but, instead of spoil and robbery, made open war upon all their adherents. He had made the better part of *Sicily* his own ere the *Carthaginian* forces arrived: which thinking to have encountered an ill established tyrant, found him ready, as a king, to defend his own, and give them sharp entertainment. They were beaten by him, and their navy was so tempest-beaten, that they could neither do good by land nor sea, but were glad to leave their business undone, and return into *Africa*.

The *Carthaginians* prepare a new fleet: which being very gallantly manned and furnished, was

broken by foul weather, and the best part of it cast away, even whilst it was yet within kenning of their city. But *Amilcar*, the son of *Gisco*, gathering together the remainders of this ship-wrack, was bold to pass over into *Sicily*, and landed not far from *Gela*: where *Agathocles* was soon ready to examine the cause of their coming. Many skirmishes passed between them, in which (commonly) the *Syracusan* had the better. But his good success begat presumption; whereby he lost a battle, more important than all the other fights. One adverse chance is enough to overthrow the state of a tyrant, if it be not upheld by great circumspection. The war was soon transferred to the walls of *Syracuse*, within which *Agathocles* was closed up, and driven to make his last defence by their help, who may be judged to have loved him not very greatly. But the inhabitants of *Syracuse*, after that great massacre of the principal men, made in the beginning of this new tyranny, were (for the most part) such as had been either mercenary soldiers, enfranchised slaves, or base and needy people; helpers in establishing the present government, and executioners of the murders and spoil committed in that change. If there were any other (as some there were) they were so well observed, and withal so fearful, that they durst not stir. But it was not enough, that they all agreed in the common defence of themselves and their city; famine was likely to grow upon them, and enforce them to change their resolution. In this necessity *Agathocles* adventured upon a strange course, which the event commended as wise. He embarked as many as he thought meet in those vessels that rode in the haven; and committing the government of the city to his brother *Antander*, willed the people to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) he had be-thought himself of a mean, both to raise the siege, and to repair all other losses. A *Carthaginian* fleet lay in the mouth of the haven, both to hinder the entrance of victuallers, and to keep the besieged from issuing forth.

Now at such time as *Agathocles* was ready to depart, advertisement came that many ships of burthen laden with corn and other provisions, were drawing near unto *Syracuse*. To intercept these, the *Carthaginians* hoist sail, and launch forth into the deep. They were not far gone when they might behold *Agathocles* issuing forth of the port, with purpose (as they thought) to give convoy unto his victuallers. Hereupon they wheel about, and make amain towards him, as thinking him the better booty. He neither abode their coming, nor fled back into the city, but made all speed towards *Africa*, and was pursued by the *Carthaginians*, as long as the day would give them light. In the mean season the victuallers were gotten into *Syracuse*, which was the more plentifully relieved by their coming, for that *Agathocles* had unburthened the place of no small number. When the *Carthaginian* admiral perceived; first, that by pursuing two fleets at once, he had missed of them both; and secondly, that *Agathocles* returned not again, but was gone to seek his fortune elsewhere; he thought it good to pursue those that were fled, and to attend to well upon them, that they should not have leisure to do mischief in some other part.

The *Carthaginian* navy followed *Agathocles* (whether by chance, or by relation of such as had met with him at sea) directly towards *Africa*, and overtook him after six days. He had (at the first) a great start of them, so that (belike) they rowed hard, and wearied themselves in seeking their own misfortune. For he fought with them, and beat them, and ha-

ving

ving sunk or taken many, drove the rest to fly which way they could, laden with such strange tidings of his voyage.

When *Agathocles* had landed his men in *Afric*, then did he discover unto them his project; letting them understand, that there was no better way to divert the *Carthaginians*, not only from *Syracuse*, but from all the isle of *Sicily*, than by bringing the war to their own doors. For here (said he) they have many that hate them, and that will readily take arms against them, as soon as they perceive that there is an army on foot which dares to look upon their walls. Their towns are ill fortified, their people untrained and unexperienced in dangers; the mercenary forces, that they levy in these parts, will rather follow us than them, if we offer greater wages than they can give: which we may better promise and make good, by letting them have some share with us in all the wealth of the *Carthaginians*, than our enemies can do, by making some addition to their stipends. Thus he talked, as one already master of all the riches in *Afric*, and with many brave words encouraged his men so well, that they were contented to set fire on all their ships (reserving one or two to use as messengers) to the end that no hope should remain, save only in victory. In this heat of resolution, they win by force two cities, which, after they had thoroughly sacked, they burnt to the ground, as a mark of terror to all that should make resistance. The *Carthaginians* hearing this, are amazed, thinking that *Amilcar* is broken, and his whole army destroyed in *Sicily*. This impression so dismays them, that when they know the truth of all, by such as had escaped in the late sea-fight, yet still they fear, and know not what. They suspect *Amilcar's* faith, who had suffered *Agathocles* to land in *Afric*; they suspect their principal citizens at home of a meaning to betray *Carthage* unto the enemy; they raise a great army, and know not unto whose charge they may safely commit it.

There were at that time two famous captains in the city, *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*; great enemies, and therefore the more unlikely to conspire against the common-wealth. These are made generals of the army levied, which far exceeded the forces of *Agathocles*. But it seldom happens, that dissension between commanders produceth any fortunate event. Necessity drove *Agathocles* to fight, and the courage of his men, resolved to deal with the whole multitude of the *Carthaginians*, made easy the victory against the one half of them. For *Bomilcar* would not stir: but suffered *Hanno* to be cut in pieces.

The reputation of this great victory brought over a king of the *Africans*, from the *Carthaginian* society, to take part with *Agathocles*, who pursuing his victory, wins many towns, and sends word to *Syracuse* of his good success. The *Carthaginians* also send into *Sicily*, willing *Amilcar* their general to succour the state of *Afric*, which was in danger to be lost, whilst he was travelling in the conquest of *Sicily*. *Amilcar* sends them five thousand men: all his forces he thought it not needful to transport, as hoping rather to draw *Agathocles* back into *Sicily*, than to be drawn home by one that could scarce retain his own kingdom. But these good hopes had a bad issue. He spent some time in winning a few towns that adhered unto the *Syracusians*: and having brought his matters to some good order, he conceived a sudden hope of taking *Syracuse* by surprise. It was a pretty (though tragical) accident, if it were true, as *Tully* relates it. *Amilcar* had a dream, which told him

that he should sup the next day within *Syracuse*. His fancy begot this dream, and he verily believed it. He made more haste than good speed towards the city; and coming upon it on the sudden, had good hope to carry it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had laid an ambush to intrap him, whereinto he fell. So he was carried prisoner into the city, in which it was likely that he had no great cheer to his supper; for they struck off his head, and sent it into *Afric* (a welcome present) to *Agathocles*.

This good success of things at home did put such courage into the *Sicilian* army, that *Agathocles* was bold to wear a crown, and stile himself King of *Afric*. He had allured *Ophellas*, king of the *Cyrenians*, to take his part, by promises to deliver the country into his hands; for that (as he said) it was sufficient unto himself to have diverted the *Carthaginians* from *Sicily*, wherein (after this war ended) he might reign quietly. *Ophellas* came with a great army, and was friendly entertained; but the traitorous *Sicilian* taking an advantage, did murder this his assistant; and afterwards, by good words and great promises, drew all the *Cyrenian* army to follow him in his wars. Thus his villany found good success, and he so prevailed in *Africa*, that he got leisure to make a step into *Sicily*. Many towns in *Sicily* had embraced a desire of recovering their liberty, thinking it high time to fight at length for their own freedom, after that they had so long been exposed (as a reward of victory) either unto aliens, or to tyrants of their own country. These had prevailed far, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cause; when the coming of *Agathocles* abated their high spirits, and his good success in many fights compelled them to obedience. Out of *Sicily* he returned into *Africa*, where his affairs stood in very bad terms. *Archagathus* his son had lost a battel, and (which was worse) had ill means to help himself, his army being in mutiny for lack of pay. But *Agathocles* pacified the tumult, by the accustomed promises of great booty and spoil. It had now been time for him to offer peace to the *Carthaginians*, which to obtain, they would (questionless) have given to him both money enough to pay his army, and all that they then held in *Sicily*. For their city had been distressed, not only by this his war, but by the treason of *Bomilcar*, who failed not much of making himself tyrant over them. But ambition is blind. *Agathocles* had all his thoughts fixed upon the conquest of *Carthage* itself; out of which dream he was awaked by the loss of a battel, not so memorable in regard of any accident therein, as of the strange events following it. The *Carthaginians*, after their great misfortunes in this war, had renewed their old sacrifices of children to *Saturn*, from which they had abstained ever since they made peace with *Gelon*. And now they made choice of some, the goodliest of their prisoners taken in the battel, to offer unto the said idol, in way of thankfulness for their victory. The fire, with which these unhappy men were consumed, caught hold upon the lodgings nearest unto the altar, and spreading itself farther through the camp, with the destruction of many men, caused such a tumult as is usual in the like cases. At the same time the like accident of fire burnt up the pavilion of *Agathocles*. Hereupon both the armies fled away, each of them believing that the noise in the adverse camp was a sign of the enemies coming to invade it. But the *Carthaginians* had a late retreat: *Agathocles*, by a second error, fell into a new calamity. In the beginning of this his flight

in the dark, he met with his own *African* foldiers, and thinking them to be enemies (as indeed one half of them had revolted from him to the *Carthaginians*, in the last battel) he began to assail them, and was so stoutly resisted, that he lost in this blind fight above four thousand of his men. This did so discourage his proud heart, that being fallen from the near hope of taking the city of *Carthage*, unto some distrust of his own safety, he knew no more how to moderate his present weak fears, than lately he had known how to govern his ambition. Therefore he took the way that came next into his head; which was, to steal closely aboard his ships with his younger son (the elder he suspected of incest and ambition) and so to fly into *Sicily*, thinking it the best course to shift for himself, as wanting vessels wherein to transport his army. His elder son *Archagathus*, perceiving his drift, arrested him, and put him under custody; but by means of a sudden tumult he was let loose, escaped, and fled alone, leaving both his sons behind him. His flight being noised through the army, all was in uproar, and extremity of rage caused not only the common foldiers, but even such as had been friends to the tyrant, to lay hold upon his two sons and kill them. That this flight of *Agathocles* was extremely base, I need not use words to prove; that his fear was truly, as all fear is said to be, a passion, depriving him of the succours which reason offered, the sequel doth manifest. His forsaken foldiers being now a headless company, and no longer an army to be feared, obtained nevertheless a reasonable composition from the *Carthaginians*, to whom they sold those places whereof they had possession for nineteen talents. Likewise *Agathocles* himself, having lost his army, did nevertheless, by the reputation of this late war, make peace with *Carthage* upon equal terms.

After this, the tyrant, being delivered from foreign enemies, discovered his bloody nature in most abominable cruelties among the *Sicilians*. His wants and his fears urged him so violently, that he was not satisfied with the spoils of the rich, or the death of those whom he held suspected, but in a beastly rage depopulated whole cities. He devised new engines of torment; wherein, striving to exceed the bull of *Phalaris*, he made a frame of brass that should serve to scorch mens bodies, and withal give him leave to behold them in their misery. So devilish is the nature of man, when reason, that should be his guide, is become a slave to his brutish affections. In these mischiefs he was so outrageous, that he neither spared sex nor age; especially when he was informed of the slaughter of his children in *Africa*. But this was not the way to preserve his estate; it threw him into new dangers. They, whom he had chased out of their country, took arms against him, and drove him into such fear, that he was fain to seek the love at *Carthage*, which by ruling well he might have had in *Sicily*. He freely delivered into the *Carthaginians* hands all those towns of the *Phenicians* in *Sicily*, belonging unto them, which were in his possession. They requited him honourably with great store of corn, and with four hundred talents of gold and silver. So (though not without much trouble and hazard) he prevailed against the rebels, and settled his estate. Having no further business left in *Sicily*, he made a voyage into *Italy*. There he subdued the *Bruttians*, rather by terror of his name than by any force, for they yielded at his first coming. This done, he went to the isle of *Lipara*, and made the inhabitants buy peace with one hundred talents of gold. But when he had gotten this great sum, he

would needs exact a greater; and finding plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to spoil the temples of their gods. Herein (methinks) he did well enough. For how could he believe those to be gods that had continually given deaf ears to his horrible perjuries? Then he returned richly home, with eleven ships laden with gold; all which, and all the rest of his fleet were cast away by foul weather at sea, one galley excepted, in which he himself escaped, to suffer a more miserable end. A grievous sickness fell upon him that rotted his whole body, spreading itself through all his veins and sinews. Whilst he lay in this case, all desiring his end, save only *Theogenia* (a wife that he had taken out of *Egypt*) and her small children; his nephew, the son of *Archagathus* before-mentioned, and a younger son of his own, began to contend about the kingdom. Neither did they seek to end the controversy by the old tyrant's decision; they regarded him not so much. But each of them laid wait for the other's life, wherein the nephew sped so well, that he slew his uncle, and got his grandfather's kingdom without asking any leave. These tidings wounded the heart of *Agathocles* with fear and sorrow. He saw himself without help like to become a prey to his ungracious nephew, from whom he knew that no favour was to be expected, either by himself, or by those whom only he now held dear, which were *Theogenia* and her children. Therefore he advised her and them to fly before they were surprized; for that otherwise they could by no means avoid either death, or somewhat that would be worse. He gave them all his treasures and goods, wherewith he even compelled them (weeping, to leave him desolate, in so wretched a case) to embark themselves hastily, and make speed into *Egypt*. After their departure, whether he threw himself into the fire, or whether his disease consumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him; but he ended his life as basely, as obscurely, and in as much want as he first began it.

After the death of *Agathocles* it was, that the *Mamertines* his foldiers traiterously occupied *Messina*, and infested a great part of the island. Then also did the *Carthaginians* begin to renew their attempts of conquering all *Sicily*. What the nephew of *Agathocles* did, I cannot find. Likely it is, that he quickly perished. For the *Sicilians* were driven to send for *Pyrrius* to help them, who had married with a daughter of *Agathocles*. But *Pyrrius* was soon weary of the country (as hath been shewed before) and therefore left it, prophesying, that it would become a goodly champion field, wherein *Rome* and *Carthage* should fight for superiority. In which business how these two great cities did speed, the order of our story will declare.

S E C T. V.

A re-continuation of the Roman war in Sicily. How Hieron, king of Syracuse, forsook the Carthaginians, and made his peace with Rome.

WHEN *Appius Claudius*, following the advantage of his victory gotten at *Messina*, brought the war unto the gates of *Syracuse*, and besieged that great city, *Hieron* found it high time for him to seek peace; knowing that the *Carthaginians* had neither any reason to be offended with him for helping himself by what means he could, when they were not in case to give him assistance, and foreseeing withal, that when once he had purchased his quiet from the *Romans*, it would be free for him to sit still without fear or molestation, whilst

Rome

Rome and *Carthage* were fighting for the mastery. In this good mood the new *Roman* consuls, *M. Valerius* and *C. Otacilius*, found him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendship. Yet they made use of their present advantage, and sold him peace for an hundred (some say two hundred) talents.

These consuls had brought a great army into *Sicily*, yet did they nothing else in effect than bring over *Hieron* to their side. If the *Syracusan* held them busied (which I find not, otherwise than by circumstances, as, by the sum of money imposed upon him, and by their performing none other piece of service) all the whole time of their abode in the island; then was his departure from the friendship of *Carthage* no less to his honour, than it was to his commodity. For by no reason could they require, that he should suffer his own kingdom to run into manifest peril of subversion for their sakes, that should have received all the profit of the victory; seeing they did expose him to the whole danger, without straining themselves to give him relief. But the *Carthaginians* had lately made good proof of the strength of *Syracuse* in the days of *Agathocles*, and therefore knew that it was able to bear a very strong siege. And hereupon it is like that they were the more slack in sending help; if (perhaps) it were not some part of their desire, that both *Rome* and *Syracuse* should weaken each one the other, whereby their own work might be the easier against them both. Yet indeed, the case of the besieged city was not the same when the *Romans* lay before it, as it had been when the *Carthaginians* attempted it. For there was great reason to try the uttermost hazard of war against the *Carthaginians*, who fought no other thing than to bring it into slavery; not so against the *Romans*, who thought it sufficient if they could withdraw it from the party of their enemies. Besides, it was not all one to be governed by *Agathocles* or by *Hieron*. The former of these cared not what the citizens endured, so long as he might preserve his own tyranny: the latter, as a just and good prince, had no greater desire than to win the love of his people, by seeking their commodity; but including his own felicity within the public, laboured to uphold both by honest and faithful dealing. Hereby it came to pass that he enjoyed a long and happy reign, living dear to his own subjects, beloved of the *Romans*, and not greatly molested by the *Carthaginians*; whom, either the consideration, that they had left him to himself ere he left their society, made unwilling to seek his ruin; or their more earnest business with the *Romans*, made unable to compass it.

SECT. VI.

How the Romans besiege and win Agrigentum. Their beginning to maintain a fleet. Their first loss and first victory by sea. Of sea-fight in general.

HIERON having sided himself with the *Romans*, aided them with victuals and other necessities; so that they presuming upon his assistance, recal some part of their forces. The *Carthaginians* find it high time to bestir them; they send to the *Ligurians*, and to the troops they had in *Spain*, to come to their aid; who being arrived, they made the city of *Agrigentum* the seat of war against the *Romans*, filling it with all manner of munition.

The *Roman* consuls having made peace with *Hieron* return into *Italy*, and in their places, *Lucius Posthumus* and *Quintus Mamilius* arrive. They go on towards ^a *Agrigentum*, and finding no enemy in the field they besiege it, though it were stuffed with fifty thousand soldiers. After a while, the time of harvest being come, a part of the *Roman* army range the country to gather corn, and those at the siege grow negligent; the *Carthaginians* sally furiously, and endanger the *Roman* army, but are in the end repelled into the town with great loss; but by the smart felt on both sides the assailants redoubled their guards, and the besieged kept within their covert. Yet the *Romans*, the better to assure themselves, cut a deep trench between the walls of the city and their camp, and another on the outside thereof, that neither the *Carthaginians* might force any quarter suddenly by a sally, nor those of the country without break upon them unawares; which double defence kept the besieged also from the receiving any relief of victuals and munitions, whilst the *Syracusan* supplies the assailants with what they want. The besieged send for succour to *Carthage*, after they had been in this sort pent up five months. The *Carthaginians* embark an army with certain elephants, under the command of *Hanno*, who arrives with it at *Heraclea*, to the west of *Agrigentum*. *Hanno* puts himself into the field, and surpriseth *Erbesus*, a city wherein the *Romans* had bestowed all their provision. By means hereof, the famine without grew to be as great as it was within *Agrigentum*, and the *Roman* camp no less streightly assieged by *Hanno*, than the city was by the *Romans*; inasmuch, as if *Hieron* had not supply'd them, they had been forced to abandon the siege. But seeing that this distress was not enough to make them rise, *Hanno* determined to give them battel. To which end departing from *Heraclea*, he makes approach unto the *Roman* camp. The *Romans* resolve to sustain him, and put themselves in order. *Hanno* directs the *Numidian* horse-men to charge their vanguard, to the end to draw them further on; which done, he commands them to return as broken, till they came to the body of the army, that lay shadowed behind some rising ground. The *Numidians* perform it accordingly; and while the *Romans* pursued the *Numidians*, *Hanno* gives upon them, and having slaughtered many, beats the rest into their trenches.

^a *Agrigentum* was a goodly city built by the *Celoi*, under conduct of *Ariston* and *Pythilus*. The compass was ten miles about the walls; and it had sometimes in it eight hundred thousand inhabitants. This city, by reason of the fertility of the soil, and the neighbourhood of *Carthage*, grew in a short space from small beginnings to great glory and riches. The plenty and luxury thereof was so great, as it caused *Empedocles* to say, that the *Agrigentines* built palaces of such sumptuousness, as if they meant to live for ever; and made such feasts, as if they meant to die the next day. But their greatest pomp and magnificence was in their goodly temples and theaters, water-conduits and fish-ponds, the ruins whereof at this day are sufficient arguments, that *Rome* itself could never boast of the like. In the porch of the temple of *Jupiter Olympius* (by which we may judge of the temple itself) there was set out on one side the full proportion of the giants fighting with the gods, all cut out in polished marble of divers colours; a work, the most magnificent and rare that ever hath been seen: on the other side, the war of *Troy*, and the encounters which happened at that siege, with the personages of the heroes that were doers in that war, all of the like beautiful stone, and of equal stature to the bodies of those men in ancient times: in comparison of which, the latter works of that kind are but petty things and mere trifles. It would require a volume to express the magnificence of the temples of *Hercules*, *Asclepius*, *Concord*, *Juno Lucina*, *Chastity*, *Proserpina*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, wherein the masterpieces of those exquisite painters and carvers, *Phidias*, *Zeuxis*, *Myron*, and *Polycletus* were to be seen. But in process of time it ran the same fortune that all other great cities have done, and was ruined by calamities of war, whereof this war present brought unto it not the least.

After this encounter, the *Carthaginians* made no other attempt for two months, but lay strongly incamped, waiting until some opportunity should invite them. But *Hannibal*, that was besieged in *Agrigentum*, as well by signs as messengers, made *Hanno* know, how ill the extremity which he endured, was able to brook such dilatory courses. *Hanno* thereupon a second time provoked the consuls to fight. But his elephants being disordered by his own vanguard, which was broken by the *Romans*, he lost the day, and with such as escaped he recovered *Heraclea*. *Hannibal* perceiving this, and remaining hopeless of succour, resolved to make his own way. Finding therefore that the *Romans*, after this day's victory, wearied with labour, and secured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the night, he rush'd out of the town with all the remainder of his army, and pass'd by the *Roman* camp without resistance. The consuls pursue him in the morning, but in vain; sure they were, that he could not carry the city with him, which with little ado the *Romans* entered, and pitifully spoiled. The *Romans*, proud of this victory, purpose henceforth rather to follow the direction of their present good fortunes, than their first determinations. They had resolved in the beginning of this war, only to succour the *Mamertines*, and to keep the *Carthaginians* from their own coasts; but now they determine to make themselves lords of all *Sicily*; and from thence, being favoured with the wind of good success, to sail over into *Africa*. It is the disease of kings, of states, and also of private men, to covet the greatest things, but not to enjoy the least; the desire of that which we neither have nor need, taking from us the true use and fruition of what we have already. This curse upon mortal men was never taken from them, since the beginning of the world to this day.

To prosecute this war, *Lucius Valerius*, and *Titus Octavius*, two new consuls, are sent into *Sicily*. Whereupon, the *Romans* being masters of the field, many inland towns gave themselves unto them. On the contrary, the *Carthaginians* keeping still the lordship of the sea, many maritime places became theirs. The *Romans* therefore, as well to secure their own coasts, often invaded by the *African* fleets, as also to equal themselves in every kind of warfare with their enemies, determine to make a fleet. And herein fortune favoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant in shipwrights craft, a storm of wind thrust one of the *Carthaginian* gallies of five banks to the shore.

Now had the *Romans* a pattern, and by it they began to set up an hundred *Quinqueremes*, which were gallies rowed by five on every bank, and twenty of three on a bank; and while these were in preparing, they exercised their men in the feat of rowing. This they did after a strange fashion. They placed upon the sea-lunds many seats, in order of the banks in gallies, whereon they placed their watermen, and taught them to beat the land with long poles, orderly, and as they were directed by the master, that so they might learn the stroke of the galley, and how to mount and draw their oars.

When their fleet was finished, some rigging and other implements excepted, *C. Cornelius*, one of the new consuls (for they changed every year) was made admiral; who being more in love with this new kind of warfare, than well advised, pass'd over to *Messina* with seventeen gallies, leaving the rest to follow him. There he stay'd not, but would needs row along the coast to *Lipara*, hoping to

do some piece of service. *Hannibal*, a *Carthaginian*, was at the same time governor in *Panormus*, who being advertised of this new seaman's arrival, sent forth one *Boodes*, a senator of *Carthage*, with twenty gallies to entertain him. *Boodes*, falling upon the consul unawares, took both him and the fleet he commanded. When *Hannibal* received this good news, together with the *Roman* gallies and their consul, he grew no less fool-hardy than *Cornelius* had been. For he, fancying to himself to surprize the rest of the *Roman* fleet, on their own coast, ere they were yet in all points provided, fought them out with a fleet of fifty sail; where-with falling among them he was well beaten, and leaving the greater number of his own behind him, made an hard escape with the rest; for of one hundred and twenty gallies, the *Romans* under *Cornelius* had lost but seventeen, so as one hundred and three remained, which were not easily beaten by fifty.

The *Romans* being advertised of *Cornelius*'s overthrow, make haste to redeem him, but give the charge of their fleet to his colleague *Duilius*. *Duilius*, considering that the *Roman* vessels were heavy and slow, the *African* gallies having the speed of them, devised a certain engine in the prow of his gallies, whereby they might fasten or grapple themselves with their enemies, when they were (as we call it) board and board, that is, when they brought the gallies sides together. This done, the weightier ships had gotten the advantage, and the *Africans* lost it. For neither did their swiftness serve them, nor their mariners craft, the vessels wherein both nations fought being open; so that all was to be carried by the advantage of weapon, and valour of the men. Besides this, as the heavier gallies were accidentally likely to crush and crack the sides of the lighter and weaker, so were they, by reason of their breadth, more steady; and those that best kept their feet could also best use their hands. The example may be given between one of the long boats of his majesty's great ships, and a *London* barge.

Certainly, he that will happily perform a fight at sea, must be skilful in making choice of vessels to fight in; he must believe, that there is more belonging to a good man of war upon the waters than great during; and must know, that there is a great deal of difference between fighting loose or at large, and grappling. The guns of a slow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes as those in a swift. To clap ships together without consideration, belongs rather to a mad-man than to a man of war; for by such an ignorant bravery was *Peter Strossie* lost at the *Azores*, when he fought against the Marquis of *Santa Cruz*. In like sort had the lord *Charles Howard*, admiral of *England*, been lost in the year 1588, if he had not been better advised, than a great many malignant fools were, that found fault with his demeanor. The *Spaniards* had an army aboard them, and he had none; they had more ships than he had, and of higher building and charging, so that had he intangled himself with those great and powerful vessels, he had greatly endangered this kingdom of *England*. For twenty men upon the defences are equal to an hundred that board and enter; whereas then, contrariwise, the *Spaniards* had a hundred for twenty of ours, to defend themselves withal. But our admiral knew his advantage, and held it; which had he not done, he had not been worthy to have held his head. Here to speak in general of sea-fight (for particulars are fitter for private hands than for the press) I say, that a fleet of twen-

ty ships, all good sailors and good ships, have the advantage on the open sea of an hundred as good ships, and of slower sailing. For if the fleet of an hundred sail keep themselves near together in a gross squadron, the twenty ships charging them upon any angle shall force them to give ground, and to fall back upon their own next fellows; of which, so many as entangle, are made unservicable or lost. Force them they may easily; because the twenty ships which give themselves scope, after they have given one broad side of artillery, by clapping into the wind, and staying, they may give them the other; and so the twenty ships batter them in pieces with a perpetual volley; whereas those that fight in a troop have no room to turn, and can always use but one and the same beaten side. If the fleet of an hundred sail give themselves any distance, then shall the lesser fleet prevail, either against those that are a-rear and hindmost, or against those, that, by advantage of over-sailing their fellows, keep the wind: and if upon a lee-shore, the ships next the wind be constrained to fall back into their own squadron, then it is all to nothing that the whole fleet must suffer shipwrack, or render itself. That such advantage may be taken upon a fleet of unequal speed, it hath been well enough conceived in old time; as by that oration of *Hermocrates* in *Thucydides*, which he made to the *Syracusians*, when the *Athenians* invaded them, it may easily be observed.

Of the art of war by sea, I had written a treatise for the lord *Henry*, prince of *Wales*; a subject, to my knowledge, never handled by any man, ancient or modern; but God hath spared me the labour of finishing it by his loss; by the loss of that brave prince; of which, like an eclipse of the sun, we shall find the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equal words and sorrows; I will therefore leave him in the hands of God that hath him. *Curae leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*

But it is now time to return to the beaten *Carthaginians*, who, by losing their advantage of swift boats, and boarding the *Romans*, have lost fifty sail of their gallies: as on the other side, their enemies, by commanding the seas, have gotten liberty to sail about the west part of *Sicily*, where they raised the siege laid unto *Segesta* by the *Carthaginians*, and won the town of *Macella*, with some other places.

S E C T. VII.

Divers enterseits of war between the Romans and Carthaginians, with variable success. The Romans prepare to invade Afric, and obtain a great victory at sea.

THE victory of *Duilius*, as it was honoured at *Rome* with the first naval triumph that

was ever seen in that city, so gave it unto the *Romans* a great encouragement to proceed in their wars by sea; whereby they hoped, not only to get *Sicily*, but all the other isles between *Italy* and *Africa*, beginning with *Sardinia*, whither soon after they sent a fleet for that purpose. On the contrary side, *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian*, lying in *Panormus*, carefully waited for all occasions that might help to recompense the late misfortune; and, being advertised that some quarrel was grown between the *Roman* soldiers and their auxiliaries, being such as caused them to incamp apart, he sent forth *Hanno* to set upon them, who taking them unawares, buried four thousand of them in the place. Now during the continuance of the land-war in *Sicily*, *Hannibal*, who had lately been beaten by sea, but escaped unto *Carthage*, meaning to make amends for his former error, obtained the trust of a new fleet, wherewith he arrived at *Sardinia*: the conquest of which island the *Romans* had entertained for their next enterprize. Now it so fell out, that the *Romans* crossing the seas from *Sicily*, arrived in the port where *Hannibal* with his new fleet anchored. They set upon him unawares, and took the better part of the fleet which he conducted, himself hardly escaping the danger. But it little availed him to have escaped from the *Romans*. His good friends the *Carthaginians* were so ill pleased with this his second unfortunate voyage, that they hanged him up for his diligence; for (as it hath been said of old) *Non est bis in bello peccare*; In war it is too much to offend twice.

After this, it was long ere any thing of importance was done by the consuls, till *Panormus* was besieged; where, when the *Romans* had fought in vain to draw the *Carthaginians* into the field, being unable to force that great city, because of the strong garrison therein bestowed: they then departed from thence, and took certain inland towns, as *Mysistratum*, *Enna*, *Camerina*, *Hippana*, and others, between *Panormus* and *Messina*. The year following, *C. Atilius* the consul, who commanded the *Roman* fleet, discovered a company of the *Carthaginian* gallies, ranging the coast; and, not staying for his whole number, pursued them with ten of his. But he was well beaten for the haste he made, and lost all, save the galley which transported him; wherein himself escaped with great labour. But ere all was done, the rest of *Atilius's* fleet was gotten up; who renewing the fight, recovered from the *Carthaginians* a double number of theirs; by which the victory remaining doubtful, both challenge it. Now to try at once which of these two nations should command the seas, they both prepare all they can. The *Romans* make a fleet of three hundred and thirty gallies, the *Carthaginians* of three hundred

^a If we may give credit to antiquities, which *Fazellus*, a diligent writer, hath left us in his history of *Sicily*; *Panormus*, now called *Palermo*, is one of the first cities that hath been built in all Europe. For whereas *Thucydides* seems to make it a colony of the *Phenicians*; *Ranzanus*, in libello de *Panormo*, lib. 6. affirms, that it was first and long before the time which *Thucydides* sets down, founded by the *Chaldeans*, and *Damascenes*. To prove which, he tells us of two inscriptions upon marble, in the Hebrew character, found at *Panormus* in the time of *William II.* king of *Sicily*, that were then beheld of all the citizens and other strangers, which being translated into Latin, say as followeth. *Vivente Isaac filio Abræ, & regnante in Idumæa, atque in valle Damascena, Isaac filio Isaac; ingens Hebræorum manus, quibus adjuncti sunt multi Damasceni, atque Phenices, profecti in hanc triangularem insulam, sedes perpetuas locaverunt in hoc amœnissimo loco, quem Panormum nominaverunt. In the other marble are found these words. Non est alius Deus præter unum Deum; non est alius Potens, præter eundem Deum, &c. Hujus turris præfectus est Saphu filius Elphaz filii Isaac, fratris Jacob filii Isaac, filii Abrahami; & turri quidem ipsi nomen est Baych; sed turri huic proxime nomen est Pharah. And this inscription (saith *Fazellus*) was found entire in the castle Baych, in the year 1534. Now whether these inscriptions were truly as ancient as *Thucydides*, who affirmeth, when the Greeks first into *Sicily*, that then the *Phenicians* inhabited *Panormus*; which certain it is they did in the first Punic war; to wit, the *Carthaginians*, who were *Phenicians*, from whom the *Romans* (*A. Aquilius* and *C. Cornelius*) commanding this army, took it. And when *Marcellus* beleagued *Syracuse*, it sent him in aid three thousand soldiers. But it was rather confederate than subject to the *Romans*. For *Cicero* against *Pericles*, names it among the free cities of *Sicily*. After *Syracuse* destroyed, it became the first city and regal seat, as well of the *Goths* and *Saracens* in that island, as of the emperors of *Constantinople*; of the *Normans*, *French* and *Aragonians*; which honour it holds to this day, and is much frequented for the excellent wine which grows about it.*

and fifty, ^a *Triremes*, *Quadrirèmes*, and *Quinquerèmes*.

The *Romans* resolve to transport the war into *Africa*, the *Carthaginians* to arrest them on the coast of *Sicily*. The numbers with which each of them filled their fleet, was (perhaps) the greatest that ever fought on the waters. By *Polybius's* estimation, there were in the *Roman* gallees an hundred and forty thousand men; and in those of *Carthage*, an hundred and fifty thousand; reckoning one hundred and twenty foldiers, and three hundred rowers to every galley, one with the other. The *Roman* fleet was divided into four parts, of which the three first made the form of a wedge or triangle; the two first squadrons making the flanks, and the third squadron the base; the point thereof (wherein were the two consuls as admirals) looking toward the enemy, and the middle space lying empty. Their vessels of carriage were towed by the third squadron. After all, came up the fourth, in form of a *Crescent*, very well manned, but exceeding thin, so that the horns of it inclosed all the third squadron, together with the corners of the first and second. The order of the *Carthaginian* fleet I cannot conceive by relation; but by the manner of the fight afterwards, I conjecture that the front of their fleet was thin, and stretched in a great length, much like to that which the *French* call *Combat en bati*; a long front of horse, and thin: which form, since the pistol prevailed over the lance, they have changed. Behind this first out-stretched front their battalions were more solid. For *Amilcar*, admiral of the *Carthaginians*, had thus ordered them of purpose (his gallees having the speed of the *Romans*) that when the first fleet of the *Romans* hastened to break through the first gallees they should all turn tail, and the *Romans* pursuing them (as after a victory) disorder themselves, and for eagerness of taking the runaways, leave their own three squadrons far behind them. For so it must needs fall out, seeing that the third squadron towed their horse-boats and victuallers, and the fourth had the rearward of all. According to *Amilcar's* direction it succeeded. For when the *Romans* had charged and broken the thin front of the *Carthaginian* first fleet, which ran away, they forthwith gave after them with all speed possible, not so much as looking behind them for the second squadron. Hereby the *Romans* were drawn near unto the body of the *Carthaginian* fleet led by *Amilcar*, and by him (at the first) received a great loss, till their second squadron came up, which forced *Amilcar* to betake him to his oars. *Hanno* also, who commanded the right wing of the *Carthaginian* fleet, invaded the *Roman* rearward, and prevailed against them. But *Amilcar* being beaten off, *Marcus Atilius* fell back to their succour, and put the *Carthaginians* to their heels, as not able to sustain both squadrons. The rear being relieved, the consuls came to the aid of their third battalion, which towed the victuallers, which was also in great danger of being beaten by the *Africans*; but the consuls joining their squadrons to it, put the *Carthaginians* on that part also to running. This victory fell to the *Romans*, partly by the hardiness of their soldiers, but principally, for that *Amilcar* being first beaten, could never after join himself to any of his other squadrons, that remained as yet in a fair likelihood of prevailing, so long as they fought upon even terms,

and but squadron to squadron. But *Amilcar* forsaking the fight, thereby left a full fourth part of the *Roman* fleet unengaged, and ready to give succour to any of the other parts that were oppress'd. So as in conclusion, the *Romans* got the honour of the day; for they lost but four and twenty of theirs, whereas the *Africans* lost thirty that were sunk, and threescore and three that were taken.

Now, if *Amilcar*, who had more gallees than the *Romans*, had also divided his fleet into four squadrons (besides those that he ranged in the front to draw on the enemies, and to engage them) and that, while he himself fought with one squadron that charged him, all the rest of the enemies fleet had been at the same time entertained, he had prevailed; but the second squadron being free came to the rescue of the first, by which *Amilcar* was oppress'd; and *Amilcar* being oppress'd and scattered, the consuls had good leisure to relieve both their third and fourth squadron, and got the victory.

Charles V, among other his precepts to *Philip II*, his son, where he adviseth him concerning war against the *Turks*, tells him, that in all battels between them and the *Christians*, he should never fail to charge the *Janisaries* in the beginning of the fight, and to engage them at once with the rest. For (saith he) the *Janisaries*, who are always reserved entire in the rear of the battel, and in whom the *Turk* reposeth his greatest confidence, come up in a gross body, when all the troops on both sides are disbanded and in confusion, whereby they carry the victory before them without resistance. By the same order of fight and reservation did the *Romans* also prevail against other nations. For they kept their *Triarii* in store (who were the choice of their army) for the upshot and last blow. A great and victorious advantage it hath ever been found, to keep some one or two good troops to look on, when all else are disbanded and engaged.

SECT. VIII.

The Romans prevail in Afric. Atilius the consul propoundeth intolerable conditions of peace to the Carthaginians. He is utterly beaten, and made prisoner.

NOW the *Romans*, according to their former resolution, after they had repaired and re-victualled their fleet, set sail for *Africa*, and arrived at the promontory of *Ihercules*, a great head-land, somewhat to the east of the port of *Carthage*, and some forty leagues from *Iheraclea* in *Sicily*, where *Amilcar* himself as yet staid. From this head-land (leaving the entrance into *Carthage*) they coasted the east-side of the promontory, till they came to *Clypea*, a town about fifty *English* miles from it. There they disembarked, and prepared to besiege *Clypea*, which, to ease them of labour, was yielded unto them. Now, had they a port of their own on *Africa* side, without which all invasions are foolish. By this time were the *Africans* also arrived at their own *Carthage*, fearing that the *Roman* fleet and army had directed themselves thither; but being advertised that they had taken *Clypea*, they made provisions of all sorts both by sea and land for their defence. The *Romans* send to *Rome* for directions, and in the mean while waste all round about them. The order given from the senate, was, that one of the consuls should remain with the

^a The *Quinqueremes* are gallees, wherein every oar hath five men to draw it; the *Quadrirèmes* had four to an oar, and the *Triremes* three. Some have thought that the *Quinqueremes* had five ranks of oars one over another; and the other gallees (rateably) fewer. But had this been so, they must then have had five decks each over other, which hath seldom been seen in ships of a thousand tons; neither could the third, fourth and fifth ranks, have reached unto the water with their oars.

army, and that the other should return with the fleet into *Italy*. According to this direction, *Manlius* the consul is sent home to *Rome*, whither he carried with him twenty thousand *African* captives, with all the *Roman* fleet and army, except forty ships, fifteen thousand foot and five hundred horse that were left with *Atilius*.

With these forces, *Regulus* easily won some towns and places that were unwalled, and laid siege to others; but he performed no great matter before he came to *Adis*. Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that near unto the river of *Bagrada* he encountered with a serpent of one hundred and twenty foot long, which he slew, not without loss of many soldiers, being driven to use against it such engines of war as served properly for the assaulting of towns. At *Adis* he met with the *Carthaginian* army, whereof the captains were *Hanno* and *Boslar*, together with *Amilcar*, who had brought over out of *Sicily* five thousand foot and five hundred horse to succour his country. These (belike) had an intent rather to weary him out of *Africa*, by weary protraction of time, than to undergo the hazard of a main fight. They were careful to hold themselves free from necessity of coming to blows, yet had they a great desire to save the town of *Adis* out of his hands. Intending therefore to follow their general purpose, and yet to disturb him in the siege of *Adis*; they encamp near unto him, and strongly (as they think) on the top of an hill; but thereby they lose the services both of their elephants and of their horse-men. This disadvantage of theirs *Regulus* discovers, and makes use of it. He assails them in their strength, which they defend a while; but in fine, the *Romans* prevail, and force them from the place, taking the spoil of their camp. Following this their good fortune at the heels, they proceed to *Tunis*, a city within sixteen miles of *Carthage*, which they assault and take.

By the loss of this battel at *Adis*, and more especially by the loss of *Tunis*, the *Carthaginians* were greatly dismay'd. The *Numidians*, their next neighbours towards the west, insult upon their misfortunes, invade and spoil their territory, and force those that inhabit abroad to forsake their villages and fields, and to hide themselves within the walls of *Carthage*. By reason hereof a great famine at hand threatens the citizens. *Atilius* finds his own advantage, and assures himself that the city could not long hold out; yet he feared lest it might defend it self until his time of office, that was near expired, should be quite run out, whereby the new consuls were like to reap the honour of obtaining it. Ambition therefore, that hath no respect but to it self, perswades him to treat of peace with the *Carthaginians*. But he propounded unto them so unworthy and base conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly possessed with fear, became now so courageous and disdainful, that they resolved either to defend their liberty, or to die to the last man. To strengthen this their resolution, there arrived at the same time a great troop of *Greeks*, whom they had formerly sent to entertain. Among these was a very expert soldier, named *Xantippus*, a *Spartan*; who being informed of what had passed, and of the overthrow which the *Carthaginians* received near unto *Adis*, gave it out publickly, that the same was occasioned by default of the commanders, and not of the nation. This

bruit ran till it came to the senate; *Xantippus* is sent for, gives the reason of his opinion; and in conclusion, being made general of the *African* forces, he puts himself into the field. The army which he led consisted of no more than twelve thousand foot and four thousand horse, with an hundred elephants. No greater were the forces wherewith the *Carthaginians* fought for all that they had, liberty, lives, goods, wives, and children; which might well make it suspected that the armies by sea, before spoken of, were misnumbered; the one consisting of an hundred and forty thousand, the other of an hundred and fifty thousand; were it not commonly found that they, which use the service of mercenary soldiers, are stronger abroad than at their own doors.

Xantippus, taking the field with this army, marched directly towards the *Romans*; and ranging his troops upon fair and level ground, fittest both for his elephants and horse, presented them battel. The *Romans* wondered much whence this new courage of their enemies might grow; but confident they were that it should be soon abated. Their chief care was, how to resist the violence of the elephants. Against them they placed the *Velites*, or light-armed soldiers, as a forlorn hope; that these might, either with darts and other casting weapons, drive back the beasts upon the enemies, or at least break their violence, and hinder them from rushing freely upon the legions. To the same end they made their battels deeper in file than they had been accustomed to do. By which means, as they were the less subject unto the impression of the elephants; so were they so much the more exposed unto the violence of horse, wherein the enemy did far exceed them. The elephants were placed by *Xantippus*, all in one rank, before his army, which followed them at a reasonable distance: his horse-men, and some light-armed foot of the *Carthaginian* auxiliaries were in the wings. The first onset was given by the elephants, against which the *Velites* were so unable to make resistance, that they brake into the battalions following, and put them into some disorder. In this case, the depth of the *Roman* battel was helpful; for when the beasts had spent their force in piercing through a few of the first ranks, the squadrons nevertheless persisted in their order, without opening. But the *Carthaginian* horse, having at the first encounter, by reason of their advantage in number, driven those of *Atilius* out of the field, began to charge the *Roman* battalions in flank, and put them in great distress; who being forced to turn face every way, could neither pass forward, nor yet retire; but had much ado to make good the ground whereon they stood. In the mean while, such of the *Romans* as had escaped the fury of the elephants, and left them at their backs, fell upon the *Carthaginian* army, that met them in very good array. It was no even match; the one were a disordered company, wearied with labour, and hurt; the other fresh, and well prepared to have dealt with the enemy upon equal terms. Here was therefore a greater slaughter with little fight, the *Romans* hastily recoiling to the body of their army, which being surrounded with the enemy, and spent with travel, fell all to rout, upon the defeat of these troops, that open the way to a general overthrow. So the *Carthaginians* obtained a full victory, destroying the whole

* This city was taken from the Turks by Charles the fifth, in the year 1536, and was one of the three keys which he gave in charge to Philip the second his son, to keep safe; to wit, this *Tunis*, the key of *Africa*; *Flushing*, the key of the *Netherlands*; and *Cadix*, the key of *Spain*. But two of these Philip so lost, that he never found them again; the third, our English never held, in the time of the renowned queen *Elizabeth*, to waring out of his hands; where we staid not to pick any lock, but brake open the doors, and having rested all, threw it into the fire.

Roman army, save two thousand, and taking five hundred prisoners, together with *Atilius* the consul. Of their own they lost no more than eight hundred mercenaries, which were slain when the fight began by two thousand of the *Romans*, that, wheeling about to avoid the elephants, bare down all before them, and made way even to the *Carthaginian* trenches. These were the two thousand that escaped, when the whole army behind them was routed. All the rest were either taken or slain. Hereby fortune made the *Romans* know, that they were no less her vassals, than were the *Carthaginians*; how insolent soever they had been in their proposition of peace, as if they had purchased from her the inheritance of their prosperity, which she never gave nor sold to any mortal man. With what joy these news were welcomed, when they came to *Carthage*, we may easily conjecture; and what great things the virtue of one man hath often brought to pass in the world, there are many examples to prove, no less than this of *Xantippus*; all of them confirming that sentence of *Eurypides*, *Mens una sapiens, plurimum vincit manus*; Many mens hands equal not one wise mind.

After this great service done to the *Carthaginians*, *Xantippus* returned into *Greece*; whether for that he was more injured than honoured, or for what other cause, it is unknown.

The death of *Atilius Regulus* the consul, was very memorable. He was sent from *Carthage* to *Rome*, about the exchange and ransom of prisoners on both sides; giving his faith to return, if the business were not effected. When he came to *Rome*, and plainly saw that his country should lose by the bargain, so far was he from urging the senate unto compassion of his own misery, that he earnestly perswaded to have the prisoners in *Afric* left to their ill destinies. This done, he returned to *Carthage*, where, for his pains taken, he was rewarded with an horrible death. For this his constancy and faith, all writers highly extol him; but the *Carthaginians* seem to have judged him an obstinate and malicious enemy, that neither in his prosperity would hearken to reason, nor yet in his calamity would have the natural care to preserve himself and others, by yielding to such an office of humanity, as is common in all wars (not grounded upon deadly hatred) only in regard of some small advantage. Whatsoever the *Carthaginians* thought of him, sure it is, that his faithful observance of his word given, cannot be too much commended. But that grave speech, which he made in the senate against the exchange of prisoners, appears in all reason to have proceeded from a vain-glorious forwardness, rather than from any necessity of state. For the exchange was made soon after his death, wherein the *Romans* had the worst bargain, by so much as *Regulus* himself was worth. As for the authority of all historians that magnify him in this point, we are to consider that they live under the *Roman* empire; *Philinus* the *Carthaginian*, perhaps, did censure it otherwise. Yet the death which he suffered with extreme torments, could not be more grievous to him, than it was dishonourable to *Carthage*. Neither do I think that the *Carthaginians* could excuse themselves herein, otherwise than by recrimination; saying, that the *Romans* deserved to be no better intreated, so much as it was their ordinary practice to use others in the like sort. Cruelty doth not become more warrantable, but rather more odious, by being customary. It was the *Roman* fashion to whip almost to death, and then to behead the captains of their enemies whom they took; yea, although they were such as had always made fair wars with them.

No. 36.

Wherefore it seems not meet, in reason, that they should cry out against the like tyrannical insolence in others, as if it were lawful only in themselves.

The consideration both of this misfortune, that rewarded the pride of *Atilius's* intolerable demands, and of the sudden valour whereinto the *Carthaginians* fear was changed by mere desperation, calls to remembrance the like insolency of others in prosperity, that hath bred the like resolution in those to whom all reasonable grace hath been denied. In such cases I never hold it impertinent to add unto one, more testimonies, approving the true rules from which our passions carry us away.

In the year 1378, the *Genoese* won so fast upon the *Venetians*, as they not only drove their galleys out of the sea, but they brought their own fleet within two miles of *Venice* itself. This bred such an amazement in the citizens of *Venice*, that they offered unto the *Genoese* (their state reserved) whatsoever they would demand. But *Peter Doria*, blown up with many former victories, would hearken to no composition, save the yielding of their city and state to his discretion. Hereupon the *Venetians* being filled with disdain, thrust out to sea with all their remaining power, and assail *Doria* with such desperate fury, that they brake his fleet, kill *Doria* himself, take nineteen of his galleys, fourscore boats of *Padoua*, and four thousand prisoners; recover *Chiozza*, and all the places taken from them; and following their victory, enter the port of *Genoa*, enforcing the *Genoese* basely to beg peace, to their extreme dishonour and disadvantage, being beaten; which being victorious, they might have commanded, to their greatest honour and advantage. The like happened to the earl of *Flanders*, in the year 1380, when having taken a notable, and withal an over-cruel revenge upon the *Gantois*, he refused mercy to the rest, who in all humility submitting themselves to his obedience, offered their city, goods, and estates, to be disposed at his pleasure. This when he had unadvisedly refused, and was resolved to extinguish them utterly, they issue out of their city with five thousand chosen men, and armed with a desperate resolution, they charge the earl, break his army, enter *Bruges* (pell-mell) with his vanquished followers, and enforce him to hide himself under an heap of straw in a poor cottage, out of which, with great difficulty, he escaped, and saved himself. Such are the fruits of insolency.

SECT. IX.

How the affairs of Carthage prospered after the victory against Atilius: How the Romans, having lost their fleet by tempest, resolve to forsake the seas: the great advantages of a good fleet in war, between nations divided by the sea.

BY the reputation of this late victory, all places that had been lost in *Afric*, return to the obedience of *Carthage*. Only *Clypea* stands out, before which the *Carthaginians* set down, and assail it, but in vain: for the *Romans* hearing of the loss of *Atilius*, with their forces in *Afric*, and withal, that *Clypea* was besieged, make ready a gross army, and transport it in a fleet of three hundred and fifty galleys, commanded by *M. Aemilius* and *Ser. Fulvius* their consuls. At the promontory of *Mercury*, two hundred *Carthaginian* galleys set out on purpose, upon the bruit of their coming, encounter them, but greatly to their cost: for the *Romans* took by force an hundred and fourteen of their fleet, and drew them after them to *Clypea*, where they staid no longer than to take in their own men that had been besieged; and this done, they made amain towards *Sicily*, in hope

hope to recover all that the *Carthaginians* held therein. In this hasty voyage, they despise the advice of the pilots, who pray them to find harbour in time, for that the season threatened some violent storms, which ever happened between the rising of *Orion* and of the ^a *Dog-star*. Now although the pilots of the *Roman* fleet had thus forewarned them of the weather at hand, and certified them withal, that the south coast of *Sicily* had no good ports, wherein to save themselves upon such an accident; yet this victorious nation was perswaded that the wind and seas feared them no less than did the *Africans*; and that they were able to conquer the elements themselves. So refusing to stay within some port, as they were advised, they would needs put out to sea; thinking it a matter much helping their reputation, after this victory against the *Carthaginian* fleet, to take a few worthless towns upon the coast. The merciless winds in the mean while overtake them, and near unto *Camerina*, overturn and thrust headlong on the rocks all but eighty, of three hundred and forty ships; so as their former great victory was devoured by the seas, before the same thereof recovered *Rome*.

The *Carthaginians* hearing what had happened, repair all their warlike vessels, hoping once again to command the seas: they are also as confident of their land-forces since the overthrow of *Atilius*. They send *Asdrubal* into *Sicily* with all their old foldiers, and an hundred and forty elephants, embarked in two hundred gallies. With this army and fleet he arrives at *Lilybæum*, where he begins to vex the partizans of *Rome*. But adversity doth not discourage the *Romans*: they build in three months (a matter of great note) one hundred and twenty ships, with which, and the remainder of their late shipwrack, they row to *Panormus*, or *Palermo*, the chief city of the *Africans* in *Sicily*, and surround it by land and water: after a while they take it, and, leaving a garrison therein, return to *Rome*.

Very desirous the *Romans* were to be doing in *Africa*: to which purpose they employed *C. Servilius* and *C. Sempronius* their consuls. But these wrought no wonders. Some spoil they made upon the coasts of *Africa*, but fortune robbed them of all their gettings. For in their return, they were first set upon the sands, and like to have perished near unto the lesser *Syrtes*, where they were fain to heave all over-board, that so they might get off: then, having with much ado doubled the cape of *Lilybæum*, in their passage from *Panormus* towards *Italy*, they lost an hundred and fifty of their ships by foul weather. A greater discouragement never nation had; the god of the wars favoured them no more, than the god of the waters afflicted them. Of all that *Mars* enriched them with upon the land, *Neptune* robbed them upon the seas: for they had now lost, besides what they lost in fight, four hundred and six ships and gallies, with all the munition and soldiers transported in them.

The exceeding damage hereby received, perswaded them to give over their navigation, and their fight by sea, and to send only a land-army into *Sicily*, under *L. Cæcilius* and *F. Furius* their consuls. These they transported in some sixty ordinary passage-boats, by the streights of *Messina*, that are not above a mile and a half broad from land to

land. In like sort the overthrow which *Atilius* received in *Africa*, occasioned chiefly by the elephants, made them less cholerick against the *Carthaginians* than before; so that for two years after they kept the high and woody grounds, not daring to fight in the fair and champion countries. But this late resolution of forsaking the seas lasted not long; for it was impossible for them to succour those places which they held in *Sicily*, without a navy; much less to maintain the war in *Africa*. For whereas the *Romans* were to send forces from *Messina* to *Egesta*, to *Lilybæum*, and to other places in the extreme west parts of *Sicily*, making sometimes a march of above one hundred and forty *English* miles by land, which could not be performed with an army, and the provisions that follow it, in less than fourteen days, the *Carthaginians* would pass it with their gallies in forty-eight hours.

An old example we have of that great advantage of transporting armies by water, between *Canutus* and *Edmund Ironside*. For *Canutus*, when he had entered the *Thames* with his navy and army, and could not prevail against *London*, suddenly embarked; and sailing to the west, landed in *Dorsetshire*, so drawing *Edmund* and his army thither. There finding ill entertainment, he again shipped his men, and entered the *Severn*, making *Edmund* to march after him to the succour of *Worcestershire*, by him greatly spoiled. But when he had *Edmund* there, he sailed back again to *London*, by means whereof he both wearied the king, and spoiled where he pleased, ere succour could arrive. And this was not the least help which the *Netherlands* have had against the *Spaniards*, in the defence of their liberty, that, being masters of the sea, they could pass their army from place to place unwearied and entire, with all the munition and artillery belonging unto it, in the tenth part of the time wherein their enemies have been able to do it. Of this, an instance or two. The count *Maurice* of *Nassau*, now living, one of the greatest captains, and of the worthiest princes, that either the present or preceding ages have brought forth, in the year 1590, carried his army by sea with forty cannons to *Breda*; making countenance either to besiege *Boisleduc* or *Gertrevidenbergh*; which the enemy (in prevention) filled with soldiers and victuals. But, as soon as the wind served, he suddenly set sail, and arriving in the mouth of the *Meuse*, turned up the *Rhine*, and thence to *Xffel*, and set down before *Zutphen*. So before the *Spaniards* could march over-land round about *Holland*, above eighty miles, and over many great rivers with their cannon and carriage, *Zutphen* was taken. Again, when the *Spanish* army had overcome this wearisome march, and were now far from home, the prince *Maurice* making countenance to sail up the *Rhine*, changed his course in the night; and sailing down the stream, he was set down before *Hulst* in *Brabant*, ere the *Spaniards* had knowledge what was become of him. So this town he also took, before the *Spanish* army could return. Lastly, the *Spanish* army was no sooner arrived in *Brabant*, than the prince *Maurice*, well attended by his good fleet, having fortified *Hulst*, set sail again, and presented himself before *Nimwegen* in *Gelders*, a city of notable importance, and mastered it.

^a There is no part of the world, which hath not some certain times of outrageous weather, besides their accidental storms. We have upon our coast a *Michaëlas* storm, that seldom or never fails. In the West-Indies, in the months of August and September, those most forcible winds which the *Spaniards* call the *Nortes*, or north winds, are very fearful; and therefore they that navigate in those parts, take harbour till those months take end. Charles the fifth, being as ill advised in passing the seas towards *Algier* in the winter quarter, contrary to the counsel of *A. Dorin*, as he was in like unreasonable times to continue his siege before *Metz* in *Lorain*, lost 140 ships by tempest, and fifteen gallies, with all in effect in them of men, victuals, horses, and munition; a loss no less great, than his retreat both from before the one and the other, was extreme dishonourable.

And to say the truth, it is impossible for any maritime country, not having the coasts admirably fortified, to defend it self against a powerful Enemy that is master of the sea. Hereof I had rather, that *Spain* than *England* should be an example. Let it therefore be supposed, that King *Philip* the second, had fully resolved to hinder Sir *John Norris* in the year 1589, from presenting *Don Antonio*, king of *Portugal*, before the gates of *Lisbon*; and that he would have kept off the *English*, by power of his land-forces, as being too weak at sea, through the great overthrow of his mighty *Armada*, by the fleet of queen *Elizabeth*, in the year foregoing. Surely, it had not been hard for him to prepare an army, that should be able to resist our eleven thousand. But where should this his army have been bestowed? if about *Lisbon*, then would it have been easie unto the *English*, to take, ransack, and burn the town of *Groin*, and to waste the country round about it. For the great and threatening preparations of the earl of *Altemira*, the marquis of *Saralba*, and others, did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the hasty levy of eight thousand, under the earl of *Andrada*, serve to more effect, than the increase of honour to Sir *John Norris* and his associates: considering that the *English* charged these at *Puente de Burgos*, and passing the great bridge, behind which they lay, that was flanked with shot, and barricaded at the further end, routed them, took their camp, took their general's standard with the king's arms, and pursued them over all the country, which they fired. If a royal army, and not (as this was) a company of private adventurers, had thus begun the war in *Galicia*; I think it would have made the *Spaniards* to quit the guard of *Portugal*, and make haste to the defence of their *St. Jago*, whose temple was not far from the danger. But had they held their first resolution, as knowing that Sir *John Norris's* main intent was to bring *Don Antonio* with an army into his kingdom, whither coming strong, he expected to be readily and joyfully welcomed, could they have hindered his landing in *Portugal*? did not he land at *Peniche*, and march over the country to *Lisbon*, six days journey? did not he (when all *Don Antonio's* promises failed) pass along by the river of *Lisbon* to *Cascaliz*, and there, having won the fort, quietly embark his men, and depart? but these, though no more than an handful, yet were they *English*. Let us consider of the matter it self, what another nation might do, even against *England*, in landing an army, by advantage of a fleet, if we had none. This question, *whether an invading army may be resisted at their landing upon the coast of England, were there no fleet of ours at the sea to impeach it*; is already handled by a learned gentleman of our nation, in his observations upon *Cæsar's Commentaries*, that maintains the affirmative. Thus he holds only upon supposition; *in absence of our shipping*: and comparatively, as that it is a more safe and easy course to defend all the coast of *England*, than to suffer any enemy to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely I hold with him, that it is the best way to keep our enemy from treading upon our ground: wherein if we fail, then must we seek to make him wish that he had staid at his own home. In such a case, if it should happen, our judgments are to weigh many particular circumstances that belong not unto this discourse. But making the question general and positive, *whether England, without help of her fleet, be able to debar an enemy from landing?* I hold that it is unable so to do; and therefore I think it most

dangerous to make the adventure. For the incouragement of a first victory to an enemy, and the discouragement of being beaten to the invaded; may draw after it a most perilous consequence.

It is true, that the marshal *Monluc*, in his commentaries, doth greatly complain that by his wanting forces, wherewith to have kept the frontier of *Guienne*, they of the *Protestant* religion, after the battel of *Moncouter*, entered that country, and gathered great strength and relief thence; for if the king (saith he) would have given me but reasonable means, *j'euse bien garde a Monsieur l'admiral, de faire boire ses chevaux en la Garonne*; I would have kept the admiral from watering his horses in the river of *Garonne*. *Monsieur de Langey*, on the contrary side, prefers the not fighting upon a frontier with an invaded enemy, and commends the delay; which course the constable of *France* held against the emperor *Charles*, when he invaded *Provence*. Great difference I know there is, and a diverse consideration to be had, between such a country as *France* is, strengthened with many fortified places; and this of ours, where our ramparts are but of the bodies of men. And it was of invasions upon firm land, that these great captains spake, whose entrances cannot be uncertain. But our question is, of an army to be transported over-sea, and to be landed again in an enemy's country, and the place left to the choice of the invader. Hereunto I say, that such an army cannot be resisted on the coast of *England*, without a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coast of *France*, or any other country; except every creek, port, or sandy bay, had a powerful army in each of them to make opposition. For let his whole supposition be granted; that *Kent* is able to furnish twelve thousand foot; and that those twelve thousand be laid in the three best landing places within that country, to wit, three thousand at *Margate*, three thousand at the *Nesse*, and six thousand at *Foulkston*, that is somewhat equally distant from them both; as also that two of these troops (unless some other order be thought more fit) be directed to strengthen the third, when they shall see the enemies fleet to bend towards it: I say, that notwithstanding this provision, if the enemy, setting sail from the isle of *Wight*, in the first watch of the night, and towing their long boats at their sterns, shall arrive by dawn of day at the *Nesse*, and thrust their army on shore there; it will be hard for those three thousand that are at *Margate* (twenty and four long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-inforce their fellows at the *Nesse*. Nay, how shall they at *Foulkston* be able to do it, who are nearer by more than half the way? seeing that the enemy, at his first arrival, will either make his entrance by force, with three or four hundred shot of great artillery, and quickly put the first three thousand, that were intrenched at the *Nesse*, to run; or else give them so much to do, that they shall be glad to send for help to *Foulkston*, and perhaps to *Margate*: whereby those places will be left bare. Now let us suppose, that all the twelve thousand *Kentish* soldiers arrive at the *Nesse*, ere the enemy can be ready to disembark his army, so that he shall find it unsafe to land in the face of so many prepared to withstand him; yet must we believe that he will play the best of his own game; and (having liberty to go which way he list) under covert of the night, set sail towards the east, where what shall hinder him to take ground, either at *Margate*, the *Downs*, or elsewhere, before they at the *Nesse* can be well aware of his departure? certainly, there is nothing more easy than to do it. Yea, the like may
be

be said of *Weymouth, Purbeck, Poole*, and of all landing places on the south coast. For there is no man ignorant, that ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily out-run the soldiers that coast them. *Les armées ne volent point en poste ; armées neither fly, nor run post*, saith a marshal of *France*. And I know it to be true, that a fleet of ships may be seen at sun-set, and after it, at the *Lizard* ; yet by the next morning they may recover *Portland* ; whereas an army of foot shall not be able to march it in six days. Again, when those troops lodged on the sea-shores, shall be forced to run from place to place in vain, after a fleet of ships, they will at length sit down in the mid-way, and leave all at adventure. But say it were otherwise ; that the invading enemy will offer to land in some such place, where there shall be an army of ours ready to receive him : yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our trained Bands, and the choice of our commanders and captains, shall be drawn together (as they were at *Tilbury*, in the year 1588.) to attend the person of the prince, and for the defence of the city of *London* : they that remain to guard the coast, can be of no such force, as to encounter an army like unto that, wherewith it was intended that the prince of *Parma* should have landed in *England*.

The Isle of *Tercera* hath taught us by experience, what to think in such a case. There are not many islands in the world, better fenced by nature, and strengthened by art : it being every-where hard of access ; having no good harbour wherein to shelter a navy of friends ; and upon every cove or watering place a fort erected, to forbid the approach of an enemy's boat. Yet when *Emanuel de Sylva*, and *Monsieur de Chattes*, that held it to the use of *Don Antonio*, with five or six thousand men, thought to have kept the marquis of *Santa Cruz*, from setting foot on ground therein ; the marquis having shewed himself in the Road of *Angra*, did set sail ere any was aware of it, and arrived at the *Port des Moles*, far distant from thence, where he won a fort, and landed, ere *Monsieur de Chattes*, running thither in vain, could come to hinder him. The example of *Philip Strossie*, slain the year before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred *French* Prisoners murdered in cold blood, had instructed *de Chattes* and his followers, what they might expect at that marquis's hands : therefore it is not like that they were slow in carrying relief to *Port de Moles*. Whether our *English* would be perswaded to make such diligent haste from *Margate* to the *Nesse*, and back again, it may be doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of *Tercera* ; whereof the *Frenchmen* had not measured the one half, when they found themselves prevented by the more nimble ships of *Spain*.

This may suffice to prove, that a strong army, in a good fleet, which neither foot nor horse is able to follow, cannot be denied to land where it list, in *England*, *France*, or elsewhere, unless it be hindered, encountered, and shuffled together, by a fleet of equal or answerable strength.

The difficult landing of our *English* at *Fayal*, in the year 1597, is alledged against this : which example moves me no way to think that a large coast may be defended against a strong fleet. I landed those *English* in *Fayal* my self, and therefore ought to take notice of this instance. For whereas I find an action of mine cited, with omission of my name ; I may, by a civil interpretation, think, that there was no purpose to defraud

me of any honour ; but rather an opinion, that the enterprize was such, or so ill managed, as that no honour could be due unto it. There were indeed some which were in that voyage, who advised me not to undertake it : and I hearkned unto them somewhat longer than was requisite ; especially, whilst they desired me to reserve the title of such an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater person. But when they began to tell me of difficulty, I gave them to understand the same which I now maintain, that it was more difficult to defend a coast, than to invade it. The truth is, that I could have landed my men with more ease than I did ; yea, without finding any resistance, if I would have rowed to another place ; yea, even there where I landed, if I would have taken more company to help me. But without fearing any imputation of rashness, I may say, that I had more regard of reputation, in that business, than of safety. For I thought it to belong unto the honour of our prince and nation, that a few islanders should not think any advantage great enough, against a fleet set forth by queen *Elizabeth* : and further, I was unwilling that some *Low-Country* captains, and others, not of mine own squadron, whose assistance I had refused, should please themselves with a sweet conceit) though it would have been short, when I had landed in some other place) *that for want of their help I was driven to turn tail*. Therefore I took with me none but men assured, commanders of mine own squadron, with some of their followers, and a few other gentlemen, volunteers, whom I could not refuse ; as *Sir William Brooke*, *Sir William Harvey*, *Sir Arthur Gorges*, *Sir John Scot*, *Sir Thomas Ridgeway*, *Sir Henry Thinne*, *Sir Charles Morgan*, *Sir Walter Chute*, *Marcellus Throckmorton*, captain *Laurence Kemis*, captain *William Morgan*, and others, such as well understood themselves and the enemy : by whose help, with God's favour, I made good the enterprize I undertook. As for the *working of the sea*, the *steepness of the cliffs*, and other troubles, that were not new to us, we overcame them well enough. And these (notwithstanding) made five or six companies of the enemies, who sought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall, whereon their musquetiers lay on the rest for us, and won the place of them without any great loss. This I could have done with less danger, so that it should not have served for example of a rule, that failed even in this example : but the reasons before alledged (together with other reasons well known to some of the gentlemen above named, though more private than to be here laid down) made me rather follow the way of bravery, and take the shorter course, having it still in mine own power to fall off when I should think it meet. It is easily said, that *the enemy was more than a coward* (which yet was more than we knew ;) neither will I magnify such a small piece of service, by seeking to prove him better, whom had I thought equal to mine own followers, I would otherwise have dealt with. But for so much as concerns the Proposition in hand ; he that beheld this, may well remember, that the same enemy troubled us more in our march towards *Fayal*, than in our taking the shore ; that he sought how to stop us in place of his advantage ; that many of our men were slain or hurt by him, among whom *Sir Arthur Gorges* was shot in that march ; and that such, as (thinking all danger to be past, when we had won good footing) would needs follow us to the town, were driven by him, to forsake the pace of a man of war, and betake themselves to an hasty trot.

For end of this digression, I hope that this question shall never come to trial; his majesty's many moveable forts will forbid the experience. And although the *English* will no less disdain, than any nation under heaven can do, to be beaten upon their own ground, or elsewhere, by a foreign enemy; yet to entertain those that shall assail us, with their own beef in their bellies, and before they eat of our *Kentish* Capons, I take it to be the wisest way. To do which, his majesty, after God, will employ his good ships on the sea, and not trust to any intrenchment upon the shore.

SECT. X.

How the Romans attempt again to get the mastery of the seas. The victory of Cæcilius the Roman consul at Panormus. The siege of Lilybæum. How a Rhodian gally entred Lilybæum at pleasure, in despite of the Roman fleet. That it is a matter of great difficulty to stop the passage of good ships. The Romans, by reason of grievous losses received under Claudius and Junius their consuls, abandon the seas again.

WHEN, without a strong navy, the *Romans* found it altogether impossible, either to keep what they had already gotten in *Sicily*, or to enlarge their dominions in *Africa*, or elsewhere: they resolved once again, notwithstanding their late misadventures, to strengthen their fleet and ships of war. So cauting fifty new gallies to be built, and the old to be repaired, they gave them in charge (together with certain legions of soldiers) to the new consuls, *C. Atilius*, and *L. Manlius*. On the other side, *Asdrubal* perceiving that the *Romans*, partly by reason of the shipwrack which they had lately suffered, partly by reason of the overthrow which they received by *Xantippus* in *Africa*, were less daring than they had been in the beginning of the war; and withal, that one of the consuls was returned into *Italy*, with the one half of the army; and that *Cæcilius*, with only the other half, remained at *Panormus*: he removed with the *Carthaginian* forces from *Lilybæum* towards it, hoping to provoke *Cæcilius* to fight: but the consul was better advised. For when *Asdrubal* had made his approaches somewhat near the Town, *Cæcilius* caused a deep trench to be cut a good distance without the ditch of the city: between which and his trench he left ground sufficient to embattle a legion of his soldiers. To these he gave order, that they should advance themselves, and pass over the new trench, till such time as the *African* elephants were thrust upon them. From those beasts he commanded them to retire, by slow degrees, till they had drawn on the elephants to the brink of the new trench, which they could by no means pass. This they performed accordingly, for when the elephants were at a stand, they were so gauled and beaten, both by those soldiers that were on the inside of the trench, and by those that lay in the trench it self, that being enraged by their many wounds, they brake back furiously upon their own footmen, and utterly disordered them. *Cæcilius* espying this advantage, sallied with all the force he had, and charging the other troops, that stood embattled, he utterly brake them, and put them to their heels, making a great slaughter of them, and taking all their elephants.

The report of this victory being brought to *Rome*, the whole state, filled with courage, prepared a new fleet of two hundred sail, which they sent into *Sicily*, to give end to that war, that had now lasted fourteen years. With this fleet and army the *Romans* resolve to attempt *Lilybæum*, the only place of im-

portance which the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*, and all (indeed) save *Drepanum*, that was near adjoyn- ing. They sit down before it, and possess them- selves of all the places of advantage near unto it, especially of such as command the haven, which had a very difficult entrance. They also beat to the ground six towers of defence, and by forcible en- gines weaken so many other parts of the city, as the defendants begin to despair: yet *Himilco*, com- mander of the place, faileth not in all that belongs to a man of war: all that is broken, he repaireth with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious sallies, and giveth to the *Romans* all the affronts that possibly could be made: he hath in garrison (be- sides the citizens) ten thousand soldiers, among which there are certain lieutenants, and other petty officers, that conspire to render and betray the town. But the matter is revealed by an *Achean*, called *Alexon*, who had formerly, in danger of the like treason, saved *Agrigentum*. *Himilco* useth the help of *Alexon* to assure the hired soldiers, and employ- eth *Hannibal* to appease the troops of the *Gauls*, which did waver, and had sent their agents to the enemy. All promise constancy and truth; so that the traitors, being unable to perform what they had undertaken, are fain to live in the *Roman* camp as fugitives, that had wrought no good whereby to deserve their bread. In the mean while, a supply of ten thousand soldiers is sent from *Carthage* to their relief, having *Hannibal*, the son of *Amilcar*, for their conductor; who, in despite of all resistance, enter'd the port and city, to the incredible joy of the besieged. The old soldiers, together with the new companies (thereto perswaded by *Himilco* with hope of great reward) resolve to set upon the *Romans* in their trenches, and either force them to abandon the siege, or (at least) to take from them, or set on fire, their engines of battery. The attempt is presently made, and pursued to the uttermost, with great slaughter on both sides. But the *Romans* being more in number, and having the advantage of the ground, hold still their places, and with extream difficulty defend their engines.

They of *Carthage* desire greatly to understand the state of things at *Lilybæum*, but know not how to send into the town. A certain *Rhodian* under- takes the service, and having received his dispatch, sails with one gally to *Agusa*, a little island near *Lilybæum*. Thence, taking his time, he steered directly with the port; and having a passing swift gally, he pass'd through the best of the channel, and recovered the water-gate, ere any of those, which the *Romans* had to guard the port, could thrust from the shores on either side.

The next day, neither attending the covert of the dark night, nor dreading to be boarded by the *Roman* gallies, who waited his return, he set sail, and shipping his oars (his gally being exceeding quick of steerage, and himself expert in all parts of the channel) recovered the haven's mouth, and the sea, in despite of all the pursuit made after him. Then finding himself out of danger of being in- compassed by many, he turned again towards the mouth of the haven, challenging any one, if any one durst come forth, to undertake him. This enterprize, and the well performing of it, was very remarkable, and much wonder'd at in those days: and yet, where there was no great artillery, nor any other weapons of fire to kill afar off, the ad- venture which this *Rhodian* made, was not greatly hazardous: for in this age, a valiant and judicious man of war will not fear to pass by the best appoint- ed fort of *Europe*, with the help of a good tide, and a leading gale of wind, no, though forty pieces

of great artillery open their mouths against him, and threaten to tear him in pieces.

In the beginning of our late queen's time, when *Denmark* and *Sweden* were at war, our *East-land* fleet, bound for *Leif-land*, was forbidden by the king of *Denmark* to trade with the subjects of his enemies, and he threatened to sink their ships if they came through the streights of *Elsenour*. Notwithstanding this, our merchants (having a ship of her majesty's, called the *Minion*, to defend them) made the adventure; and sustaining some volleys of shot, kept on their course. The king made all the provision he could to stop them or sink them at their return. But the *Minion*, commanded (as I take it) by *William Burrough*, leading the way, did not only pass out with little loss, but did beat down with artillery, a great part of the fort of *Elsenour*, which at that time was not so well rampard, as now perhaps it is: and the fleet of merchants that followed him, went through without any wound received. Neither was it long since, that the duke of *Parma*, besieging *Antwerp*, and finding no possibility to master it, otherwise than by famine, laid his cannon on the bank of the river, so well to purpose, and so even with the face of the water, that he thought it impossible for the least boat to pass by. Yet the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, not blown up by any wind of glory, but coming to find a good market for their butter and cheese, even the poor men, attending their profit when all things were extream dear in *Antwerp*, passed in boats of ten or twelve tun, by the mouth of the duke's cannon, in despite of it, when a strong westerly wind, and a tide of flood favoured them; as also with a contrary wind, and an ebbing water, they turned back again: so as he was forced, in the end, to build his *Stockado* overthwart the river, to his marvellous trouble and charge.

The fort *St. Philip* terrified not us in the year 1596, when we enter'd the port of *Calais*; neither did the fort at *Puntal*, when we were enter'd, beat us from our anchoring by it, though it play'd upon us with four demi-cannons within point-blank, from six in the morning till twelve at noon. The siege of *Ostend*, and of many other places, may be given for proof, how hard a matter it is to stop the passage of a good ship, without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a fort is so set, as that of *Angra* in *Tercera*, that there is no passage along beside it, or that the ships are driven to turn upon a bow line towards it, wanting all help of wind and tide; there, and in such places, is it of great use, and fearful; otherwise not.

But to return to our adventurous *Rhodian*: He arrives in safety at *Carthage*, and makes them know the estate of *Lilybaeum*. Others also, after this, take upon them to do the like, and perform it with the same success. The *Romans* therefore labour to choak the channel, and, for that purpose, fill many merchant ships with great stones, and sink them therein. The force of the tides clears it again in part: but they grounded so many of those great-bellied boats in the best of the entrance, as at last it made a manifest rising and heap, like a ragged island, in the passage. Hereby it came to pass, that a *Carthaginian* gally taking her course by night, and not suspecting any such impediment, ran her self aground thereon, and was taken. Now comes the brave *Rhodian*, thinking to enter as he had done before: but this *Carthaginian* gally, a little before taken, gave him chase, and gathered upon him; he finds what she is, both by her form, and by her swiftness: and being not able to run from her, resolved to fight with her: but she is too well manned for him, so that he is beaten and taken.

Lilybaeum, after this, is greatly distressed; the soldiers being worn with labour and watching. But in this despair there rose so violent a tempest, as some of the *Romans* wooden towers, by which they overtopped the walls of *Lilybaeum*, were over-turned. A *Greek* soldier undertakes to fire those that were fallen, and performs it: for the fire was no sooner kindled, but being blown unto by the bellows of a tempest, it increased so fast, as it became resistless, and in the end burned all to ashes, and melted the brazen heads of the battering Rams. Hereupon, despair and weariness hinder the *Romans* from repairing their engines; so that they resolve, by a long siege, to starve the defendants.

Upon relation of what had pass'd, a supply of ten thousand soldiers is sent from *Rome*, under *M. Claudius*, the consul. He arrives at *Messina*, and marcheth over land to *Lilybaeum*; where having reinforced the army, and supplied the galleys with new rowers, he propounds the surprize of *Drepanum*, a city on the other side of the bay of *Lilybaeum*. This service the captains and soldiers willingly embrace. So the consul imarks his troops, and arrives on the sudden in the mouth of the port. *Adherbal* is governor of the town, a valiant and prudent man of war, who being ignorant of the new supply arrived at *Lilybaeum*, was at first amazed at their sudden approach; but having recovered his spirits, he persuades the soldiers, rather to fight abroad than to be inclosed. Herewithal he promiseth great rewards to such, as by their valour shall deserve them; offering to lead them himself, and to fight in the head of his fleet. Having sufficiently encouraged his men, he thrusts into the sea towards the *Romans*. The consul, deceived of his expectation, calls back the foremost galleys, that he might now marshal them for defence. Hereupon some row backward, some forward, in great confusion. *Adherbal* finds and follows his advantage, and forceth the consul into a bay at hand, wherein he rangeth himself, having the land on his back, hoping thereby to keep himself from being inclosed. But he was thereby, and for want of sea-room, so streightned, as he could not turn himself any way from his enemies, nor range himself in any order. Therefore, when he found no hope of resistance, keeping the shore on his left hand, he thrust out of the bay with thirty galleys besides his own, and so fled away: all the rest of his fleet, to the number of ninety and four ships, were taken or sunk by the *Carthaginians*. *Adherbal* for this service is greatly honoured at *Carthage*; and *Claudius*, for his indiscretion and flight, as much disgraced at *Rome*.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this great loss, armed threescore galleys, with which they send away *L. Junius*, their consul, to take charge of their business in *Sicily*. *Junius* arrives at *Messina*, where he meets with the whole remainder of the *Roman* fleet, those excepted which rode in the port of *Lilybaeum*. One hundred and twenty galleys he had; and, besides these, he had gotten together almost eight hundred ships of burthen, which were laden with all necessary provisions for the army. With this great fleet he arrives at *Syracuse*, where he stays a while, partly to take in corn, partly to wait for some that were too slow of sail, to keep company with him along from *Messina*. In the mean time, he dispatcheth away towards *Lilybaeum*, his *Questors* or treasurers; to whom he commits the one half of his victuallers, with some galleys for their convoy.

Adherbal was not careless, after his late victory, but studied how to use it to the best advantage. The

The ships and prisoners that he had taken, he sent to *Carthage*. Of his own gallees he delivered thirty to *Carthalo*, who had threescore and ten more under his own charge, and sent him to try what good might be done against the *Roman* fleet, in the haven of *Lilybæum*. According to this direction, *Carthalo* suddenly enters the mouth of that haven, where he finds the *Romans* more attentive to the keeping in the besieged *Carthaginians*, than to the defence of their own against another fleet. So he chargeth them, boards and takes some, and fires the rest. The *Roman* camp takes alarm, and hastens to the rescue. But *Himilco*, governor of the town, is not behind-hand, who sallies out at the same time, and putting the *Romans* to great distress, gives *Carthalo* good leisure to go through with his enterprise.

After this exploit, *Carthalo* ran all along the south coast of *Sicily*, devising how to work mischief to the enemy, wherein fortune presented him with a fair occasion, which he wisely managed. He was advertised by his scouts, that they had descried near at hand, a great fleet, consisting of all manner of vessels. These were the victuallers, which the consul *Junius*, more hastily than providentially, had sent before him towards *Lilybæum*. *Carthalo* was glad to hear of their coming, for he and his men were full of courage, by reason of their late victories. Accounting therefore the great multitude of *Roman* hulks approaching, to be rather a prey, than a fleet likely to make a strong opposition, he hastens to encounter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The *Romans* had no mind to fight but were glad to seek shelter in an open road, full of rocks, under covert of a poor town, belonging to their party; that could help to save them only from the present danger, by lending them engines and other aid wherewith to beat off the *Carthaginians* that assailed them. *Carthalo* therefore having taken a few of them, lay waiting for the rest, that could not long ride under those rocks, but would be forced, by any great change of wind, either to put out into the deep, or to save their men how they could, by taking land, with the loss of all their shipping. Whilst he was busied in this care, the consul *Junius* drew near, and was discovered. Against him *Carthalo* makes out, and finds him altogether prepared to fight, as being wholly ignorant of that which had happened. The consul had neither means to fly, nor ability to fight: therefore he likewise ran into a very dangerous creek, thinking no danger so great as that of the enemy. The *Carthaginian* seeing this, betakes himself to a station between the two *Roman* fleets, where he watcheth to see which of them would stir first, with a resolution to assault that which should first dare to put it self into the sea. So as now all the three fleets were on the south coast of *Sicily*, between the promontory of *Pachinus* and *Lilybæum*; a tract exceeding dangerous, when the wind stormed at south. The *Carthaginians*, who knew the times of tempest, and their signs, finding belike some swelling billow (for so we do in the west of *England*, before a southerly storm) halted to double the cape of *Pachinus*, thereby to cover themselves from the rage at hand. But the *Romans*, who knew better how to fight than how to navigate, and never found any foul weather in the entrails of their bealls, their sooth-sayers being all land-prophets, were suddenly overtaken with a boisterous south wind, and all their gallees forced against the rocks, and utterly wracked.

This Calamity so discouraged the *Romans*, that they resolved again to forsake the seas, and trust

only to the service of their legions upon firm ground. But such a resolution cannot long hold. Either they must be strong at sea, or else they must not make war in an island, against those that have a mightier fleet. Yet are they to be excused, in regard of the many great calamities which they had suffered through their want of skill. Here I cannot forbear to commend the patient virtue of the *Spaniards*. We seldom or never find that any nation hath endured so many misadventures and miseries as the *Spaniards* have done in their *Indian discoveries*. Yet persisting in their enterprises, with an invincible constancy, they have annexed to their kingdom so many goodly provinces, as bury the remembrance of all dangers past. Tempests and shipwracks, famine, overthrows, mutinies, heat and cold, pestilence, and all manner of diseases, both old and new, together with extream poverty, and want of all things needful, have been the enemies, wherewith every one of their most noble discoverers, at one time or other, hath encountered. Many years have passed over some of their heads, in the search of not so many leagues: yea, more than one or two, have spent their labour, their wealth, and their lives, in search of a golden kingdom, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their first setting forth. All which notwithstanding, the third, fourth, and fifth undertakers have not been disheartned. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with those treasures, and paradises, which they enjoy; and well they deserve to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like virtue in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.

S E C T. XI.

The city of Eryx is surprized by the Romans, and recovered by Amilcar; who stoutly holds war with them five years. The Romans having emptied their common treasury, build a new fleet, at the charges of private men. The great victory at sea of Lucatius the consul; whereby the Carthaginians are forced to crave peace. The conditions of the peace between Rome and Carthage.

THE *Romans* were careful, to supply with all industry, by land, the want of strength at sea. Therefore they continue the siege of *Lilybæum*, and seek to make sure to themselves all places, whither the enemies ships could not bring relief. The consul *Junius*, to cure the wound of dishonour, which he had received, bethought him what enterprises to undertake. In the end he resolved to attempt the mountain and city of *Eryx*, with the temple of *Venus Erycina*, which was the fairest and richest of all the island; and of these, by cunning or treason, he got possession. *Eryx* was commodiously seated between *Drepanum* and *Panormus*; so that it seemed a fit place for a garrison, that should restrain the *Carthaginians* from making roads into the country. Wherefore *Junius* fortified both the top of the mountain, and the first entrance of the passage from the bottom (both which places were very defensible) with a good strength of men. But shortly after, in the 18th year of this war, the *Carthaginians* sent forth *Amilcar*, surnamed *Barcas*, father of the great *Hannibal*, with a fleet and army, who sailing to the coasts of *Italy*, did thoroughly repay the spoils which the *Romans* made in *Africa*. For he first of all wasted and destroyed the territories of the *Locrines*, and of the *Brutians*, that were dependants of *Rome*. Then entered he into *Sicily*, and finding there no walled

walled city in the *Carthaginians* power, that served fitly to infest the *Romans*, he occupied a piece of ground of great advantage, and lodged his army thereon; to confront as well the *Romans*, that were in *Panormus*, as those that kept about *Eryx*, putting himself between both armies with admirable resolution.

The place that *Amilcar* had seized upon, was not only very strong by situation, but had the command of a port; whereby it gave him opportunity, to scour all the coast of *Italy* with his fleet, wafting all along as far as to *Cuma*. In the isle of *Sicily* he held the *Romans* to hard work, lying near unto *Panormus*, where, in three years abode, he did many notable acts, though not of much consequence, for that the enemy could never be drawn to hazard the main chance. Having wearied himself and the *Romans* long enough about *Panormus*, he undertook a strange piece of work at *Eryx*. The *Roman* garrisons, placed there by *Junius*, on the top and at the bottom of the mountain, were very strongly lodged. Nevertheless, *Amilcar* found a way, lying towards the sea-side, by which he conveyed his men into the city of *Eryx*, that was about the midst of the ascent, ere the enemy knew of it. By this it came to pass, that the *Romans*, which kept the top of the mountain, were straightly held (as it were) besieged. And no less was *Amilcar* himself restrained, by both of these garrisons, and such as came to relieve them. There he found them pastime about two years more; hoping still to weary out those that lay over his head, as they on the contrary did their best to thrust him out of those quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the *Romans* and of the *Carthaginians*, was bent unto the prosecuting of this business at *Eryx*. Wherein it seems true (as *Hannibal*, * in *Livy*, spake unto *Scipio*) that the affairs of *Carthage* never stood in better terms, since the beginning of the war, than now they did. For whereas the *Romans* had utterly forsaken the seas, partly by reason of their great losses, partly upon confidence of their land-forces, which they held resolute; *Amilcar*, with a small army, had so well acquitted himself, to the honour of his country, that by the trial of five years war, the *Carthaginian* soldier was judged equal, if not superior, to the *Roman*. Finally, when all, that might be, had been devised and done, for the dislodging of this obstinate warrior, no way seemed better to the senate of *Rome*, than once again to build a fleet; whereby, if the mastery of the sea could once be gotten, it was likely that *Amilcar*, for lack of supply, should not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extream difficulty was found. The common treasury was exhausted, and the cost was not little, that was requisite unto such an enterprize. Wherefore there was no other way left, than to lay the burden upon private purses. Divers of the principal citizens undertook to build (each at his own charges) one *Quinquereme*; which example wrought so well, that they, whose ability would not serve to do the like, joined with some others, and laying their money together, concurred two or three of them, in building of another, with condition to be repaid, when the war was finished. By this voluntary contribution, they made and furnished 200 new *Quinqueremes*, taking for their pattern, that excellent swift-rowing galley which they had gotten from the *Rhodian*, in the port of *Lilybæum*, as was shewed before. The charge of this fleet was committed to *C. Lucretius*

Catulus, who passed with the same into *Sicily* the spring following, and entered the port of *Drepanum*, endeavouring by all means to have forced the city. But being advertised that the *Carthaginian* fleet was at hand, and being mindful of the late losses which his predecessors had received, he was careful to put himself in order, against their arrival.

Hanno was admiral of the *Carthaginian* fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wise in picture, exceedingly formal, and skilful in the art of seeming reverend. How his reputation was first bred, I do not find, but it was upheld by a factious contradiction; of things undertaken by men more worthy than himself. This quality procured unto him (as it hath done to many others) both goodliking among the ancient sort, whose cold temper is averse from new enterprizes, and therewithal an opinion of great foresight, confirmed by every loss received. More particularly, he was gracious among the people, for that he was one of the most grievous oppressors of their subject provinces; whereby he procured unto the *Carthaginians* much wealth, but therewithal such hatred, as turned it all to their great loss. He had ere this been employed against the *Numidians*, and wild *Africans*, that were more like to rovers, than to soldiers, in making war. Of those fugitive Nations, he learned to neglect more manly enemies, to his own great dishonour, and to the great hurt of *Carthage*; which lost not more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counsel, when, having shewed himself an unworthy captain, he betook himself to the long robe. Yet is he much commended in *Roman* histories, as a temperate man, and one that studied how to preserve the league between *Carthage* and *Rome*. In which regard, how well he deserved of his own country, it will appear hereafter: how beneficial he was to the *Romans*, it will appear, both hereafter, and in his present voyage; wherein he reduced the *Carthaginians* to a miserable necessity of accepting, upon hard conditions, that peace which he thenceforth commended.

Hanno had very well furnished his navy, with all needful provisions for the soldiers at *Eryx* (for dexterity in making preparation was the best of his qualities;) but he had neither been careful in training his mariners, to the practice of sea-fight, nor in manning his galleys with stout fellows. He thought, that the fame of a *Carthaginian* fleet was enough to make the unexpert *Romans* give way: forgetting, that rather the resolute force of tempests, than any other strength of opposition, had made them to forsake the seas. Yet in one thing he had either conceived aright, or else was sent forth well instructed. It was his purpose, first of all, to sail to *Eryx*, and there to discharge his ships of their lading: and having thus lightened himself, he meant to take aboard some part of the land-army, together with *Amilcar* himself, by whose help he doubted not, but that he should be able to make his enemy repent of his new adventure to sea. This was a good course if it could have been performed. But *Catulus* used all possible diligence, to prevent the execution of this design: not because he was informed of the enemy's purpose, but for that he knew it to be the best for them, and for that he feared no danger to greatly, as to encounter with *Amilcar*. Wherefore, although the weather was very rough, and the seas went high, when the *Carthaginian* fleet was descried; yet he rather chose to fight with the enemy, that had the wind

of him, than to suffer this convoy to pass along to *Eryx*, upon unlikely hope of better opportunity in the future. All that *Hanno* should have done, *Catulus* had performed. He had carefully exercised his men in rowing; he had lightened his galleys of all unnecessary burthens; and he had taken aboard the choice men of the *Roman* land-soldiers. The *Carthaginians* therefore, at the first encounter, were utterly broken and defeated, having 50 of their galleys stemmed and sunk, and 70 taken, wherein were few less than 10000 men, that were all made prisoners: the rest, by a sudden change of wind, escaping to the isle of *Hieronefus*.

The state of *Carthage*, utterly discouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whereon to resolve. Means to repair their fleet in any time there were none left; their best men of war by sea were consumed; and *Amilcar*, upon whose valour and judgment the honour and safety of the commonwealth rested, was now surrounded by his enemies in *Sicily*, where he could not be relieved. In this extremity, they make dispatch unto *Amilcar* himself, and authorize him to take what course should seem best unto his excellent wisdom; leaving all conclusions to his election and sole counsel.

Amilcar, whom no adversity, accompanied with the least hope or possibility of recovery, had ever vanquished, looking over every promise, true or false, that the present time could make him (for to attend any thing from the future he was not able) resolved to make trial, whether his necessity might be compounded upon any reasonable terms. He therefore sent to *Lutatus* the consul an overture of peace: who considering it well, gathered so many arguments from the present poverty of the *Roman* state, wasted beyond expectation in the former war, that he willingly hearkened unto it. So, in conclusion, an accord was made, but with provi-

sion, that it should hold none otherwise, than if the senate and people of *Rome* would ratify it with their allowance.

The conditions were: first, that the *Carthaginians* should clearly abandon the isle of *Sicily*. Secondly, that they should never undertake upon *Hieron* king of *Syracuse*, nor invade any part of his territories, nor the territories of any of his friends and allies. Thirdly, that they should set at liberty, and send back into *Italy*, all the *Romans*, whom they held prisoners, without ransom. Lastly, that they should pay unto the *Romans* two thousand and two hundred talents; which make, after 600 *French* Crowns to the talent, thirteen hundred and twenty thousand crowns: the same to be delivered within 20 years next following.

These articles were sent to *Rome*, where they were not thoroughly approved: but ten commissioners were sent into *Sicily*, to make perfect the agreement. These commissioners added a thousand talents to the former sum; and required a shorter time of payment. Further also, they took order, that the *Carthaginians* should not only depart out of *Sicily* it self, but should also withdraw their companies out of all the other islands between it and *Italy*, renouncing their whole interest therein.

Such was the end of the first *Punic war*, that had lasted about twenty-four years without intermission; in which time the *Romans* had lost, by fight or shipwreck, about seven hundred *Quinqueremes*, and the *Carthaginians*, about five hundred: the greatness of which losses, doth serve to prove the greatness both of these two cities, and of the war it self; wherein I hold good the judgment of *Polybius*, that the *Romans*, in general, did shew themselves the braver Nation; and *Amilcar*, the most worthy captain.

C H A P. II.

Of divers actions passing between the first and second Punic wars.

S E C T. I.

Of the cruel war begun between the Carthaginians and their own mercenaries.

THE *Romans*, having partly by force, and partly by composition, thrust the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicily*, and all the little islands thereunto adjacent, gave them rather means and leisure to help themselves in a following war, than cause to hold themselves contented with the present peace. It is an ancient and true rule, * *Quod leges à victoribus dicuntur, accipiuntur à victis*; that laws are given by the conquerors, and received of the conquered. But the *Romans* had either forgotten the answer that was made unto them, by one of the *Privernates*; or else had forgotten to follow it, in this weighty business. For one of *Privernum*, after a rebellion, defending in the senate the cause of his city, was demanded by a senator, *what peace the Romans might hope for, or assure themselves of, if they quitted their present advantage over them*; he answered in these words, *si bonam dederitis, & si-dam & perpetuam; si malam, haud diuturnam*;

if the peace be good and faithful that you give us, it will be perpetual; if it be ill, then of little continuance. To this answer, the senate, at that time, gave such approbation, that it was said, *viri & liberi vocem auditam; an credi posset, ullum populum, aut hominem denique in ea conditione, cujus eum punireat, diutius quàm necesse sit mansurum?* that it was the speech of a manly, and a free man; for who could believe, that any people, or indeed any one man, would continue longer in an over-burdened estate, than mere necessity did enforce? Now, if the *Romans* themselves could make this judgment of those nations, who had little else, besides their manly resolution, to defend their liberty; surely, they grossly flattered themselves, in presuming, that the *Carthaginians*, who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferior unto themselves, would sit down any longer by the loss and dishonour received, than until they could recover their legs, and the strength, which had a while failed them, to take revenge. But occasion, by whom (while well entertained) not only private men, but kings and publick states, have more prevailed, than by any proper prowess or virtue, withheld the tem-

pest from the *Romans* for a time, and turned it most fearfully upon *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* themselves.

For after that the first *Punic* war was ended, *Amilcar*, leaving *Eryx*, went to *Lilybæum*, from whence most conveniently the army might be transported into *Afric*: the care of which business he committed unto *Gesco*, to whom, as to a man of approved sufficiency, he delivered over his charge. *Gesco* had an especial consideration of the great sums wherein *Carthage* was indebted unto these mercenaries; and, withal, of the great disability to make payment. Therefore he thought it the wisest way to send them over (as it were) by handfuls, a few at a time; that so the first might have their dispatch, and be gone ere the second or third companies arrived. Herein he dealt providently; for it had not been hard to persuade any small number, lodged within so great a city as *Carthage*, unto some such reasonable composition as the present emptiness of the common treasury did require: so that the first might have been friendly discharged, and a good precedent left unto the second and third, whilst their disjunction had made them unable to recover their whole due by force. But the *Carthaginians* were of a contrary opinion. They thought to find, in the whole army, some that would be contented to gratify the publick state, by remitting a great part of their own due; and hoped, by such an example, to draw all the multitude to the like agreement and capitulation. So they detained the first and second comers, telling them, that they would make an even reckoning with all together. Thus every day the number increased, and many disorders (a thing incident among soldiers) were committed; which much disquieted the city, not accustomed unto the like. In this regard, it was thought fit to remove them all to some other place, where they might be less troublesome. This must be done by some colourable words of persuasion; for their number was already so great, that it was not safe to offend them too far. Wherefore it is devised, that they should all attend to the coming of their fellows at *Sicca*, receiving every one a piece of gold to bear his charges in the mean while. This motion is accepted, and the soldiers began to dislodge, leaving behind them their wives, their children, and all their baggage, as meaning shortly to fetch away all, when they came back for their pay. But the *Carthaginians* have no fancy to their returning into the town, and therefore compel them to truss up their fardels, that they might have no occasion left to make any errands thither. So to *Sicca* they removed, with all their goods, and there lay waiting for news of their fellows arrival, and their own pay. Business they had none to do, and therefore might easily be drawn to mutiny; the whole argument of their discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their daily talk was, how rich they should be when all their money came in; how much would fall to every single share, and for how long time the city was behind-hand with them in reckoning. They were all grown arithmeticians; and he was thought a man of worth, that could find most reason to increase their demands to the very highest, even beyond their due. No part of their long service was forgotten, but the comfortable words and promises of their captains, leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to mind, as so many obligations not to be cancelled, without satisfying their expectation by some unordinary largesse.

Thus the time passeth away, until, the whole army being arrived and lodged in *Sicca*, *Hanno* comes thither to clear the accompt. Now is the day come,

wherein they shall all be made rich, especially if they can hold together in maintaining stoutly the common cause. So think they all, and assemble themselves to hear what good news this messenger had brought; with a full resolution to help his memory, in case he should happen to forget any part of the many promises made unto them; all which were to be considered in their donative. *Hanno* begins a very formal oration; wherein he bewails the poverty of *Carthage*; tells them how great a sum of money is to be paid unto the *Romans*; reckons up the excessive charges whereat the commonwealth had been in the late war; and finally, desires them to hold themselves contented with part of their pay, and out of the love which they bare unto the city, to remit the rest. Few of them understood his discourse, for the *Carthaginian* army was composed of sundry nations; as *Greeks*, *Africans*, *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, *Spaniards*, and others, all of different languages. Yet they stared upon him, and were (as I think) little pleased with his very gesture. But when such as conceived the whole tenor of his speech, had informed the rest what cold comfort he brought, they were all enraged, and fared like mad-men; so that nothing would serve to appease them. *Hanno* would fain have asswaged their fury, but he knew not how; for he less understood their dissonant loud noises, than they did his oration. An army collected out of so many countries, that have no one language common to all, or to the greater part of them, is neither easily stirred up to mutiny, nor easily pacified, when once it is broken into outrage. The best that *Hanno* can do, is to use the help of interpreters and messengers. But these interpreters mistake his meaning, some for want of skill, others of set purpose, and such as deliver his errands in the worse sense, are best believed. Finally, they think themselves much abused by the *Carthaginians*, and resolve to demand their own in peremptory terms at a nearer distance. In this mood they leave *Sicca*, and march as far as *Tunis*, that is within a very little of *Carthage*, and there they encamp.

Now begin the *Carthaginians* to find their own error. It is a good rule:

*Curandum imprimis, ne magna injuria fiat
Fortibus & miseris:*

Have special care, that valiant poverty
Be not oppress'd with too great injury.

But this proud city having neglected the rule, hath also been careless in providing to secure her self against the inconvenience that might follow. She had suffered the whole multitude, whereunto she was like to give cause of discontent, to join it self into one body, when the several troops might easily have been dispersed: she hath turned out of her gates the wives, children, and goods, of these poor men, which had she retained in shew of kindness, she might have used them as hostages for her own safety; and by employing a miserable penny-father in her negotiation with men of war, she hath weakened the reputation of her bravest captains, that might best have served to free her from the threatening no danger. Yet likely it is, that *Amilcar* had desire to be used as an instrument in defrauding his own soldiers of their wages, especially considering that as he best could bear witness of their merits, so was he not ignorant that means to content them were not wanting, if the citizens had been willing thereunto. Hereunto may be added a probable conjecture, that *Hanno*, with his accomplices, who at this very time was a bitter enemy to *Amilcar*,

car, had the boldness to impose the blame of his own wretched counsel, upon the liberal promises made by the captains. *Amilcar* therefore did wisely in suffering those that maligned him to have the managing of their own plot, and to deal the cards which themselves had shuffled. This they continued to do as foolishly as they had at first begun. They furnish a market at *Tunis* for the soldiers, whom they suffered to buy what they list, and at what price they list. They send ever and anon some of their senators into the camp, who promise to satisfy all demands, as far forth as it should be possible. And thus, by shifting from one extreme to another, they make the soldiers understand into what fear the city was driven; which cannot but add much insolency to the passions already stirred up.

This sudden change of weather, and the true cause of it, is quickly found by the army, which thereupon grows wise; and finding the season fit, labours to make a great harvest. Money must be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many have lost their horses in the publick service of the state. The state shall pay for them. They had lived some years, by making hard shift, without receiving their allowance of victuals from *Carthage*. If they had lived, they wanted not meat; therefore what was this to the *Carthaginians*? Was it not all one, whether the ships did bring in provision, or their captain direct them where to fetch it? But this would not serve. They said that they had been sometimes driven to buy, and that (since they could not remember how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their provision during the whole time, and according to the dearest price that wheat had borne whilst the war lasted. Such are now the demands of these mutineers, who might easily have been satisfied with far less charges, and far more honour, by receiving their due at the first. But now they make no end of craving: for whilst the *Carthaginians* were perplexed about this corn-money, the soldiers have devised many more tricks, whereby to extort a greater sum of money, without all regard of shame. Since therefore no good end could be found of these controversies, which daily did multiply, it was thought convenient that one of the *Carthaginians*, which had commanded in *Sicily*, should be chosen by the soldiers, to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the army condescended, and made choice of *Gesco*; partly out of good liking to him, who had shewed himself at all times a friendly man to them, and careful of their good, especially when they were to be transported into *Afric*; partly out of a dislike which they had conceived of *Amilcar*, for that he had not visited them in all this busy time. So *Gesco* comes among them, and to please them the better, comes not without money, which might give better countenance to his proceedings, than barren eloquence had done to the negotiation of *Hanno*. He calls unto him first of all the captains, and then the several nations apart; rebuking them gently for that which had passed; advising them temperately concerning the present; and exhorting them to continue their love unto the state, which had long entertained them, and would needs always be mindful of their good services. After this he began to put hand to his purse, offering to give them their whole pay in hand, and then after to consider of other reckonings at a more convenient time. This had been well accepted, and might have served to bring all to a quiet pass, if two seditious ring-leaders of the multitude had not stood against it.

There was in the camp one *Spendius*, a sturdy fellow, and audacious, but a slave; that in the late war had fled from a *Roman*, whom he served, and therefore stood in fear, lest he should be delivered back to his master; at whose hands he could expect no less than to be whipped and crucified. This wretch could find no better way to prolong his own life, than by raising such troubles as might serve to withdraw men from care of private matters, and make his own restitution impossible, were his master never so importunate. With *Spendius* there associated himself one *Matbo*, an hot headed man, that had been so forward in stirring up the tumult, as he could not chuse but fear, lest his own death should be made an example to deter others from the like seditious behaviour. This *Matbo* deals with his countrymen the *Africans*, telling them, that they were in far worse condition than either the *Gauls*, the *Greeks*, the *Spaniards*, or any other foreign mercenaries. For (saith he) *These our companions have no more to do than to receive their wages, and so get them gone; but we, that are to stay behind in Africa, shall be called to another manner of account when we are left alone; so that we shall have cause to wish that we had returned home beggars, rather than laden with the money, which (little though it be) shall break our backs. Ye are not ignorant how tyrannically those our haughty masters of Carthage do reign over us. They think it reasonable that our lives and goods should be at their disposition, which they have at other times been accustomed to take from us, even without apparent cause, as it were, to declare their sovereignty; what will they now do, seeing that we have demeaned our selves as free-men, and been bold to set a good face on the matter, demanding our own, as others have done? Ye all do know that it were a very shame for us, if having been as forward in every danger of war as any other men, we should now stand quaking like slaves, and not dare to open our mouths, when others take liberty to require their due. This notwithstanding ye may assure your selves, that we are like to be taught better manners as soon as our fellows are gone; in regard of whom, they are content to shadow their indignation with a good, but a forced countenance. Let us therefore be wise, and consider that they hate and fear us. Their hatred will shew it self, when their fear is once past; unless we now take our time, and, whilst we are the stronger, enfeeble them so greatly, that their hatred shall not be able to do us wrong. All their strength consisteth in money, wherewithal they have hired others against us, and us against others. At the present they have neither money nor friends. The best army that ever served them, wherof we are no small part, lies at their gates, ready to help us if we be men. A better opportunity cannot be expected, for were our swords once drawn, all *Afric* would rise on our side. As for the *Carthaginians*, whither can they send for help? The case it self is plain, but we must quickly resolve. Either we must prevent the diligence of *Gesco*, by incensing these *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, and procuring them to draw blood; or else it behoveth us to please our good masters, by joining with them against our fellows, yea, by offering to forgive unto them all our wages, if so (peradventure) they may be won to forgive us, or not over-cruelly to punish our faults already committed. He is most worthily a wretched slave, that neither hath the care to win his master's love, nor the courage to attempt his own liberty.*

By such persuasions *Matbo* wins the *African* soldiers to his own purpose. They are not now so greedy of money, as of quarrel; which he that seeks, will not miss to find. When *Gesco* therefore offered

to pay them their whole stipend presently, but referred their other demands for horses and victuals, to some other more convenient time, they break into great outrage, and say, that they will have all, even all at once, and that out of hand. In this tumult, the whole army flock together about *Matbo* and *Spendius*, whose diligence is not wanting to add more fuel to the fire already blazing. *Matbo* and *Spendius* are the only men to whom the soldiers will hearken; if any other stand up to make a speech, a shower of stones flying about his ears, puts him to silence, that he shall never afterwards speak word more. Neither stay they to consider what it is that any man would say; enough hath been said already by those good spokesmen, so that no other word (though perhaps to the same purpose) can be heard, save only, *throw, throw*.

Now the rebellion begins to take form. *Matbo* and *Spendius* are chosen captains, who, followed by a desperate crew of ruffians, will suffer no man to make his own peace, but pursue their own ends, under fair pretence of the common cause. All which notwithstanding, *Gesco* is not wanting to the good of his country, but adventures himself upon their other fury. One while he deals with the captains, and principal men, taking them by the hand, and giving gentle words; another while he works with the several nations, putting them all in hope of their own hearts desire, if any reason would content them. None of them are so fullen as the *Africans*; indeed, none of them had so good cause. They require him peremptorily to give them their own, and not to feed them with words. The truth is, that they are not so covetous as they seem, but will be more glad of an ill answer, than of a good payment. This is more than *Gesco* knows; he seeth not that *Matbo* hath any more than bare words to bestow upon them: wherefore, as rebuking their inconsiderate heat, he tells them, that they may do well, if they stand in want of money, to seek it of their captain *Matbo*. This is enough. Shall he both defraud them and deride them? They stay no longer, but lay violent hands upon the treasure that he had brought; yea, upon him also, and all that are with him, as intending to take this in part of payment, and for the rest, to take another course. *Matbo* and *Spendius* are glad of this. It had little pleased them to see their fellows begin to grow calm by his fair language; wherefore they cast into bonds both him and all the *Carthaginians* that they can find, that so the army may be freed from danger of good admonition, which they call treason. After this follows open war. *Matbo* solicits all *Africa*, and his ambassadors are every-where well entertain'd. Neither is it necessary to use perswasion, the very fame of this rebellion sufficeth to draw the whole country into it. Now must the *Carthaginians* be plagued for those oppressions with which they have plagued others. It is true, that adversity hath never been untold of her errors; and as she is ever assured to hear her own, so commonly with her own she undergoes those of other men. The *Africans*, finding the *Carthaginians* hang under the wheel, tell them boldly, that their impositions were mercilefs; that they took from them the one half of their corn, that they doubled their tributes in all things else, and that they inflicted upon their vassals the greatest punishments for the least offences. These cruelties the *Carthaginians* themselves have forgotten; but the people, that have suffered so much, retain all in perfect memory. Wherefore not only such as can bear arms, are ready to do service in this great commotion; but the very women bring forth their jewels and other ornaments, offering all

to fail for the maintenance of so just a quarrel. By this great forwardness, and liberal contribution, *Matbo* and *Spendius* are supplied with a strong aid of three-score and ten thousand *Africans*: and are moreover furnished with money, not only to satisfy the present appetite of their men, but sufficient to continue the war begun, though it should be of long endurance.

S E C T. II.

Divers observations upon this war with the mercenaries.

†. I.

Of tyranny, and how tyrants are driven to use the help of mercenaries.

HERE let us rest a while, as in a convenient breathing-place; whence we may take a prospect of the subject, over which we travel. Behold a tyrannical city, persecuted by her own mercenaries with a deadly war. It is a common thing, as being almost necessary, that a tyranny should be upheld by mercenary forces: it is common that mercenaries should be false: and it is common that all war made against tyrants should be exceeding full of hate and cruelty. Yet we seldom hear that ever the ruin of a tyranny is procured or sought by those that were hired to maintain the power of it: and seldom or never do we read of any war that hath been prosecuted with such inexpiable hatred, as this that is now in hand.

That which we properly call tyranny, is a violent form of government, not respecting the good of the subject, but only the pleasure of the commander. I purposely forbear to say, that it is the unjust rule of one over many: for very truly doth *Cleon* in *Thucydides* tell the *Athenians*, that their dominion over their subjects was none other than a mere tyranny; though it were so, that they themselves were a great city, and a popular estate. Neither is it peradventure greatly needful, that I should call this form of commanding, violent; since it may well and easily be conceived, that no man willingly performs obedience to one regardless of his life and welfare, unless himself be either a mad-man, or (which is little better) wholly possessed with some extream passion of love. The practice of tyranny is not always of a like extremity; for some lords are more gentle than others to their very slaves; and he that is most cruel to some, is mild enough towards others, though it be but for his own advantage. Nevertheless, in large dominions, wherein the ruler's discretion cannot extend it self unto notice of the difference which might be found between the worth of several men, it is commonly seen, that the taste of sweetness, drawn out of oppression, hath so good a relish, as continually inflames the tyrant's appetite, and will not suffer it to be restrained with any limits of respect. Why should he seek out bounds to prescribe unto his desires, who cannot endure the face of one so honest as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that he hath gotten, by extorting from some few: by sparing none, he should have riches in goodly abundance. He hath taken a great deal from every one: but every one could have spared more. He hath wrung all their purses, and now he hath enough: but (as covetousness is never satisfied) he thinks that all this is too little for a stock, though it were indeed a good yearly income. Therefore he deviseth new tricks of robbery, and is not better pleased with the gains, than with the art of getting.

He is hated for this, and he knows it well: but he thinks by cruelty to change hatred into fear. So he makes it his exercise to torment and murder all whom he suspecteth: in which course, if he suspect none unjustly, he may be said to deal craftily: but if innocency be not safe, how can all this make any conspirator to stand in fear, since the traitor is no worse rewarded than the quiet man? Wherefore he can think upon none other security, than to disarm all his subjects; to fortify himself within some strong place; and, for defence of his person and state, to hire as many lusty soldiers as shall be thought sufficient. These must not be of his own country: for if not every one, yet some one or other might chance to have a feeling of the publick misery. This considered, he allures unto him a desperate rabble of strangers, the most dishonest that can be found; such as have neither wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be careful to support him, by whose only favour they are maintained. Now, lest any of these, either by detestation of his wickedness, or (which in wicked men is most likely) by promise of greater reward than he doth give, should be drawn to turn his sword against the tyrant himself: they shall all be permitted to do as he doth; to rob, to ravish, to murder, and to satisfy their own appetites in most outrageous manner; being thought so much the more assured to their master, by how much the more he sees them grow hateful to all men else. Considering in what age, and in what language I write, I must be fain to say, that these are not dreams: tho' some *Englishmen* perhaps, that were unacquainted with history, lighting upon this leaf, might suppose this discourse to be little better. This is to shew, both how tyranny grows to stand in need of mercenary soldiers, and how those mercenaries are, by mutual obligation, firmly assured unto the tyrant.

†. II.

That the tyranny of a city over her subjects, is worse than the tyranny of one man: and that a tyrannical city must likewise use mercenary soldiers.

NOW concerning the tyranny, wherewith a city or state oppresseth her subjects; it may appear some ways to be more moderate than that of one man: but in many things it is more intolerable. A city is jealous of her dominion, but not (as is one man) fearful of her life: the less need hath she therefore to secure her self by cruelty. A city is not luxurious in consuming her treasures, and therefore needs the less to pluck from her subjects. If war, or any other great occasion, drive her to necessity of taking from her subjects more than ordinary sums of money, the same necessity makes either the contribution easy, or the taking, excusable. Indeed no wrongs are so grievous and hateful, as those that are insolent. Remember (saith *Caligula* the emperor to his grandmother *Antonia*) *that I may do what I list, and to whom I list*. These words were accounted horrible, though he did her no harm. And *Juvenal* reckons it as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruel *Roman* dame upon her slaves; that whilst she was whipping them, she painted her face, talked with her gossips, and used all signs of neglecting what those wretches felt. Now seeing that the greatest grievances wherewith a domineering state offendeth her subjects, are free from all sense of indignity; likely it is, that they will not extremely hate her, although desire of liberty make them weary of her empire. In these respects it is not needful, that she should keep a guard of licentious cut-throats, and maintain

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them in all villany, as a *Dionysius* or *Agathocles* must do: her own citizens are able to terrify, and to hold perforce in obedience, all malecontents. These things, considered alone by themselves, may serve to prove, that a city is scarce able to deserve the name of a tyranness, in the proper signification.

All this notwithstanding, it shall appear, That the miseries, wherewith a tyrant loadeth his people, are not so heavy, as the burthens imposed by a cruel city. Not without some appearance of truth, it may be said, that lust, and many other private passions, are no way incident to a city or corporation. But to make this good, we shall have need to use the help of such distinctions as the argument in hand doth not require. Was not *Rome* lascivious, when *Cato* was fain to rise and leave the theater, to the end, that the reverend regard of his gravity might not hinder the people from calling for a shew of naked courtesans, that were to be brought upon the open stage? By common practice, and general approved custom, we are to censure the quality of a whole state; not by the private virtue or vice of any one man, nor by metaphysical abstraction of *the universal* from *the singular*; or of *the corporation*, from *those of whom it is compounded*. I say therefore (as I have said elsewhere) that it were better to live under one pernicious tyrant, than under many thousands. The reasons proving this, are too many to set down: but few may suffice. The desires of one man, how inordinate soever, if they cannot be satisfied, yet they may be wearied; he is not able to search all corners; his humour may be found, and soothed; age, or good advice, yea, or some unexpected accident, may reform him: all which failing, yet is there hope, that his successor may prove better. Many tyrants have been changed into worthy kings: and many have ill used their ill-gotten dominion, which, becoming hereditary to their posterity, hath grown into the most excellent form of government, even a lawful monarchy. But they, that live under a tyrannical city, have no such hope: their mistress is immortal, and will not slacken the reins until they be pulled out of her hands, and her own mouth receive the bridle of a more mighty charioteer. This is woful: yet their present sufferings make them less mindful of the future. New flies, and hungry ones, fall upon the same fore, out of which others had already sucked their fill. A new governor comes yearly among them, attended by all his poor kindred and friends, who mean not to return home empty to their hives, without a good lading of wax and honey. These fly into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with every man's wealth, or whatsoever else, in all the province, is worthy to be desired. They know all a man's enemies, and all his fears, becoming themselves, within a little space, the enemies that he feareth most. To grow into acquaintance with these masterful guests, in hope to win their friendship, were an endless labour (yet it must be undergone) and such as every one hath not means to go about: but were this effected, what availeth it? The love of one governor is purchased with gifts: the successor of this man, he is more loving than could be wished, in respect of a fair wife or daughter: then comes the third, perhaps of the contrary faction at home, a bitter enemy to both his fore-goers, who seeks the ruin of all that have been inward with them. So the miseries of this tyranny are not simple, but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of civil war. The *Romans* had a law *de repetundis*, or *of recovery*, against extorting magistrates: yet we find, that it served not wholly to restrain their provincial governors,

vernors, who presuming on the favour of their own citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bold in their provinces, to work all these enormities rehearsed, though somewhat the more sparingly, for fear of judgment. If the subjects of *Rome* groaned under such oppressions, what must we think of those that were vassals unto *Carthage*? The *Romans* imposed no burthensome tributes; they loved not to hear that their empire was grievous; they condemned many noble citizens, for having been ill governors. At *Carthage* all went quite contrary; the rapines newly devised by one magistrate, served as precedents to instruct another; every man resolved to do the like, when it should fall to his turn; and he was held a notable statesman, whose robberies had been such, as might afford a good share to the common treasure. Particular examples of this *Carthaginian* practice are not extant: the government of *Verres* the *Roman* in *Sicily*, that is lively set out by *Tully*, may serve to inform us, what was the demeanour of these *Punic* rulers, who stood in fear of no such condemnation as *Verres* underwent. By prosecuting this discourse, I might infer a more general proposition, That a city cannot govern her subject provinces so mildly as a king: but it is enough to have shewed, That the tyranny of a city is far more intolerable than that of any one most wicked man.

Suitable to the cruelty of such lords, is the hatred of their subjects: and again, suitable to the hatred of the subjects, is the jealousy of their lords. Hence it followed, that in wars abroad, the *Carthaginians* durst use the service of *African* soldiers; in *Africa* it self, they had rather be beholden to others that were farther fetch'd. For the same purpose did *Hannibal*, in the second *Punic* war, shift his mercenaries out of their own countries; ^a *Ut Afri in Hispaniâ, Hispania in Africâ, melior procul ab domo futurus uterque miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati stipendia facerent. That the Africans might serve in Spain, the Spaniards in Africa, being each of them like to prove the better soldiers, the farther they were from home, as if they were obliged by mutual pledges.* It is disputable, I confess, whether these *African* and *Spanish* hirelings, could properly be termed mercenaries: for they were subject unto *Carthage*, and carried into the field, not only by reward, but by duty. Yet seeing their duty was no better than enforced, and that it was not any love to the state, but mere desire of gain, that made them fight. I will not nicely stand upon propriety of a word, but hold them, as *Polybius* also doth, no better than mercenaries.

† III.

The dangers growing from the use of mercenary soldiers, and foreign auxiliaries.

THE extreme danger, growing from the employment of such soldiers, is well observed by *Machiavel*: who sheweth, that they are more terrible to those whom they serve, than to those against whom they serve. They are seditious, unfaithful, disobedient, devourers and destroyers of all places and countries, whereinto they are drawn, as being held by no other bond than their own Commodity. Yea, that which is most fearful among such hirelings, is, that they have often, and in time of greatest extremity, not only refused to fight, in their defence, who have entertained them; but revolted unto the contrary part, to the utter ruin of those princes and states that have trusted

them. These mercenaries (saith *Machiavel*) which filled all *Italy*, when *Charles* the eighth of *France* did pass the *Alps*, were the cause that the said *French* king won the realm of *Naples*, with his buckler without a sword. Notable was the example of *Sforza*, the father of *Francis Sforza*, duke of *Milan*; who being entertained by queen *Joan* of *Naples*, abandoned her service on the sudden; and forced her to put her self into the hands of the king of *Arragon*. Like unto his father was *Francis Sforza*, the first of that race, duke of *Milan*: who, being entertained by the *Milanese*, forced them to become his slaves; even with the same army which themselves had levied for their own defence. But *Lodovick Sforza*, the son of this *Francis*, by the just judgment of God, was made a memorable example unto posterity, in losing his whole estate by the treachery of such faithless mercenaries, as his own father had been. For, having waged an army of *Switzers*, and committed his duchy, together with his person, into their hands; he was by them delivered up unto his enemy the *French* king, by whom he was inclosed in the castle of *Loches* to his dying day.

The like inconvenience is found, in using the help of foreign auxiliaries. We see, that when the emperor of *Constantinople* had hired 10000 *Turks*, against his neighbour princes; he could never, either by perswasion or force, set them again over sea upon *Asia* side: which gave beginning to the *Christian* servitude, that soon after followed. *Alexander*, the son of *Cassander*, sought aid of the great *Demetrius*: but *Demetrius*, being entred into his kingdom, slew the same *Alexander* who had invited him, and made himself king of *Macedon*. *Syrael* the *Turk* was called into *Egypt* by *Sanar* the *Soldan*, against his opposite: but this *Turk* did settle himself so surely in *Egypt*, that *Saladine* his successor became lord thereof; and of all the *holy land*, soon after. What need we look about for examples of this kind; every kingdom, in effect, can furnish us. The *Britons* drew the *Saxons* into this our country; and *Mac Murrough* drew the *English* into *Ireland*: but the one and the other soon became lords of those two kindoms.

Against all this may be alledged, the good success of the *United Provinces* of the *Netherlands*, using none other than such kind of soldiers, in their late war. Indeed these *Low-countries* have many goodly and strong cities, filled with inhabitants that are wealthy, industrious, and valiant in their kind. They are stout sea-men, and therein is their excellency; neither are they bad, at the defence of a place well fortified: but in open field they have seldom been able to stand against the *Spaniard*. Necessity therefore compelled them to seek help abroad: and the like necessity made them forbear to arm any great numbers of their own. For, with money raised by their trade, they maintained the war: and therefore could ill spare, unto the pike and musket, those hands, that were of more use in helping to fill the common purse. Yet what of this? they sped well. Surely they sped as ill as might be, whilst they had none other than mercenary soldiers. Many fruitless attempts, made by the prince of *Orange*, can witness it: and that brave commander, count *Lodowick* of *Nassau*, felt it to his grief, in his retreat from *Groeninghen*; when in the very instant, that required their service in fight, his mercenaries cried out aloud for money, and so ran away. This was not the only time, when the hired soldiers of the *States*, have

^a Liv. Dec. 3. l. 1.

either fought to hide their cowardice under a shew of greediness; or at least, by meer covetousness, have ruined in one hour the labour of many months. I will not stand to prove this by many examples; for they themselves will not deny it. Neither would I touch the honour of *Monsieur*, the duke of *Anjou*, brother to the *French* king; save that it is folly to conceal what all the world knows. He that would lay open the danger of foreign auxiliaries, needeth no better pattern. It is commonly found, that such aiders made themselves lords over those, to whom they lend their succour: but where shall we meet with such another as this *Monsieur*, who, for his protection promised, being rewarded with the lordship of the country, made it his first work, to thrust by violence a galling yoke upon the people's necks? well, he lived to repent it, with grief enough. Even whilst he was counterfeiting unto those about him, that were ignorant of his plot, an imaginary sorrow for the poor burghers of *Antwerp*, as verily believing the town to be surprized and won; the death of the count *St. Aignan*, who fell over the wall, and the cannon of the city, discharged against his own troops, informed him better what had happened; shewing that they were his own *French*, who stood in need of pity. Then was his feigned passion changed into a very bitter anguish of mind; wherein smiting his breast, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, *Helas mon Dieu, que veux tu faire de moy; alas, my God, what wilt thou do with me?* So the affairs of the *Netherlands* will not serve to prove, that there is little danger in using mercenary soldiers, or the help of foreign auxiliaries. This notwithstanding, they were obedient unto necessity, and sought help of the *English*, *Scotch*, and *French*: wherein they did wisely, and prospered. For when there was in *France* a king partaker with them in the same danger; when the queen of *England* refused to accept the sovereignty of their country, when they offered, yet being provoked by the *Spaniard* their enemy, pursued him with continual war; when the heir of *England* reigned in *Scotland*, a king too just and wise (though not engaged in any quarrel) either to make profit of his neighbour's miseries, or to help those that had attempted the conquest of his own inheritance: then might the *Netherlanders* very safely repose confidence, in the forces of these their neighbour-countries. The soldiers that came unto them from hence, were (to omit many other commendations) not only regardful of the pay that they should receive; but well affected unto the cause that they took in hand: or if any were cold in his devotion, to the side whereon he fought; yet was he kept in order, by remembrance of his own home, where the *English* would have rewarded him with death, if his faith had been corrupted by the *Spaniard*. They were therefore trusted with the custody of cities; they were held as friends, and patrons; the necessity of the poorer sort was relieved, before the pay-day came, with *lendings*, and other helps, as well as the ability of the states could permit. When three such princes, reigning at one time, shall agree so well, to maintain against the power of a fourth, injurious (or at least so seeming) to them all, a neighbour-country, of the same religion, and to which they are all lovingly affected: then may such a country be secure of her auxiliaries, and quietly intend her trade, or other business, in hope of like success. But these circumstances meet so seldom, as it may well hold true in general, *that mer-*

cenary, and foreign auxiliary forces, are no less dangerous, than the enemy, against whom they are entertained.

†. IV.

That the moderate government of the Romans gave them assurance to use the service of their own subjects in their wars. That in man's nature there is an affection breeding tyranny, which hindereth the use and benefit of the like moderation.

HERE it may be demanded, whether also the *Romans* were not compelled to use service of other soldiers in their many great wars, but performed all by their own citizens? for if it were their manner to arm their own subjects; how happened it, that they feared no Rebellion? if strangers; how then could they avoid the inconveniencies above rehearsed? the answer is; that their armies were compounded usually of their own citizens, and of the *Latin*, in equal number: to which they added, as occasion required, some companies of the *Campanes*, *Hebrurians*, *Samnites*, or other of their subjects, as were either interested in the quarrel, or might best be trusted. They had, about these times (though seldom they did employ so many) ten *Roman* legions; a good strength, if all other help had been wanting: which served to keep in good order their subjects, that were always fewer in the army than themselves. As for the *Latins*, if consanguinity were not a sufficient obligation; yet many privileges and immunities, which they enjoyed, made them assured unto the state of *Rome*: under which they lived almost at liberty, as being bound to little else, than to serve it in war. It is true, that a yoke, how easy soever, seems troublesome to the neck that hath been accustomed to freedom. Therefore many people of *Italy* have taken occasion of several advantages, to deliver themselves from the *Roman* subjection. But still they have been reclaimed by war; the authors of rebellion have been sharply punished; and the people, by degrees, have obtained such liberty, as made them esteem none otherwise of *Rome*, than as the common city of all *Italy*. Yea, in process of time it was granted unto many cities, and those far off removed, even to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, where *St. Paul* was born, that all the burghesses should be free of *Rome* it self. This favour was conferred absolutely upon some; upon some, with restraint of giving voice in election of magistrates, or with other such limitation, as was thought fit. Hereunto may be added, that it was their manner, after a great conquest, to release unto their new subjects half of their tribute which they had been wont to pay unto their former lords, which was a ready way, to bring the multitude into good liking of their present condition; when the review of harder times past should rather teach them to fear a relapse, than to hope for better in the future, by seeking innovation. Neither would it be forgotten, as a special note of the *Romans* good government, ^a that when some, for their well-deserving, have had the offer to be made citizens of *Rome*; they have refused it, and held themselves better contented with their own present estate. Wherefore it is no marvel, that *Petellia*, a city of the *Brutians* in *Italy*, chose rather to endure all extremity of war, ^b than, upon any condition, to forsake the *Romans*; even when the *Romans* themselves had confessed, that they were unable to help these their subjects, and therefore willed them to look

^a Liv. Dec. 3. l. 1.

^b Liv. ibid.

to their own good, as having been faithful to the utmost. Such love purchased these mild governors, without impairing their majesty thereby. The sum of all is: they had, of their own, a strong army; they doubled it, by adjoining thereunto the *Latins*; and they further increased it, as need required, with other help of their own subjects: all, or the most of their followers, accounting the prosperity of *Rome* to be the common good.

The moderate use of sovereign power being so effectual, in assuring the people unto their lords, and consequently, in the establishment or enlargement of dominion: it may seem strange, that the practice of tyranny, whose effects are contrary, hath been so common in all ages. The like, I know, may be said, of all vice, and irregularity whatsoever. For it is less difficult (whosoever think otherwise) and more safe, to keep the way of justice and honesty, than to turn aside from it; yet commonly our passions do lead us into by-paths. But where lust, anger, fear, or any the like affection, seduceth our reason; the same unruly appetite either bringeth with it an excuse, or at least-wise taketh away all cause of wonder. In tyranny it is not so: forasmuch as we can hardly descry the passion, that is of force to insinuate it self into the whole tenour of a government. It must be confessed, that lawless desires have bred many tyrants: yet so, that these desires have seldom been hereditary or long-lasting; but have ended commonly with the tyrant's life, sometimes before his death; by which means the government hath been reduced to a better form. In such cases, the saying of *Aristotle* holds, ^a *that tyrannies are of a short continuance*. But this doth not satisfy the question in hand. Why did not the *Carthaginians* exercise tyranny? why did the *Athenians*? why have many other cities done the like? If in respect of their general good; how could they be ignorant, that this was an ill course for the safety of the weal publick? If they were led hereunto by any affection; what was that affection, wherein so many thousand citizens, divided and subdivided within themselves by factions, did all concur, notwithstanding the much diversity of temper, and the vehemency of private hatred among them? Doubtless, we must be fain to say, that tyranny is, by it self, a vice distinct from others. A man, we know, is *animal politicum*, apt, even by nature, to command, or to obey; every one in his proper degree. Other desires of mankind, are common likewise unto brute beasts; and some of them, to bodies wanting sense: but the desire of rule belongeth unto the nobler part of reason; whereunto is also answerable an aptness to yield obedience. Now as hunger and thirst are given by nature, not only to man and beast, but unto all sorts of vegetables, for the sustentation of their life: as fear, anger, lust, and other affections are likewise natural, in convenient measure, both unto mankind, and to all creatures that have sense, for the shunning or repelling of harm, and seeking after that which is requisite: even so is this desire of ruling or obeying, ingrafted by nature in the race of man, and in man only as a reasonable creature, for the ordering of his life, in a civil form of justice. All these in-bred qualities are good and useful. Nevertheless, hunger and thirst are the parents of gluttony and drunkenness, which, in reproach, are called beastly, by an improper term: since they grow from appetites, found in less worthy creatures than beasts, and are yet not so common in beasts, as in men. The effects of anger,

and of such other passions as descend no lower than unto brute beasts, are held less vile; and perhaps not without good reason: yet are they more horrible, and punished more grievously, by sharper laws, as being in general more pernicious. But as no corruption is worse, than of that which is best; there is not any passion, that nourisheth a vice more hurtful unto mankind, than that which issueth from the most noble root, even the depraved affection of ruling. Hence arise those two great mischiefs, of which hath been an old question in dispute, whether be the worse; that all things, or that nothing, should be lawful. Of these, a dull spirit, and overladen by fortune, with power whereof it is not capable, occasioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrary distemper, whose vehemency the bounds of reason cannot limit. Under the extremity of either, no country is able to subsist: yet the defective dulness, that permitteeth any thing, will also permit the execution of law, to which, mere necessity doth enforce the ordinary magistrate; whereas tyranny is more active, and pleaseth it self in the excess, with a false colour of justice. Examples of stupidity, and unaptness to rule, are not very frequent, tho' such natures are every-where to be found: for this quality troubles not it self in seeking empire; or if, by some error of fortune, it encounter therewithal (as when *Claudius*, hiding himself in a corner, found the empire of *Rome*) some friend, or else a wife, is not wanting to supply the defect, which also cruelty doth help to shadow. Therefore this vice, as a thing unknown, is without a name. Tyranny is more bold, and feareth not to be known, but would be reputed honourable: for it is *prosperum & felix scelus*, a fortunate mischief, as long as it can subsist. *There is no reward or honour* (saith *Peter Charron*) *assigned to those, that know how to increase, or to preserve human nature: all honours, greatness, riches, dignities, empires, triumphs, trophies, are appointed for those, that know how to afflict, trouble, or destroy it.* *Cesar*, and *Alexander*, have unmade and slain each of them, more than a million of men: but they made none, nor left none behind them. Such is the error of man's judgment, in valuing things according to the common opinion. But the true name of tyranny, when it grows to ripeness, is none other than *Ferity*: the same that *Aristotle* saith to be worse than any vice. It exceedeth indeed all other vices, issuing from the passions incident both to man and beast; no less than perjury, murder, treason, and the like horrible crimes, exceed in villany, the faults of gluttony and drunkenness, that grow from more ignoble appetites. Hereof *Scion*, *Procrustes*, and *Pityocampes*, that used their bodily force to the destruction of mankind, are not better examples, than *Phalaris*, *Dionysius* and *Agathocles*, whose mischievous heads were assisted by the hands of detestable ruffians. The same barbarous desire of lordship, transported those old examples of *Ferity*, and these latter tyrants, beyond the bounds of reason: neither of them knew the use of rule, nor the difference between free-men and slaves.

The rule of the husband over the wife, and of parents over their children, is natural, and appointed by God himself; so that it is always, and simply, allowable and good. The former of these is, as the dominion of reason over appetite: the latter is the whole Authority, which one free-man can have over another. The rule of a king is no more, nor none other, than of a common father over his whole country: which he that

^a *Arist. Pol. lib. 5. c. 12*

knows what the power of a father is, or ought to be, knows to be enough. But there is a greater, and more masterly rule, which God gave unto *Adam*, when he said; ^a *Have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth*: which also he confirmed unto *Noah*, and his children, saying, ^b *The fear of you, and the dread of you, shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air, upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea; into your hands are they delivered*. He, who gave this dominion to man, gave also an aptitude to use it. The execution of this power hath since extended it self over a very great part of mankind. There are indeed no small numbers of men, whose disability to govern themselves, proves them, according to *Aristotle's* doctrine, to be naturally slaves.

Yet find I not in scripture any warrant to oppress men with bondage, ^c unless the lawfulness thereof be sufficiently intimated, where it is said, that a man shall not be punished for the death of a servant, whom he hath slain by correction, if the servant live a day or two, because ^d *he is his money*; or else by captivity of the ^e *Midianitish* girls, which were made bond-slaves, and the sanctuary had a part of them for *the Lord's tribute*. Doubtless, the custom hath been very antient; ^f for *Noah* laid this curse upon *Canaan*, that he should be *a servant of servants*; and *Abraham* had of *Pharaoh*, among other gifts, *men-servants*, ^g and *maid-servants*, which were none other than slaves. Christian religion is said to have abrogated this old kind of servility; but surely they are deceived that think so. ^h *St. Paul* desired the liberty of *Onesimus*, whom he had won unto Christ; yet wrote he for this unto *Philemon*, by way of request, craving it as a benefit, not urging it as a duty. Agreeable hereto is the direction which the same *St. Paul* giveth unto servants; ⁱ *Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called: art thou called, being a servant? care not for it, but if thou mayst be made free, chuse it rather*. It is true, that christian religion hath procured liberty unto many, not only in regard of piety, but for that the christian masters stood in fear of being discovered by their slaves unto the persecutors of religion. *Mahomet* likewise, by giving liberty to his followers, drew many into his impiety; but whether he forbad it, as unlawful, unto his sectators to hold one another of them in bondage, I cannot tell; save that by the practice of the *Turks* and *Moors*, it seems he did not. In *England* we had many bond-servants, until the time of our last civil wars; and I think that the laws concerning villanage are still in force, of which the latest are the sharpest. And now, since slaves were made free, which were of great use and service, there are grown up a rabble of rogues, cut-purses, and other the like trades; slaves in nature, though not in law.

But whether this kind of dominion be lawful, or not, *Aristotle* hath well proved that it is natural. And certainly we find not such a latitude of difference in any creature, as in the nature of man; wherein (to omit the infinite distance in estate of the elect and reprobate) the wisest excel the most foolish by far greater degree, than the most foolish of men doth surpass the wisest of beasts. Therefore, when commiseration hath given way to reason, we shall find that nature is the ground even of masterly power, and of servile obedience, which is

thereto correspondent. But it may be truly said, that some countries have subsisted long without the use of any servility; as also it is true, that some countries have not the use of any tame cattel. Indeed, the affections which uphold civil rule are (though more noble) not so simply needful unto the sustentation either of our kind, as are lust, and the like; or of every one, as are hunger and thirst, which notwithstanding are the lowest in degree. But where most vile and servile dispositions have liberty to shew themselves begging in the streets, there may we more justly wonder how the dangerous toil of seafaring-men can find enough to undertake them, than how the swarm of idle vagabonds should increase, by access of those that are weary of their own more painful condition. This may suffice to prove, that in mankind there is found ingrafted, even by nature, a desire of absolute dominion, whereunto the general custom of nations doth subscribe; together with the pleasure which most men take in flatterers, that are the basest of slaves.

This being so, we find no cause to marvel how tyranny hath been so rise in all ages, and practised not only in the single rule of some vicious prince, but even by consent of whole cities and estates; since other vices have likewise gotten head, and born a general sway, notwithstanding that the way of virtue be more honourable and commodious. Few there are that have used well the inferior passions, how then can we expect that the most noble affections should not be disordered? In the government of wife and children, some are utterly careless, and corrupt all by their dull connivency; others, by masterly rigor, hold their own blood under condition of slavery. To be a good governor, is a rare commendation; and to prefer the weal-publick above all respects whatsoever, is the virtue justly termed heroical. Of this virtue, many ages afford not many examples. *Hector* is named by *Aristotle*, as one of them; and deservedly, if this praise be due to extraordinary height of fortitude, used in defence of a man's own country. But if we consider, that a love of the general good cannot be perfect, without reference to *the Fountain of all goodness*, we shall find that no moral virtue, how great soever, can, by it self, deserve the commendation of *more than virtue*, as the heroical doth. Wherefore we must search the scriptures for patterns hereof; such as *David*, *Josaphat*, and *Jehoiada* were. Of christian kings, if there were many such, the world would soon be happy. It is not my purpose to wrong the worth of any, by denying the praise where it is due, or by preferring a less excellent. But he that can find a king religious and zealous in God's cause, without enforcement either of adversity, or of some regard of state; a procurer of the general peace and quiet, who not only useth his authority, but adds the travel of his eloquence, in admonishing his judges to do justice; by the vigorous influence of whose government, civility is infused, even into those places that have been the dens of savage robbers and cut-throats; one that hath quite abolished a slavish *Brebon* law, by which an whole nation of his subjects were held in bondage; and one, whose higher virtue and wisdom doth make the praise not only of nobility, and other ornaments, but of abstinence from the blood, the wives, and the goods of those that are under his power, together with a world of chief commendations belonging unto some good princes, to appear less regardable; he, I say, that can find such a king, findeth

^a Gen. i. 28.

^b Gen. ix. 2.

^c Arill. Pol. l. i. c. 3.

^d Exod. xxi. 21.

^e Num. xxxi. 9.

^f Gen. ix. 25.

^g Gen. xii. 16.

^h Epist. to Philem. v. 14.

ⁱ 1 Cor. vii. 20, 21.

^aan example worthy to add unto virtue an honourable title, if it were formerly wanting. Under such a king, it is likely, by God's blessing, that a land shall flourish with increase of trade in countries before unknown; that civility and religion shall be propagated into barbarous and heathen countries; and that the happiness of his subjects, shall cause the nations far off removed, to wish him their sovereign. I need not add hereunto, that all the actions of such a king, even his bodily exercises, do partake of virtue; since all things tending to the preservation of his life and health, or to the mollifying of his cares (who, fixing his contemplation upon God, seeketh how to imitate the unspeakable goodness, rather than the inaccessible majesty, with both of which himself is endued, as far as human nature is capable) do also belong to the furtherance of that common good which he procureth. Left any man should think me transported with admiration, or other affliction, beyond the bounds of reason, I add hereunto, that such a king is nevertheless a man, must die, and may err; yet wisdom and fame shall set him free from error, and from death, both with and without the help of time. One thing I may not omit, as a singular benefit (though there be many others besides) redounding unto this king, as the fruit of his goodness. The people that live under a pleasant yoke, are not only loving to their sovereign lord, but free of courage, and no greater in number of men, than of stout fighters, if need require; whereas on the contrary, he that ruleth as over slaves, shall be attended, in time of necessity, by slavish minds, neither loving his person, nor regarding his or their own honour. Cowards may be furious, and slaves outrageous, for a time; but among spirits that have once yielded unto slavery, universally it is found true, that *“Homer saith, God bereaveth a man of half his virtue, that day when he casteth him into bondage.”*

Of these things, I might perhaps more seasonably have spoken, in the general discourse of government; but where so lively an example of the calamity following a tyrannical rule, and the use of mercenaries, thereupon depending, did offer it self, as is this present business of the *Carthaginians*, I thought that the note would be more effectual, than being barely delivered, as out of a common place.

S E C T. III.

How the war against the mercenaries was diversely managed by Hanno and Amilcar, with variable success. The bloody counsels of the mercenaries, and their final destruction.

Being now to return unto those mercenaries, from whom I have thus far digressed, I cannot readily find by what name henceforth I should call them. They are no longer in pay with the *Carthaginians*, neither care they to pretend that they seek their wages already due; so that they are neither mercenaries nor mutineers. Had they all been subject unto *Carthage*, then might they justly have been termed rebels; but *Spendius*, and others, that were the principal part of them, owed none allegiance to that state, which they endeavoured to subvert. Wherefore I will borrow the name of their late occupation, and still call them mercenaries, as *Polybius* also doth.

These using the advantage of their present strength, besieged ^b*Utica* and *Hippagreta*, cities of great importance, as being seated upon the western haven of *Carthage*, where it is divided by a neck of land; *Hippagreta* standing inwards upon the great lake, *Utica* farther out upon the sea. Neither was the camp at *Tunis* abandoned, which lay fitly to hinder the *Carthaginians* from passing up into the country; for *Matho* and *Spendius* wanted not men to follow the war in all parts at once.

How the *Carthaginians* were amazed with this unexpected peril, any man may conceive. But the business it self awakes them hastily. They are hardly press'd on all sides, and therefore travelled their brains to the uttermost, how to shake off these furious dogs from their shoulders, who sometimes by night, sometimes by day, came unto the very walls of their city. In this exigence, *Hanno* was made their general, who failed not in his accustomed diligence of making all good preparation; but had gotten together whatsoever was needful, as well to relieve a town besieged, as to batter and assail any place defended against him. With these provisions, and with an hundred elephants, he came to *Utica* so suddenly, that the enemies, as men surprized, forsook their trenches, and retired themselves unto a rising piece of woody ground, where they might be safe against the violence of his beasts. *Hanno*, thinking that he had to do with *Numidians*, whose custom was, after any loss, to fly two or three days journey off, presently entered the town, to shew himself after this his victory. But these good fellows, against whom he was to war, had learned of *Amilcar* to retire and fight again, many times in one day, as need required. Therefore, as soon as they perceived that he knew not how to use a victory, they assailed their own camp, and with great slaughter, drove the *Carthaginians* out of it, forcing them to hide themselves within *Utica*, and got possession of all the store that *Hanno* had brought for the relief of the town. This bad beginning *Hanno* followed with suitable indiscretion, losing the benefit of many fair opportunities, and suffering the enemies to take possession of all the entrance from *Carthage* to the firm land.

The *Carthaginians* perceiving this, were exceedingly troubled, and did therefore let fall their sheet-anchor, sending to the field their great captain *Amilcar*, whom they furnished with ten thousand foot of supply, and seventy elephants. *Amilcar* had work enough to do before he should be able to meet with the enemy upon equal ground; for, besides other places of advantage that the mercenaries had occupied, *Hanno* had suffered them to win the only bridge, by which the river *Macra*, or *Bagradas*, was passable unto these that were to travel into the continent. This river had not many fords, nor those easy for a single man to get over; but upon them all was kept such guard, as gave to *Amilcar* little hope of prevailing in seeking way by force. As for the bridge it self, *Matho* and his followers were there lodged, and had there built a town, wherein to lie commodiously, intente only to the custody thereof. But *Amilcar* had observed, that the very mouth of *Bagradas* used to be sometimes cloyed with sand and gravel, that was driven in by certain customary winds, and could not be driven out again by force of that slow river, till the wind falling, or changing, suffered the weight of the

^a Hom. Odys. l. 17. ^b *Utica* is seated in the great bay that enters into *Carthage*, not far from the promontory of *Apollo*; at this time it is called *Porto Parina*, or *Biserta*; and by the Africans themselves *Garel Melba*. Niger saith, that the town it self is named, and the place whereon it stood, now called *Mazachares*. It was very ancient, and built before *Carthage*, saith *Silius*. As it flourished before *Carthage* was set up, so did it after *Carthage* was thrown down by the Romans in the third Punic war. Famous it was by the death of *Cato* the younger, who held it against *Cæsar*. *Victor*, that worthy divine, even bishop thereof in the time of *Clement* the African, who lived all the time of that tyrant, and hath written the story of his cruelties.

waters to disburthen their channel. Hereof he made use, and taking his opportunity, passed the river, contrary to all expectation, either of the enemy, or of his own citizens.

There was no need to bid *Spendius* look about him, when once it was heard that *Amilcar* was come over into *Bagradas*; all the mercenaries were troubled with the news, knowing that they were no longer to deal with the improvident gravity of *Flanno*, but with an able spirit, even with their own master in the art of war, whom they admired, though they hated him. But this fear was soon changed into presumption; when more than fifteen thousand of their own society were come from *Utica*, and other ten thousand from the guard of the bridge. Their army was far greater than that of *Amilcar*'s, and they were in their own judgment the better men; upon which confidence they resolved to charge him on all sides, and beat him down in despite of his worth and reputation. With this resolution they attended upon him, watching for some advantage, and still exhorting one another to play the men, and give the onset. Especially they that followed him in the rear had a mind to begin the fight; whereunto their promptness was such, as took from them their former circumspection. *Amilcar* held his way towards the bridge, keeping himself on plain grounds, that were fittest for the service of his elephants, which he placed in front of his army. Neither made he shew of any desire to fight, but suffered the rashness of his enemies to increase, till it should break into some disorder. At length, perceiving that with more boldness than good heed, they followed him so near, as would be little for their good, if he should turn upon them, he hastened his march, even to such a pace, as made a shew little differing from plain flight. The mercenaries presently fell upon his skirts; believing, that for fear of them he was ready to run away. But whilst they confusedly, as in sudden opinion of victory, were driving at the heels of those who had the rear, *Amilcar* wheeled about and met him in the face, charging them hotly, but in very good order; so that, amazed with the apprehension of unexpected danger, they fled without making any resistance. In this overthrow there were six thousand of the mercenaries slain, and about two thousand taken; the rest fled, some to the camp at *Utica*, others to the town at the bridge, whither *Amilcar* followed them so fast that he won the place easily; the enemies being thence also fled into *Tunis*, as not having recollected their spirits to make it good.

The fame of this victory, together with the diligence of *Amilcar* in pursuing it, caused many towns revolted, partly by fear, partly by force, to return to their former obedience. Yet was not *Matho* wanting to himself in this dangerous time. He sent about *Numidia* and *Africa* for new supplies, admonishing the people now or never to do their best, for the recovery of their freedom; he persuaded *Spendius* and *Autarius*, that was captain of the *Gauls*, to wait upon *Amilcar*, and always to keep the higher grounds, or at least the foot of some hill, where they might be safe from the elephants; and he himself continued to press the town of *Hippagreta* with an hard siege. It was necessary for *Amilcar*, in passing from place to place, as his business required, to take such ways as there were, for all the country lay not level. Therefore *Spendius*, who still coasted him, had once gotten a notable advantage of ground; the *Carthaginians* lying in a plain surrounded with hills,

that were occupied by the mercenaries, with their *Numidian* and *African* succours. In this difficulty the fame of *Amilcar*'s personal worth did greatly benefit his country. For *Naravasus*, a young gentleman commanding over the *Numidians*, was glad of this occasion, serving to get the acquaintance and love of so brave a man, which he much desired: and therefore came unto *Amilcar*, signifying his good affection to him, with offer to do him all service. *Amilcar* joyfully entertained this friend, promising unto him his own daughter in marriage, and so won from the enemies two thousand horse, that following *Naravasus*, turned unto the *Carthaginians* side. With this help he gave battel unto *Spendius*, wherein the *Numidian* laboured to approve his own valour to his new friend. So the victory was great; for there were slain ten thousand of *Spendius*'s fellows, and four thousand taken prisoners; but *Spendius* himself, with *Autarius* the *Gaul*, escaped to do more mischief. *Amilcar* dealt very gently with his prisoners, pardoning all offences past, and dismissing as many as were unwilling to become his followers; yet with condition, that they should never more bear arms against the *Carthaginians*, threatening to take sharp revenge upon all that should break this covenant.

This humanity was vehemently suspected by *Matho*, *Spendius*, and *Autarius*, as tending to win from them the hearts of their soldiers. Wherefore they resolved to take such order, that not a man among them should dare to trust in the good nature of *Amilcar*, nor to hope for any safety whilst *Carthage* was able to do him hurt. They counterfeited letters of advertisement, wherein was contained, that some of their company, respective only of their private benefit, and careless of the general good, had a purpose to betray them all unto the *Carthaginians*, with whom they held intelligence; and that it was needful to look well unto *Gesco* and his companions, whom these traitors had a purpose to enlarge. Upon this theme *Spendius* makes an oration to the soldiers, exhorting them to fidelity; and shewing with many words, that the seeming humanity of *Amilcar* toward some, was none other than a bait wherewith to intrap them all at once together; as also telling them what a dangerous enemy *Gesco* would prove if he might escape their hands. While he is yet in the middle of his tale were letters come to the same purpose. Then steps forth *Autarius*, and speaks his mind plainly; saying, that it were the best, yea, the only way, for the common safety, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with *Carthage*; that if some were deviling to make their own peace, it would go hard with those that had a care of the war; that it were better to make an end of *Gesco*'s life, than to trouble themselves with looking to his custody; that by such a course every one should be engaged in the present action, as having none other hope left than in victory alone; finally, that such as would speak here-against, were worthy to be reputed traitors. This *Autarius* was in great credit with the soldiers, and could speak sundry languages, in such sort, that it was understood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that *Gesco* and all the other prisoners should forthwith be put to horrible death by torments. Nevertheless there were some, who, for love of *Gesco*, sought to alter this intended cruelty, but they were forthwith stoned to death, as a document unto others; and so the decree was put in execution. Neither were they there-withal contented, but further ordained, that all *Carthaginian* prisoners which they took should be served in like sort; and that the subjects or friends

friends of *Carthage* should lose their hands, and so be sent home; which rule they observed ever afterwards.

Of this cruelty I need say no more, than that it was most execrable ferity. As for the counsel of using it, it was like unto the counsel of *Achitophel*; *All Israel shall hear that thou art abhorred of thy father; then shall the hands of all that are with thee be strong.* Such are the fruits of desperation. He that is past all hope of pardon is afraid of his own fellows, if they be more innocent; and, to avoid the punishment of less offences, committeth greater. The cowardice of offenders, and the revengeful spirits of those that have been wronged, are breeders of this desperation: to which may be added some deficiency of laws, in distinguishing the punishments of malefactors according to the degree of their several crimes. A coward thinks all provision too little for his own security. *If Phocas be a coward (said the emperor Mauritus) then is he murderous.* To be steadfast and sure in taking revenge is thought a point of honour, and a defensive against new injuries. But wrongfully; for it is opposite to the rule of Christianity; and such a quality discovered, makes them deadly enemies, who otherwise would have repented, and sought to make amends for the wrong done in passion. This was it which wrought so much woe to the *Carthaginians*, teaching *Matbo* and his *Africans* to suspect even their gentleness, as the introduction to extreme rigour. Like unto the errors of princes and governors are the errors of laws. Where one and the same punishment is awarded unto the less offence, and unto the greater, he that hath ventured to rob a man, is easily tempted to kill him, for his own security.

Against these inconveniences, mercy and severity, used with due respect, are the best remedies. In neither of which *Amilcar* failed. For, as long as these his own soldiers were any way likely to be reclaimed by gentle courses, his humanity was ready to invite them; but when they were transported with beastly outrage, beyond all regard of honesty and shame, he rewarded their villainy with answerable vengeance, casting them unto wild beasts to be devoured.

Until this time, *Hanno*, with the army under his command, had kept himself apart from *Amilcar*, and done little, as may seem, for that nothing is remembered of him since his late losses. Neither was *Amilcar* sorry to want his help, as being able to do better without him. But when the war grew to such extremity as threatened utter ruin to one or the other side, then was *Hanno* sent for, and came to *Amilcar*, with whom he joined his forces. By this access of strength *Amilcar* was not enabled to do more than in former times; rather he could now perform nothing; such was the hatred between him and his unworthy colleague. The towns of *Utica* and *Hippagreta*, that had stood always firm on the *Carthaginian* party, did now revolt unto the enemy, murdering all the soldiers that they had in garrison, and calling their bodies forth, without suffering them to be buried. The provisions brought by sea for maintenance of the army, were lost in foul weather; and *Carthage* itself stood in danger of being besieged, about which *Matbo* and *Spendius* consulted, whilst one of the *Carthaginian* generals did (as it were) bind the others hands.

It hath in all ages been used as the safest course, to send forth in great expeditions, two generals of one army. This was the common practice of those two mighty cities *Athens* and *Rome*, which other states and princes have often imitated; persuading

themselves, that great armies are not so well conducted by one as by two; who, out of emulation to excel each other, will use the greater diligence. They have also joined two chief commanders in equal commission, upon this further consideration; the better to restrain the ambition of any one that should be trusted with so great a strength. For hereof all common-weals have been jealous, having been taught by their examples, that have made themselves tyrants over those cities and states that have employed them. In this point the *Venetians* have been so circumspect, as they have, for the most part, trusted strangers, and not their own, in all the wars that they have made. It is true, that the equal authority of two commanding in chief, serveth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning upon the prince or state that hath given them trust; but in managing the war itself, it is commonly the cause of ill success. In wars made near unto *Rome* itself, when two good friends were consuls, or such two at least as concurred in one desire of triumph; which honour (the greatest of any that *Rome* could give) was to be obtained by that one year's service; it is no marvel, though each of the consuls did his best, and referred all his thoughts unto none other end than victory: Yet in all dangerous cases, when the consuls proceeded otherwise than was desired, one dictator was appointed, whose power was neither hindered by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeed the manner to send forth both the consuls to one war; but each went whither his lot called him, to his own province, unless one business seemed to require them both, and they also seemed fit to be joined in the administration. Now, although it was so that the *Romans* did many times prevail with their joint generals; yet was this never or seldom, without as much concord as any other virtue of the commanders. For their modesty hath often been such, that the less able captain, though of equal authority, hath willingly submitted himself to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithstanding, they have many times, by ordaining two commanders of one army, received great and most dangerous overthrows; whereof in the second *Punic* war we shall find examples. On the contrary side, in their wars most remote, that were always managed by one, they seldom failed to win exceeding honour, as hereafter shall appear. Now, of those ten generals which served the *Athenians* at the battel of *Marathon*, it may truly be said, that had not their temper been better than the judgment of the people that sent them forth, and had not they submitted themselves to the conduction of *Miltiades*, their affairs had found the same success which they found at other times, when they coupled *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* together in *Sicily*; the one being so over-wary, and the other so hasty, as all came to nought that they undertook; whereas *Cimon* alone, as also *Aristides* and others, having sole charge of all, did their country and common-weal most remarkable service. For it is hard to find two great captains of equal discretion and valour; but that the one hath more of fury than of judgment, and to the contrary, by which the best occasions are as often over-slip'd, as at other times many actions are unreasonably undertaken. I remember it well, that when the prince of *Condy* was slain after the battel of *Jarnac* (which prince, together with the admiral *Chastillon*, had the conduct of the *Protestant* army) the *Protestants* did greatly bewail the loss of the said prince, in respect of his religion, person and birth; yet comforting themselves, they thought it rather an advancement

vancement than an hindrance to their affairs. For so much did the valour of the one out-reach the advisedness of the other, as whatsoever the admiral intended to win by attending the advantage, the prince adventured to lose, by being over-confident in his own courage.

But we need no better example than of the *Carthaginians* in this present business; who, though they were still sick of their ill-grounded love to *Hanno*, and were unwilling to disgrace him; yet seeing that all ran towards ruin, through the discord of the generals, committed the decision of their controversies unto the army that served under them. The judgment of the army was, that *Hanno* should depart the camp; which he did; and *Hannibal* was sent in his stead, one that would be directed by *Amilcar*, and that was enough.

After this, the affairs of *Carthage* began to prosper somewhat better. *Matbo* and *Spendius* had brought their army near unto the city, and lay before it as in a siege. They might well be bold to hope and adventure much, having in their camp above fifty thousand, besides those that lay abroad in garrisons. Nevertheless, the city was too strong for them to win by assault, and the entrance of victuals they could not hinder, if any should be sent in by friends from abroad.

Hieron, king of *Syracuse*, though during the wars in *Sicily* he assisted the *Romans*, and still continued in their alliance, yet now sent succours to the *Carthaginians*, fearing their fall, and consequently his own; because, if no other state gave the *Romans* somewhat to trouble their digestion, the principality of *Syracuse* would soon be devoured by them. The *Romans* also gave them some slender assistance, and for the present, refused good offers made unto them by the mercenaries. This they did to shew a kind of noble disposition; which was indeed but counterfeit, as the sequel manifestly proved.

Whilst *Matbo* and his followers were busily pressing the city, *Amilcar* was as diligent in waiting at their backs and cutting off all that came to their supply; so that finding themselves more straitly besieged by him than *Carthage* was by them, they purposed to desist from their vain attempt, and try some other course. Hereupon they issue into the field; where *Spendius*, and one *Zarcas*, an *African* captain assisting the rebellion, take upon them to find *Amilcar* work, leaving *Matbo* in *Tunis*, to negotiate with their friends, and take a general care of the business. The elephants of *Carthage*, and horse of *Naravafus*, made *Spendius* fearful to descend into the plains. Wherefore he betook himself to his former method of war, keeping the mountains and rough grounds, or occupying the straitest passages, wherein the desperate courage of his men might shew itself with little disadvantage. But *Amilcar* had more skill in this art than could be matched by the labour of *Spendius*. He drew the enemy to many skirmishes; in all which the success was such, as added courage to his own men, and abated the strength and spirit of the rebels. Thus he continued provoking them night and day; still intrapping some of them, and sometimes giving them the overthrow in plain battel, until at length he got them into a straight, whence ere they should get out, he meant to take of them a good account. Their judgment was enough to perceive their own disadvantage; and therefore they had the less stomach to fight, but awaited for help from *Tunis*. *Amilcar* prudently foreseeing, that necessity might teach them to dare impossibilities, used the benefit of their present fear, and shut them close up with

trench and rampart. There they waited miserably for succour that came not; and having spent all their victuals, were so pinched with hunger, that they fed upon the bodies of their prisoners. This they suffered patiently, as knowing that they had not deserved any favour from *Carthage*, and hoping that their friends at *Tunis* would not be unmindful of them. But when they were driven to such extremity that they were fain to devour their own companions, and yet saw none appearance or likelihood of relief, their obstinacy was broken, and they threatened their captains with what they had deserved, unless they would go forth to *Amilcar*, and seek such peace as might be gotten. So *Spendius*, *Zarcas* and *Autarius*, fell to consultation, wherein it was resolved to obey the multitude, and yield themselves, if it were so required, unto the death, rather than to perish by the hands of their own companions. Hereupon they send to crave parley, which is granted; and these three come forth to talk with *Amilcar* in person. What they could say unto him it is hard to conjecture; yet, by the conditions which *Amilcar* granted, it seems that they took the blame upon themselves, and craved pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that the *Carthaginians* should chuse out of the whole number of these enemies any ten whom they pleased, to remain at their discretion; and that the rest should all be dismissed, each in his shirt, or in one single coat. When the peace was thus concluded, *Amilcar* told these ringleaders, that he chose them presently as part of the ten, and so commanded to lay hands on them; the rest he forthwith went to fetch, with his whole army in order. The rebels, who knew not that peace was concluded upon so gentle articles, thought themselves betrayed; and therefore amazedly ran to arms. But they wanted captains to order them, and the same astonishment that made them break the covenants of peace, whereof they were ignorant, gave unto *Amilcar* both colour of justice in accomplishing revenge, and ease in doing the execution. They were all slain, being forty thousand or more in number.

This was a famous exploit, and the news thereof exceeding welcome to *Carthage*, and terrible to the revolted cities of *Africa*. Henceforward, *Amilcar*, with his *Naravafus* and *Hannibal*, carried the war from town to town, and found all places ready to yield: *Utica* and *Hippagreta* only standing out, upon fear of deserved vengeance; and *Tunis* being held by *Matbo*, with the remainder of his army. It was thought fit to begin with *Tunis*, wherein lay the chief strength of the enemy. Coming before this town they brought forth *Spendius*, with his fellows, in view of the defendants, and crucified them under the walls, to terrify those of his old companions that were still in arms. With this rigour the siege began, as if speedy victory had been assured. *Hannibal* quartered on that part of *Tunis* which lay towards *Carthage*, *Amilcar* on the opposite side; too far asunder to help one another in sudden accidents, and therefore it behoved each to be the more circumspect.

Matbo from the walls beheld his own destiny in the misery of his companion, and knew not how to avoid it otherwise, than by a cast at dice with fortune. So he broke out upon that part of the *Carthaginian* army that lay secure, as if all danger were past, under the command of *Hannibal*; and with so great and unexpected fury he sallied, that after an exceeding slaughter he took *Hannibal* prisoner; on whom, and thirty the most noble of the *Carthaginian* prisoners, he presently revenged the death of *Spendius* by the same torture. Of this

Amilcar knew nothing till it was too late ; neither had he strength enough remaining, after this great loss, to continue the siege, but was fain to break it up, and remove unto the mouth of the river *Bagradas*, where he encamped.

The terror was no less within *Carthage* upon the fame of this loss, than had been the joy of the late great victory. All that could bear arms were sent into the field under *Hanno*, whom, it seems, they thought the most able of their captains surviving the late accidents of war. If there were any law among them forbidding the employment of one sole general near unto their city (for they are known to have trusted one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this hasty exigent, to devise about repealing it. But thirty principal men are chosen by the senate to bring *Hanno* to *Amilcar's* camp, and by all good persuasions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day. It nearly touched *Amilcar* in his honour, that the carelessness of *Hannibal* seemed to be imputed unto him, by sending his enemy to moderate his proceedings. Nevertheless, after many conferences, the authority of the senators prevailed ; *Amilcar* and *Hanno* were made friends ; and thenceforth, whilst this war lasted, *Hanno* took warning by *Hannibal's* calamities to follow good directions, though afterwards he returned to his old and deadly hatred.

In the mean season *Matbo* was come abroad ; as meaning to use the reputation of his late success, whilst it gave some life unto his business. He had reason to do as he did, but he wanted skill to deal with *Amilcar*. The skirmishes and light exercises of war, wherein *Amilcar* trained his *Carthaginians*, did so far abate the strength, and withal diminish the credit of *Matbo*, that he resolved try the fortune of one battel ; wherein either his own desire should be accomplished, or his cares ended. To this conclusion the *Carthaginians* were no less prone than *Matbo*, as being weary of these long troubles and insupportable expences ; confident in the valour of their own men, which had approved itself in many trials, and well assured of *Amilcar's* great worth, whereunto the enemy had not what to oppose. According to this determination, each part was diligent in making provision, inviting their friends to help, and drawing forth into the field all that lay in garrison.

The issue of this battel might have been foretold without help of witchcraft. *Matbo* and his followers had nothing whereon to presume, save their daring spirits, which had been well cooled by the many late skirmishes, wherein they had learned how to run away. The *Carthaginians* had reason to dare, as having often been victorious, and in all points else they had the better of their enemies ; especially (which is worth all the rest) they had such a commander, as was not easily to be matched in that age. Neither was it likely, that the desire of liberty should work so much, in men accustomed to servitude, as the honour of their state would, in citizens, whose future and present good lay all at once engaged in that adventure. So the *Carthaginians* won a great victory, wherein most of the *Africans* their enemies were slain ; the rest fled into a town which was not to be defended, and therefore they all yielded, and *Matbo* himself was taken alive. Immediately upon this victory, all the *Africans* that had rebelled made submission to their old masters : *Utica* only and *Hippagreta* stood out, as knowing how little they deserved of favour. But they were soon forced to take what conditions best pleased the victors. *Matbo* and his

fellows were led to *Carthage* in triumph ; where they suffered all torments that could be devised, in recompence of the mischiefs which they had wrought in this war. The war had lasted three years and about four months, when it came to this good end ; which the *Carthaginians*, whose subjects did not love them, should with less expence, by contenting their mercenaries, have prevented in the beginning.

SECT. IV.

How the mercenaries of the Carthaginians, that were in Sardinia, rebelled : and were afterwards driven out by the islanders. The faithless dealing of the Romans with the Carthaginians, in taking from them Sardinia, contrary to the peace.

WHILST *Matbo* and *Spendius* were making terrible combustion in *Afric*, other mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia* : where murdering *Bostar* the governor, and other *Carthaginians*, they were in hope to get, and hold that island to their own use. Against these one *Hanno* was sent with a small army (such as could be spared in that busy time) consisting likewise of mercenaries, levied on the sudden. But these companions that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their safety, and present profit, to join themselves with those that were already revolted, than to endanger themselves by battel, for the good of that common-weal, of which they had no care, began to enter into practice with the *Sardinian* rebels ; offering to run one course of fortune with them in their enterprize. This their offer was kindly taken ; but their faith was suspected. Wherefore, to take away all jealousy and distrust, they resolved to hang up their commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practice it hath been in all ages, with those that have undertaken the quarrel of an unjust war, to enjoin the performance of some notorious and villanous act, to those that come into them as seconds, with offer to partake, and to assist the impious purposes which they have in hand. It is indeed the best pawn, that desperate men can deliver to each other, to perform some such actions, as are equally unpardonable to all.

By such a kind of cruelty did the ungrateful *Mantineans* murder a garrison of *Achaians*, sent unto them for their defence against the *Lacedemonians* by *Aratus* ; who, when he had formerly possessed himself of their city, by right of war, did not only spare the sack and spoil thereof, but gave them equal freedom with the rest of the cities united. These *Revolts* are also common in our court-wars ; where, in the conquests of new fortunes, and making of new parties, and factions, without the depression or destruction of old friends, we cannot be received and trusted by old enemies. *Ce sont les coups de vieille escrime. These* (say the French) *be the blows of the old art of fencing.*

These mercenaries in *Sardinia* were no whit less violent in their purposes, than were *Spendius* and his Associates : only they wanted a *Matbo* among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the province. The islanders were no less glad, than the soldiers, that the *Carthaginians* were expelled the country : but they could not agree about the profit of the victory. The *Sardinians* thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the soldiers for their pains taken. Contrariwise, the soldiers were of opinion, that the title of the *Carthaginians* to that isle, was devolved unto themselves, by right of conquest. The same quarrel would (in likelihood) have risen, between *Spendius* with his mercenaries, and their *African* friends, if the common desire of both

both had once taken effect: unless the riches of *Carthage*, had served to content them all. But in *Sardinia*, where there was none other valuable reward, than possession and rule of the country, the matter was not easily taken up. So they fell to blows; which, how they were dealt I know not; but finally, the mercenaries were driven out, and compelled to save themselves in *Italy*. Before their departure out of *Sardinia*, they had invited the *Romans* into it, with as good right, as the *Mamertines* had called them into *Sicily*. Yet this offer was refused, upon reasons that follow.

Some *Italian* merchants had relieved *Matbo* and *Spendius* with corn; of whom the *Carthaginians* took almost five hundred, and held them in prison. Hereof was made a great complaint: so that the *Romans* sent ambassadors to *Carthage*, requiring satisfaction. It was no time for the *Carthaginians* to dispute: they quietly yielded to release them all. This was so kindly taken, that they forbade all their merchants, to trade thenceforth with the rebels; admonishing them to carry all provisions to *Carthage*. And upon the same reason, did they forbear to meddle with *Sardinia*, or to accept the city of *Utica*, offering it self unto their subjection. This might have served, as a notable example of the *Roman* faith, to all posterity: had not the issue proved, that it was more regard of greater profit; which kept them so temperate, no longer than the hope lasted of thriving better thereby, than they should have done by open breach of faith. The whole estate of *Carthage* depended, at that time, upon the virtue of *Amilcar*: who, had he been overthrown by *Spendius* or *Matbo*, in one main battel, that mighty city must either have fallen into the barbarous hands of merciless villains, or have humbled her self under protection of the *Romans*, with whom she had lately striven for superiority. That extremum necessity, whereinto *Matbo* reduced the city, by the fortune of one fallly made out of *Tunis*, is enough to prove, that *Carthage* was not far from such a miserable choice. Wherefore it was not unwisely done of the *Romans*, to make such demonstration of kindness, and honourable dealing, as might invite a rich, but sinking ship to run her self aground upon their shore. But when all was well ended in *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* began to prepare for the recovery of *Sardinia*, then did ambition put off her goodly vizard. The *Romans* perceiving that *Carthage*, beyond their hope, had recovered her feet again, began to strike at her head. They entertained the proffer of those mercenaries, that were fled out of *Sardinia*; and they denounced war against this enfeebled and impoverished city, under a shameless pretence, *that the preparations made for Sardinia, were made indeed against Rome it self*. The *Carthaginians* knew themselves unable to resist; and therefore yielded to the *Romans* demand; renouncing unto them all their right in *Sardinia*. But this was not enough. They would have twelve hundred talents, in recompence belike (for I see not what reason they could alledge) of the great fear which they had endured, of an invasion from *Carthage*. It is indeed plain, that they impudently sought occasion of war. But necessity taught the *Carthaginians* patience; and the money was paid, how hardly soever it was raised. From this time forward, let not *Rome* complain of the *Punic* faith, in breach of covenants: she her self hath broken the peace already, which *Amilcar* purposeth to make her dearly repent; but

what *Amilcar* lives not to perform, shall be accomplished by *Hannibal* his renowned son.

S E C T. V.

How the affairs of Carthage went between the African rebellion, and the second Punic war.

THE injurious dealing of the *Romans*, expressing their desire to pick a quarrel, served to instruct the *Carthaginians* in a necessary lesson. That either they must make themselves the stronger, or else resolve to be obedient unto those that were more mighty. In a city long accustomed to rule, the braver determination easily took place: and the best means were thought upon, for the increase of puissance and empire. The strength, and the jealousy of the *Romans*, forbade all attempts upon the *Mediterranean* seas; but the riches of *Spain*, that lay upon the *Ocean*, were unknown to *Rome*: wherefore that province might serve, both to exercise the *Carthaginians* in war, and to repair their decayed forces, with all needful supplies. Of this *Spanish* expedition, the charge and sovereign trust was committed unto *Amilcar*: upon whom his country did wholly repose it self; in hope to recover strength by his means, that had saved it from ruin.

Hanno, with some other envious men, that were of his faction, took little pleasure in the general love and honour, which daily increased towards *Amilcar* and his friends. Yet could they not deny him to be the most worthy of command in all the city: only they commended peace and quietness; advising men to beware of provoking the *Romans*, in whose amity, they said, that the felicity of *Carthage* did consist. By such discourses, harsh to the ears of good citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their common-weal, they got none other reputation, than of singularity: which the ignorant sort suspected to be wisdom.

But the glory of *Amilcar* was continually upheld and enlarged, by many notable services that he did, to the singular benefit of his country. He passed the streights of *Hercules* (now called the streights of *Gibraltar*) and landed on the western coast of *Spain*; in which country, during nine years that he lived there, he subjected unto the state of *Carthage* the better part of all those provinces. But finally, in a battel that he fought with a nation in *Portugal*, called the *Pettones* (defending himself a long time with an admirable resolution) he was invironed and slain: carrying with him to the grave the same great honour and fame, by which, in many signal victories, he had acquired the name of a second *Mars*.

After the death of *Amilcar*, *Asdrubal* his son-in-law was made general of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spain*. This was a good man of war; but far better in practice and cunning, than in deeds of arms. By his notable dexterity in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the dominion of *Carthage*: adding so many subjects and confederates therunto, that the *Romans* began to grow jealous again of this hasty increase. He built a goodly city, upon a commodious haven, in the kingdom of *Granada*, opposite to that of *Oran* in *Africa*, and gave it the name of *New Carthage*, which to this day it nearly retaineth, being called now *Cartagena*.^a With this success of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, the *Romans* were not a little troubled, but begin to cause their own negligence. For

^a The Spaniards have since built a city of the same name in the West-Indies: which being peopled by them in the year 1532, was sacked by the English in the year 1585.

whereas

whereas they had formerly taken so much pains to beat them out of the isle of *Sicily*, as suspecting their neighbourhood there; they had now, by cumbering themselves in a war of far less importance (whereof I shall speak anon) given them leisure, without interruption, to recover upon their own continent, a dominion by far exceeding, both in the bodies of men and in revenue, that which the *Romans* had taken from them. But how to help this, at the present they knew not; for they daily expected to be invaded by the *Gauls*, their ancient enemies, and nearest neighbours to the west. But he needeth little help of force, that knoweth himself to be feared: it is enough if he request, since his request shall have the virtue of a command.

Yet were the *Romans* utterly destitute of all good colour, that might help them to intermeddle in *Spain*. The *Spaniards* were then unacquainted with *Rome*, whereof (in probability) they scarce had heard the name: so that there were no *Mamertines*, nor other such rebels, to call in *Roman* succours. But in the enterprize of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had learned an impudent pretence, that might also serve their turn in *Spain*. For though it were apparent, that the *Spanish* affairs had no relation to the peace between these two cities; and though it were nothing likely, that *Asdrubal* had any purpose, to extend his victories unto the gates of *Rome*, or to any of the *Roman* frontiers: yet (as if some such matter had been suspected) they sent unto him, requiring that he should forbear to proceed any further, than to the river of *Iberus*. In addressing their messengers, rather to *Asdrubal*, than to the city of *Carthage*; they seem to have hoped, that howsoever the generality of the *Carthaginians* had sweetly swallowed many bitter pills, to avoid all occasion of war with *Rome*: yet the bravery of one man might prove more fastidious, and, resenting the injury, return such answer, as would entangle his whole country in the quarrel, that they so much desired; and might embrace at leisure, when once they had found apparent cause. But *Asdrubal* finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of dislike at all: and whereas they would have this insolent covenant inserted into the articles of peace, he took upon him to do it, of his own power, with such appearance of conformity to their will, that they went their ways contented, and fought no further.

If it had been so, that the state of *Carthage*, thereunto pressed by the *Romans*, for fear of present war, had ratified this new composition made by *Asdrubal*, yet should it not have stood bound in honour, to observe the same carefully, unless an oath had also been extorted, to make all sure. But since all passed quietly, under the bare authority of *Asdrubal*, this capitulation was none other in effect, than a second breach of peace; whereof the *Romans* might be accused more justly, than they could accuse the *Carthaginians* of perjury, (as they after did) for refusing to stand to it.

By this treaty with *Asdrubal*, the *Romans* won some reputation in *Spain*. For when it was once conceived by the *Spaniards*, that the city which would needs be mistress over them, stood in fear her self, of receiving blows from a stouter dame, there were soon found some, that by offering themselves to the protection of *Rome*, became (as they thought) fellow-servants with *Carthage*. But the *Carthaginians* will shortly teach them another lesson. The *Saguntines*, a people on the south-side of *Iberus*, entered into confederacy with the *Romans*, and were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawful unto

the *Romans*, to admit the *Saguntines*, or any other people (neither subject, nor open enemy in war to the *Carthaginians*) into their society: and unlawful it was unto the *Carthaginians*, to use violence towards any that should thus once become confederate with *Rome*. Nevertheless, if we consider the late agreement made with *Asdrubal*, we shall find that the *Romans* could have none other honest colour of requiring it, than an implicit covenant of making the river *Iberus* a bound, over which they themselves would not pass, in any discovery or conquest by them intended to be made upon *Spain*: in which regard, they might have some honest pretence to require the like of the *Carthaginians*; though *Rome* as yet had no foot, on the one side of *Iberus*, whereas *Carthage*, on the other side of that river, held almost all the country. Howsoever it were, this indignity was not so easily digested, as former injuries had been. For it was a matter of ill consequence, that the nations which had heard of no greater power than the *Carthaginian*, should behold *Saguntum* resting securely among them, upon confidence of help from a more mighty city. Wherefore either in this respect; or for that the sense is most feeling of the latest injuries; or rather for that now the *Carthaginians* were of power to do themselves right, war against *Saguntum* was generally thought upon, let the *Romans* take it how they list. In such terms were the *Carthaginians*, when *Asdrubal* died, after he had commanded in *Spain* eight years: (being slain by a slave, whose master he had put to death) and the great *Hannibal*, son of the great *Amilcar*, was chosen general in his stead.

S E C T. VI.

The estate of Greece from the death of Pyrrhus, to the reign of Philip the son of Demetrius in Macedon.

I N the long term of the first *Punic* war, and the vacation following, between it and the second, the estate of *Greece*, after the death of *Pyrrhus*, was grown somewhat like unto that, wherein *Philip* of *Macedon* had found it; though far weaker, as in an after-spring. The whole country had recovered, by degrees, a form of liberty: the petty tyrannies (bred of those inferior captains, which in the times of general combustion, had seized each upon such small towns as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated and reformed; and some states were risen to such greatness, as not only served to defend themselves, but to give protection to others. This conversion to the better, proceeded from the like dissensions and tumults in *Macedon*, as had been in *Greece*, when *Philip* first began to incroach upon it. For after many quarrels and great wars, about the kingdom of *Macedon*, between *Antigonus* the elder, *Cassander*, *Demetrius*, *Lyfimachus*, *Seleucus*, *Pyrrhus*, and the *Gauls*, *Antigonus*, the son of *Demetrius*, finally got and held it, reigning six and thirty years; yet so, that he was divers times thence expelled, not only by the *Gauls*, and by *Pyrrhus*, as hath been already shewed, but by *Alexander* the son of *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot*, from whose father he had hardly won it. This happened unto him by the revolt of his soldiers, even at such time, as having overthrown with great slaughter an army of the *Gauls*, he was converting his forces against the *Athenians*, whom he compelled to receive his garrisons. But his young son *Demetrius* raised an army, wherewith he chased *Alexander*, not only out of *Macedon*, but out of his own *Epirus*, and restored his father to the kingdom.

By

By the help of this young prince *Demetrius*, (though in another kind) *Antigonus* got into his possession the citadel of *Corinth*; which was justly termed *the fetter of Greece*. This citadel, called *Acrocorinthus*, stood upon a steep rocky hill on the north-side of the town; and was by nature and art so strong, that it seemed impregnable. It commanded the town; which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the *Isthmus*, that running between the *Egean* and *Ionian* seas, joineth *Peloponnesus* to the main of *Greece*. Wherefore he that held possession of this castle, was able to cut off all passage by land, from one half of *Greece* unto the other; besides the commodity of the two seas, upon both of which, this rich and goodly city had commodious havens. *Alexander*, the son of *Polyperchon*, and, after his death, *Cratesipolis's* wife, had gotten *Corinth* in the great shuffling of provinces and towns, that was made between *Alexander's* princes. Afterwards it passed from hand to hand, until it came, I know not how, to one *Alexander*; of whom I find nothing else, than that he was thought to be poisoned by this *Antigonus*, who deceived his wife *Nicea* thereof, and got it from her by a trick. The device was this: *Antigonus* sent his young son *Demetrius* to *Corinth*, willing him to court *Nicea*, and seek her in marriage. The foolish old widow perceived not how unfit a match she was for the young prince, but entertained the fancy of marriage; whereto the old king was even as ready to consent, as was his son to desire it, and came thither in person to solemnize it. Hereupon all *Corinth* was filled with sacrifices, feasts, plays, and all sorts of games: in the midst of which, *Antigonus* watched his time, and got into the castle, beguiling the poor lady, whose jealousy had been exceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchase he was so glad, that he could not contain himself within the gravity befitting his old age. But as he had stollen it, so was it again stollen from him: neither lived he to revenge the loss of it, being already spent with age.

Demetrius, the son of this *Antigonus*, succeeding unto his father, reigned ten years. He made greater proof of his virtue before he was king, than after. The *Dardanians*, *Etolians*, and *Achaians*, held him continually busied in war; wherein his fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About these times the power of the *Macedonians* began to decay: and the *Grecians* to cast off their yoke.

Philip, the only son of *Demetrius*, was a young child when his father died; and therefore *Antigonus*, his uncle, had the charge of the kingdom, during the minority of the prince; but he assumed the name and power of a king, though he respected *Philip* as his own son, to whom he left the crown at his death. This *Antigonus* was called the *Tutor*, in regard of his protectorship; and was also called *Dofon*, that is as much as *Willgive*, because he was slow in his liberality. He repressed the *Dardanians*, and *Theſſalians*, which molested his kingdom, in the beginning of his reign. Upon confidence of this good service, he took state upon him, as one that rather were king in his own right, than only a protector. Hereupon the people fell to mutiny; but were soon appeased by fair words, and a seeming unwillingness of his to meddle any more with the government. The *Achaians* took from him the city of *Athens*, soon after *Demetrius's* death; and likely they were to have wrought him out of all or most that he held in *Greece*, if their own estate had not been endangered by a nearer enemy. But civil dissension, which had overthrown the power of *Greece*, when it flourished most, overthrew it easily

now again, when it had scarcely recovered strength after a long sickness; and gave to this *Antigonus* no less authority therein, than *Philip*, the father of *Alexander*, got by the like advantage.

These *Achaians*, from small beginnings, had increased in short time to great strength and fame: so that they grew the most redoubted nation of all the *Greeks*. By the equality of their laws, and by their clemency (notwithstanding that they were a long time held under by the *Macedonians* and *Spartans*); they did not only draw all others by their love and alliance; but induced, through their example, the rest of the cities of *Peloponnesus*, to be governed by one law, and to use one and the same sort of weights, measure, and money.

Aratus, the *Sicyonian*, was the first that united them again; and gave them courage, after that they had been by the *Macedonian* captains divided into many principalities. In elder times they were governed by kings, as most of the great cities of *Greece* were; to which kind of rule they first subjected themselves, after the descent of the *Heraclidae*, when *Tisamenus* the son of *Orestes* possessed the territory of *Achaia*. In this estate they continued to the time of *Gyges*; after whom, when his sons sought to change the legal government of their predecessors into tyranny, they expelled them, and made their state popular; as seeming most equal. This form of common-weal had continuance, with some small changes according to the diversity of times, till the reign of *Philip* and *Alexander*, kings of *Macedon*: who tempest-like overturned all things in that part of the world. For those twelve cities, called *the cities of alliance*, whereof *Helice*, and *Bura* or *Olenus*, the sea had eaten up a little before the battel of *Leuctres*; were, by disturbance of the *Macedonians*, divided from each other, and trained into a war, no less foolish than cruel, among themselves. But in the one hundred and four and twentieth *Olympiad*, in which, or near it, *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, *Lyſimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, left the world; two of the ten remaining cities and people, namely, the *Patrenſes* and the *Dimeis*, united themselves, and laid the foundation of that general accord, and re-union, which after followed. For having been, some of them partisans with sundry *Macedonian* captains, and others having been governed by petty kings, they began to fasten themselves in a strong league of amity, partly in the *Olympiad* before spoken of, and partly at such a time as *Pyrrhus* made his first voyage into *Italy*. Now after the uniting of the *Patrenſes* and *Dimeis*, to whom all the cities of *Tritea*, and *Phara*, joined themselves, *Egira* chased out her garrisons: and the *Burians*, killing their kings, entered with the *Ceraunians*, into the same confederacy. These cities, for twenty and five years, used the same form of government with the *Achaians*; who, by a senatory and two pretors, ordered all things in their common-weal; and soon after, by one pretor, or commander: of which *Marcus Carynensis* was the first, and *Aratus* the second.

This *Aratus* was a noble young gentleman of *Sicyon*, who living at *Argos* in exile, whilst his country was oppressed by tyrants, found means, through the help of other banished men, to enter their own city by night, with ladders; whence they chased the tyrant, and restored the people to liberty. This was in the time of *Antigonus Gonatus*, king of *Macedon*, a prince more busy in watching what to get among the *Greeks*, than wise in looking to his own. For fear of *Antigonus*, the *Sicyonians* entered into the *Achaian* league: which, though at that time it received more increase, by their accession, than it

added strength to them ; yet the benefit of this conjunction served well enough against *Antigonus*, whose subtilty was somewhat greater than his valour. As the industry and counsel of *Aratus* delivered his country from bondage, and fortified it by the *Achaian* league ; so further, by his great liberality, with the exceeding great cost of one hundred and fifty talents, he pacified the inexplicable controversies between the banished *Sicyonians*, which returned with him, and the other citizens that had possession of these mens lands ; as also with the same money he drew many others to assist him in those enterprizes following, that redounded to the singular good of all *Achaia*. The money he obtained of *Ptolemy Euergetes*, king of *Egypt*, who partly had a desire to hold some strong and sure friendship in *Greece*, partly was delighted with the conversation of *Aratus* himself, that made a dangerous voyage to him into *Egypt*, and fed his pleasure in goodly pictures, with the gift of many curious pieces, wherein the workmen of *Sicyon* excelled.

The first of *Aratus's* great attempts, was the surprize of the *Acrocorinthus*, or citadel of *Corinth*, which he won by night, being thereinto guided by some thieves that he had hired for the purpose, who living in the place, had practised to rob *Antigonus's* treasury, passing in and out by a secret path among the rocks. Yet was he fain to fight for it, ere he could get it, though indeed *Antigonus's* soldiers were rather overcome by their own fear, than by any force of the assailants ; as mistrusting lest the *Achaians* were more in number, than in truth they were, and having lost the advantages of the place already, upon which they had presumed, before they were aware of any enemy.

In these kind of night-services, ambushments, surprizes, and practices, *Aratus* was very cunning, adventurous, and valiant : in open field and plain battel he was as timorous. By this strange mixture of cowardice and courage, he ministred argument of disputation to philosophers and others ; whether a valiant man (as he was esteemed, and in some cases approved) might look pale and tremble when he began battel ; and whether the virtue of fortitude were diversified by the sundry natures of men, and in a manner confined unto several sorts of action. In resolving which doubts, it may be said, that all virtue is perfected in man by exercise, wherein they are trained by occasion, though a natural inclination standeth in need of little practice ; whereas the defect hereof must be supplied with much instruction, use, good success, and other help ; yet hardly shall grow absolute in general. Such was *Aratus* in matter of war. In sincere affection to his country he was unreprieveable, and so acknowledged, as his following actions will truly testify.

When *Acrocorinthus* was taken, and joined unto the commonwealth of *Achaia*, the *Megarians* revolted soon after from *Antigonus*, and entered into the same corporation. So did the *Trezenians*, and the *Epidaurians*, whereby this new-erected state grew so powerful, that it adventured to take *Athens* from the *Macedonians* ; and *Argos*, and *Megalopolis* from tyrants that held them. The enterprize upon *Athens* was of none effect ; for though *Aratus* wasted the isle of *Salamis*, to shew his strength, and sent home the *Athenian* prisoners without ransom, to allure the city by shew of love ; yet the *Athenians* stirred neither against him, nor for him, as being now grown honest slaves to the *Macedonians*. Upon *Argos* the adventure was carried more strongly. The *Achaians* came sometimes to the gates of the city, but the people stirred not : once they entered into it, and might have won it, if the

citizens would have lent any help to the recovery of their own freedom ; sundry times, and with diverse events, they fought with the tyrants (who rose up one after another in *Argos*) in open field, and slew one of them in battel ; but all sufficed not, until at length *Aristomachus* the tyrant was so terrified, perswaded, and hired by *Aratus*, that he consented to resign his estate. The like did *Xenon* the tyrant of *Hermione*, and *Cleonymus*, that had oppressed the *Phlians*. Whilst this business with the *Argives* was on foot, *Lyfiadas* the tyrant of *Megalopolis* was so well handled by *Aratus*, that, without compulsion, he gave liberty to his city, and annexed it to the council of *Achaia* ; whereby he got such credit, that he was chosen general of their forces (which was a yearly office, and might not be held two years together by one man) every second year for a certain while, he and *Aratus* succeeding one another by turns. But those late tyrants and new citizens, *Lyfiadas* and *Aristomachus* were carried with private passion, from care of the general good ; in which courses they opposed *Aratus*, to the great hurt of *Achaia*, as shall appear in due time.

The *Acheans* having obtained so much puissance and reputation, that *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* was become patron of their alliance, and (in title of honour) general of their forces by sea and land, made open war upon *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus Gonatas*, for the liberty of *Athens*. It is strange, and worthy of noting, that when *Aratus* in this quarrel had lost a battel, the *Athenians* wore garlands in sign of joy, to flatter their good lords the *Macedonians*, that had won the victory. Such were now the *Athenians* become, in whom the rule was verified, that holds true in general of the multitude, *Aut humiliter servit, aut superbe dominatur* ; It is either base in service, or insolent in command. Nevertheless, when *Demetrius* was dead, *Aratus* performed that by money which he could not by force ; and corrupting the captain of the *Macedonian* garrison, purchased liberty to the *Athenians*, who thenceforth held good correspondence with the *Acheans*, loving them, and speaking well of them, which was all that they could do ; but into their corporation they entered not, scorning it, belike, in regard of their own out-worn glory.

Now as the commonwealth of *Achaia* daily increased within *Peloponnesus*, by justice and honesty ; so did the *Etolians*, in the utter part of *Greece* ; yea, and within *Peloponnesus* it self, wax very powerful, by sturdiness of body, and rude courage in fight, without the help of any other virtue. They had stoutly defended themselves against *Antipater* and *Craterus* ; partly by daring to do and suffer much, partly by the natural strength and fastness of their country ; but especially by the benefit of the time, which called away these famous captains to other business, as hath been related. They had molested *Catjander*, in favour of *Antigonus* ; and were themselves as much plagued by him, and by the *Acarmanians*, a little, but stout nation, that took his part. Afterwards they had to do with *Demetrius* the son of the first *Antigonus*, and more or less, with all the kings of *Macedon* succeeding him. They likewise held often war with the *Acarmanians*, *Athamanians*, *Epilots*, and many cities in *Peloponnesus* ; so that they were hardened with perpetual travel, seldom putting off their armour. But their hardiness ill deserved the name of valour, seeing they had no regard of honesty or friendship ; measuring all things by their own insolent will, and thinking all people base-minded, that were not as fierce and outrageous as themselves.

These *Etolians* had lately made great spoils in *Peloponnesus*, and occupied a good part of the country. They had invaded the friends of the *Acheans*, taken and sacked *Pallene*; where, although they were soundly beaten by *Aratus*, yet their desire of gain made them greedy of a new voyage thither, as to a country wherein somewhat was to be gotten. But they were forced to look another way, by *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus Gonatas*, who pressed them so hardly, that they were driven to seek help of the *Acheans*, which they obtained. The war, which the *Acheans* made upon *Demetrius*, without *Peloponnesus*, in *Attica*, though it tended to expelling the *Macedons* out of *Greece*; yet the benefit thereof redounded chiefly unto the *Etolians*, at whose instance it was set on foot, for thereby were the *Macedonian* forces diverted from them. Neither was this good turn unacknowledged; though very basely the *Etolians*, giving thanks in words, devised how to requite the benefit with some great mischief. They saw that the *Acheans* were desirous to bring all *Peloponnesus* into their alliance and corporation; of which intent the *Lacedemonians* were very jealous. Wherefore these *Etolians* laboured earnestly to set the *Lacedemonians* and *Acheans* together by the ears; hoping that if this might come to pass, they themselves should be called in to help (it skilled not on what side) and so get no small share both in booty and territory. Neither did they forbear to communicate this their device unto *Antigonus*, offering to make him partaker of their gain, whom they knew to be offended with the many losses that this kingdom had sustained by the *Acheans*. Of this plot *Aratus* was aware, who therefore determined to suffer many indignities, rather than to give the *Lacedemonians* cause to take arms. But this resolution was taken somewhat too late, and not altogether in his own power to hold. He had been meddling with the *Arcadians*, that were dependants of *Lacedemon*, and thereby had provoked the *Lacedemonians* to look about them; seeing that all *Peloponnesus*, excepting themselves, the *Eleans*, and a few *Arcadians* their friends (who also were attempted) was already become *Achean*.

The city of *Sparta* was in ill case about these times, and subject to the injuries of any stronger neighbour. *Pyrrhus* had greatly weakened it. The *Illyrians*, entering *Laconia* with an army, had carried away fifty thousand slaves; and, which was worse, their discipline was corrupted, avarice and luxury reigned among them, the poor was oppressed by the rich; and the generosity of spirit, that had some time been their general virtue, was hardly now to be found among the best of them. There were left in *Sparta* no more than seven hundred natural citizens, of whom not above one hundred had lands, all the rest were needy people, and desirous of innovation. Hereupon followed intestine sedition, which endangered the city most of all. *Agis*, a good king, who sought to reform the disorders of the state, exhorted the people to a strict observation of *Lycurgus's* Laws. To which purpose he caused them to pass an Act for the abolishing of all debts, and equal division of lands. All the younger and poorer sort were glad of this; but the rich men opposed it. These had recourse to *Leonidas* the other king (for in *Sparta* were two kings) who took their part, being himself a dissolute man, as one trained up in the court of *Syria*, whence also he had his wife. In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the city, and a new king chosen in his stead. But *Agis's* friends and counsellors in this enterprize, abused his good meaning to their own private commodity. They were hasty to take away all debts, and cancel all bonds, for they

themselves were deeply indebted; but the division of lands they afterwards hindered, because their own possessions were great. Hence arose a tumult in *Sparta*, which these men increased, by their foul oppression of the poorer citizens. So that in fine, *Leonidas* was brought home, and restored to his kingdom, and the two adverse kings driven to take sanctuary; out of which *Cleombrotus*, the late made king, was dismissed into exile: but *Agis* was trained forth, drawn into prison, and there by his enemies condemned and strangled, together with his mother, and his old grandmother. The like to this was never known in *Sparta*; and (which is the more odious) this cruelty proceeded from the *Ephori*, magistrates that should have given patronage to the laws, using their power, and more power than to them belonged, against a king that had proceeded orderly in reforming the city, as the law required.

The death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good citizens, and served to establish the impotent rule of a few tyrannical oppressors. In which case *Aratus* might well hope to adjoin *Lacedemon* to the *Achean* commonwealth, though it were great injustice to take such advantages, and attempt by force, that which would have redounded to the general good of *Peloponnesus*, and to the benefit of *Sparta* it self, if it could have been wrought by persuasion.

But the same man that redressed the disorders of *Sparta*, and revenged the death of *Agis*, did also requite the unjust attempts of the *Acheans*, even in their own kind; obtruding upon them by force, an union of all *Peloponnesus*, though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedemonians* and their king should have been the principal; not they and their prator. *Leonidas* having thus caused *Agis* to be slain, took his wife, that was very rich and beautiful, and gave her in marriage (perforce) to his own son *Cleomenes*. This young prince fell greatly enamoured on his wife, and sought to win her affection, as well as he had her person. He discoursed much with her about the purpose of her former husband *Agis*, and, by pitying his misfortune, began to entertain a desire of accomplishing that wherein *Agis* had failed. So coming himself to be king whilst he was very young, he gladly embraced all occasions of war; for that he hoped by strong hand to effect that, which *Agis*, by proceeding formally, in so corrupt an estate of the city, had attempted to his own ruin. Therefore, when the *Ephori* gave him in charge to take and fortify *Atheneum*, a temple on the marches of *Laconia*, to which both they and the *Megalopolitans* pretended title: he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but sought to take by surprize *Tegea* and *Orchomenus*, cities then confederate with the *Lacedemonians*; wherein his intelligence failing, he lost the labour of a painful night's travel, and discovered his enmity to *Sparta*, of which *Cleomenes* was nothing sorry. By these degrees the war began. In the entrance whereto *Aratus* had discovered the *Etolian* practice, and therefore would have staid the quarrel from proceeding too far. But *Lyfiadas* and *Ariflomachus* would needs fight, and he could do no other than be ruled by them; especially seeing *Cleomenes* was so urgent. *Ariflomachus* was at that time general of the *Acheans* (he and *Lyfiadas* being of great account, since they had abandoned their tyranny) who sent unto *Aratus*, lying then in *Athens*, and required his assistance in a journey to be made into *Laconia*. No dissuasions of *Aratus* would serve; therefore he came in person, and took part of a business little pleasing him in the present, and less in the future. When he

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met with *Cleomenes*, he durst not fight, but opposed himself against *Aristomachus*, who desired to give battel; yet had the *Acheans* twenty thousand foot and one thousand horse in their army, whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than five thousand in all. This gave reputation to the *Lacedemonian*, and raised an ill report upon *Aratus*; which *Lyfiadas* helped to make worse, by accusing his cowardise. Nevertheless, the *Acheans* would not fall out with *Aratus* their benefactor, but chose him their general the year following, against *Lyfiadas* his accuser, that sued for the place. Being general himself, it behoved him to confute with deeds the slanderous words of *Lyfiadas*. Therefore he purposed to set upon the *Eleans*; but was met withal on the way, near unto the mount *Lyceus*, by *Cleomenes*, who vanquished him in a great battel, and drove him to hide himself all night for fear; so that he was thought to have been slain. This misadventure *Aratus* recompensed by a trick of his own more natural occupation, performing with his broken army that which could hardly have been expected, had he been victorious; for, whilst there was no suspicion of any great matter that he could undertake, he suddenly wrought with some of the *Mantineans*, who did let him into their city. The *Mantineans* did once before join themselves with the *Achaians*; but shortly, upon fear, or some other passion, they gave themselves to the *Etolians*, and from the *Etolians*, presently after this victory, to *Cleomenes*, from whom immediately they were thus won. For this their levity they were not punished, but freely admitted now again into the *Achean* society. As this good success repaired the credit of *Aratus*, so another battel almost ruined it. *Cleomenes* and he encountered near unto *Megalopolis*, where the *Acheans* had somewhat of the better at the first, but their general durst not follow his advantage. Thereupon *Lyfiadas*, of whom we spake before, grew somewhat impatient with anger; and, taking with him all the horse, brake upon the *Lacedemonians*, whom he routed at the beginning, but pursuing them too far into places of hard passage, he was slain by them, and his followers driven back upon their own companions, in such sort, that finally, all the army was disordered, and put to flight. This was a great loss, and incensed the *Acheans* against *Aratus*; yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refused to make any longer contribution towards the pay of those mercenaries which he had waged. This *Aratus* took patiently, and followed the war nevertheless; wherein, though *Cleomenes* won some towns, and *Aratus* got the better in one small fight, yet little of importance was done, the *Acheans* being weary, and the *Spartan* king intente to another business.

Cleomenes, having led into the field all that were like to hinder his purpose, and tired them with painful journeys, forsook the *Achean* war on a sudden, and came unexpected home to *Sparta*, where he slew the *Ephori*, and restored by force the ancient discipline of *Lycurgus*. Then gave he an account of his doings, and shewing by what degrees the *Ephori* had inroached upon the power of kings, and many disorders had grown in the city, he justified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equal division of the lands, reducing all to the first institution. He also supplied the defect of citizens, by chusing new out of such as were friends to the state, and valiant men; so that henceforth his country might not altogether stand in need of mercenary help, as it lately had done, to save it from the *Etolians*, *Illyrians*, and such other enemies. All this was dispatched in great haste; the *Spartans* well satis-

fied, and *Cleomenes* himself ready in the field, ere his enemies could take any advantage of this his domestic troubles.

The *Acheans*, hearing of this great alteration in *Sparta*, thought that it would be long ere *Cleomenes* durst issue forth of the city, for fear of some rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard that he had wasted all the country of *Megalopolis*; had ranged over all *Arcadia* at his pleasure; and was admitted into *Mantineia*, and ready to take other places, even of *Achaia*. These news displeased them not a little; but they must patiently endure to hear worse. For, when *Cleomenes* had shaken off the power of the *Ephori*, that curbed his authority, he proceeded more roundly in his work, being better obeyed, and by better men. His *Lacedemonians* resumed their ancient courage; and he himself had the heart to demand the principality of *Greece*. He did not therefore henceforth contend about the possession of a few towns, but adventured to win or lose all. The *Etolians*, in favour of his attempt, declared themselves on his side; and, whereas he had gotten *Mantineia*, *Tegea*, and other places, to which they had some title, they willingly renounced all their interest unto him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his country, and saw that *Antigonus* with the *Etolians*, or perhaps without them, would shortly make an end of that which *Cleomenes* had thus begun. Therefore he devised how to provide against the worst, and either to repair all, or (if it could not be) to save all from utter ruin. The office of general, when it was next put upon him, he refused; fearing to be so far press'd as to hazard in one battel all the force of his country, to which as he had never any affection, nor perchance courage, so was his manner of warfare otherwise. For he commonly attempted by surprize, and defended upon the advantage of place, after the manner of the *Irish*, and of all other nations, overcharged with numbers of men. Yet did he not forsake the care of the weal publick, though, in aiming at the general good, it seems that private passion drew him into an ill course. He saw that *Megalopolis* could not be defended without making a dangerous hazard of battel; that *Mantineia* had not only opened her gates unto *Cleomenes*, but slain the *Achean* garrison that lay therein; that other towns had yielded unto him without compulsion; and that *Aristomachus*, once tyrant of *Argos*, and since general of the *Acheans*, was now revolted unto the enemy, following the fortune of *Cleomenes*. *Ptolemy* was too far off to help, and the nearness of *Antigonus* was very dangerous; yet might be useful, if this king would (as *Polybius* saith) like others, be friend or enemy, as should best agree with his own profit. To make trial hereof, *Aratus* practised with some of *Megalopolis*, whom he found apt unto his purpose, and instructed them how to deal with both *Antigonus* and the *Acheans*.

The city of *Megalopolis* had been well affected to the *Macedonians* ever since the time of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, who had obliged it unto him by some special benefits. At this time it lay nearest unto the danger; was very faithful, and therefore deserved succour, yet could not well be relieved by the *Acheans* with their own proper strength. Wherefore it was thought meet that ambassadors should be sent unto the general council of *Achaia*, requesting leave and good allowance to try the favour of *Antigonus* in their necessity. This was granted, for lack of what else to answer, and the same ambassadors dispatched away to *Antigonus*. They did their own errand briefly; telling

ling him of the good will and respect which their city had of long time born unto him and his predecessors; of their present need, and how it would agree with his honour to give them aid. But when they delivered the more general matter, wherein *Aratus* had given them instructions, shewing how the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and violence of the *Etolians*, might redound to his own great loss or danger, if the one and the other were not in time prevented; how *Aratus* himself did stand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the *Acheans* under the patronage of *Macedon*; then began *Antigonus* to lend a more attentive ear to their discourse. He embraced the motion; and, to give it the more life, he wrote unto the *Megalopolitans*, that his help should not be wanting, so far forth as it might stand with the *Acheans* good liking. Particularly he commended himself by these messengers to *Aratus*; assuring them, that he thought himself highly bound to this honourable man, whose former actions he now perceived, not to have been grounded upon any hatred to the *Macedonians*, but only upon a just and worthy love to his own nation. With this answer they return to *Megalopolis*; and are presently sent away to the council of *Achaia*, there to make some speedy conclusion, as the necessity of the time required.

The *Acheans* were glad to hear that *Antigonus* was so inclinable to their desire, and therefore were ready to entertain his favour with all good correspondence. Hereunto *Aratus* gave his consent, and praised the wisdom of his countrymen, that so well discerned the best and likeliest means of their common safety: adding nevertheless, that it was not amiss first of all to try their own ability; which if it failed, then should they do well to call in this gracious prince, and make him their patron and protector. Thus he shewed himself moderate, in that which himself of all others did most wish; to the end, that he might not afterwards sustain the common reprehension, if any thing fell out amiss, since it might appear, that he had not been author of this decree, but only followed, and that leisurely, the general consent.

Nevertheless, in true estimation, this fineness of *Aratus* might have been used with his greater commendation, in a contrary course. For it had been more honourable to make an end of the war, by yielding unto *Cleomenes* that power which they gave unto *Antigonus*; since thereby he should both have freed his country from all further trouble; and withal, should have restored unto the universal state of *Greece* that honourable condition whereof the *Macedonians* had bereft it. But it is commonly found (which is great pity) that virtue having risen to honour by degrees, and confirmed itself (as it were) in the seat of principality, by length of time, and success of many actions, can ill endure the hasty growth of any other's reputation, whereby it sees itself likely to be over-topped. Other cause to despise the *Lacedemonians* there was none, than that they lately had been in dangerous case; neither could any reason be found why *Aratus* should prefer *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*, than that he had stood in doubt of the one, when he thought himself more mighty than the other. Wherefore he was justly plagued, when he saw his own honours reversed by the insolent *Macedonians*; and, instead of living as a companion with *Cleomenes*, that was descended of a long race of kings, the posterity of *Hercules*, was fain to do sacrifice unto *Antigonus* as unto a God; and was finally poisoned by *Philip*, whose nobility was but of five descents, and whom perhaps he might have seen his fellows, if

he had not made them his lords. By this inclination to the *Macedonians* the love of *Ptolemy* was lost; who forthwith took part with *Cleomenes*, though he did not supply him with such liberality as he had used to the *Acheans*; being warned, as may seem by their example, to be more wary, both in trusting and disburfing. *Cleomenes* himself, whilst this business with *Antigonus* was a foot, passed thro' *Arcadia* with an army, and laboured by all means to draw the *Acheans* to battel. At the city of *Dymes* in *Achaia* were assembled all the remaining forces of the nation; with which it was concluded to make trial, whether perhaps they might amend their estate without seeking help of the *Macedonian*. Thither went *Cleomenes*, and there fought with them; where he had so great a victory, that the enemy was no longer able to keep the open field. The calamity was such, that *Aratus* himself durst not take upon him to be their general, when his turn came in the next election. Wherefore the *Acheans* were compelled to sue for peace; which was granted upon this easy condition: That they should not arrogate unto themselves the command of *Peloponnesus*, but suffer the *Lacedemonians* (as in former ages) to be their leaders in war. Hereunto if they would condescend, he promised unto them, that he would presently restore all places taken from them, and all his prisoners ransom-free: also, that they should enjoy their own laws and liberties without molestation. This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleasing to the *Acheans*, who desired him to come to the city of *Lerna*, where a Parliament should be held for the conclusion of the war.

Now seemed the affairs of *Greece* likely to be settled in better order than they had ever been since the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* wars; yea, or since the *Persian* invasion, when God, who had otherwise disposed of these matters, hindered all with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* drank in a great heat, and thereupon fell extreme sick, and so could not be present at *Lerna*, but caused the parliament to be deferred to another time. Nevertheless, he sent home the chief of his prisoners, to shew that he meant none other than good faith. By this fair dealing he confirmed the *Acheans* in their desire of his friendship, who assembled again at *Argos*, there to establish the league. But *Aratus* was violently bent against it, and fought by great words and terrible threats to make his countrymen afraid of resolving. When all would not serve turn, he betook himself to his cunning, and sent word to *Cleomenes*, that he should do well to leave his army behind him, and come alone into *Argos*, receiving hostages for safety of his person. *Cleomenes* was already far on his way when he met with this advertisement, and took it in ill part that he should be thus deluded. For it had been an easy matter to have told him so much at the first, and not to have made him come so far with an army, which afterwards he must dismiss. Yet that, which chiefly seemed to have troubled him, was the drift of his oppugners, who fought thereby, either to make him wait without the gates, and deal only with themselves and their messengers; or, if he would adventure himself into the city, then to deprive him of all royal shew that might breed respect of him in the multitude. This was that indeed which *Aratus* feared, and for which he sought to hinder his coming thither in person, lest the people, hearing the promises of *Cleomenes* ratified by his own mouth, should presently be won with his gentle words, and finish the bargain without more ado. Therefore *Cleomenes* wrote unto the

whole council, bitterly complaining against these juggling tricks; and *Aratus* was not far behind with him in as bitter an oration. So between fear of the one, and reverence of the other, the assembly knew not how to proceed, but abruptly broke up, leaving all, as it were, to fortune. *Cleomenes* took his advantage of their present weakness, and renewed the war. Many cities yielded unto him willingly, many he forced; and partly by force, partly by terror, he won *Argos*, which never king of *Sparta* before him could do. In this case *Aratus* sent his own son to *Antigonus*, entreating him to defer no time, but come presently to relieve the distressed *Acheans*. *Antigonus* gave as good words as could be wished; saving, that he utterly refused to do any thing, unless he might first have *Acrocorinthus* put into his hands. This demand was somewhat like unto that of the hunter, who promised to help the horse against his enemy the stag; but with condition, that the horse should suffer himself to be saddled and bridled. *Aratus* was herewithal contented, but wanted all honest colour to do it, seeing the *Corinthians* had no way deserved to be thus given away to the *Macedonians*. Yet at length an occasion was found; for that the *Corinthians* perceiving what he intended, were minded to arrest him. So he withdrew himself out of their city, and sent word to *Antigonus* that the castle should be ready to let him in. The *Corinthians* on the other side ran to *Cleomenes*, who lost no time, but made haste with them to *Corinth*, where he sought how to get possession of their castle, or at least to save it from *Antigonus*, by surrounding it with trenches, that none might issue nor enter without his leave. Whilst this was in doing, he took special order that *Aratus's* house and goods within the town should be safely kept for the owner, to whom he sent messenger after messenger, desiring him to come to an agreement, and not to bring in the barbarous *Macedonians* and *Illyrians* to *Peloponnesus*: promising, that if he would hearken to these persuasions, then would he give him double the same pension which he had been wont to receive of king *Ptolemy*. As for the castle of *Corinth*, which was the gate of *Peloponnesus*, and without which none could hold assured sovereignty of the country, he desired that it might not be committed unto his own disposition, but be jointly kept by the *Lacedemonians* and *Acheans*. All this entreaty served to no purpose; for *Aratus*, rejecting utterly the motion, sent his own son as an hostage to *Antigonus*, and laboured with the *Acheans* to put *Acrocorinthus* into his hands. Which when *Cleomenes* understood, he seized upon the goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and wasted all the country of *Sicyon*, whereof this his adversary was native.

Antigonus, in the mean time, drew near to the *Isthmus*; having passed with his army through *Eubœa*, because the *Etolians* held the streights of *Thermopyle* against him. This they did, either in favour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatness whereunto the *Macedonians* might attain by the good success of this journey. At his coming thither he found the *Lacedemonians* ready to forbid his entrance, and that with sufficient strength, yet with no purpose to hazard battle, but rather to weary him thence with hunger, against which he came not well provided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force, but he was not able so to do; he secretly got into the *Corinthian* haven, but was violently driven out again with great loss of men: finally, he resolved to turn aside and seek a passage over the

gulf of *Corinth* to *Sicyon*, or some other part of *Achaia*; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not easily made.

In this perplexity, news from *Argos* came by sea that greatly comforted *Antigonus*, and no less troubled his enemies. The *Acheans* were gotten into that city, and the garrison, which *Cleomenes* had left therein, though it was not driven out of the citadel, yet was hardly distressed, and stood in need of present help. *Argos* had always been enemy to *Sparta*, and well affected to the kings of *Macedon*. When *Cleomenes* took it, he forbore to chase out those whom he most suspected; partly at the entreaty of friends, and partly for that they all made shew to be glad of his prosperity. They were glad indeed of *Cleomenes's* victory, both in *Argos* and elsewhere, as many as hoped that he would cause all debtors to be discharged from their creditors, as he had lately done in *Sparta*. But that which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta* was agreeable to the *Spartan* institution; in other places, where it would have been tyrannical, he did it not. Thereupon, such as were disappointed of their unjust hopes began to turn good commonwealth's-men, and called him tyrant for his doings at home, because he would not do the like abroad. So they took their time, invited the *Acheans*, assailed his garrison, cut in pieces the rescue that he sent, and compelled him at length to forsake the defence of *Corinth*, and look unto the enemies that were behind his back. For when he understood, by continual messages, that his men, which held the citadel at *Argos*, were almost lost, he began to fear, lest his labour in guarding the entry should grow frivolous, the *Acheans* in the mean while spoiling all that lay within. Therefore he forsook his custody of the *Isthmus*, and made all haste towards *Argos*; which if he could save, he meant to trust fortune with the rest. And so far he prevailed at his coming to *Argos*, that both *Argives* and *Acheans* were glad to house themselves, leaving him master of the streets; when the horsemen of *Antigonus* were discovered afar off, hastening to relieve the citizens, and *Antigonus* himself (to whom *Corinth* was yielded, as soon as the *Spartan* had turned his back) following apace with the body of his army. *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to do than to make a safe retreat. This he did, and got him home into *Laconia*, losing in short space all or most of that which he had been long in getting.

Antigonus having shewed himself at *Argos*, and commended the citizens, went into *Arcadia*, where he won such castles as were held for *Cleomenes*, and restored them to the old possessors. This done, he took his way to *Ægium*, where was held a parliament by the *Acheans*, to whom he declared the cause of his coming, and spoke brave words, that filled them with hope. The *Acheans* were not behind with him, but made him captain-general over them and their confederates; and further entered into covenant with him, that they should not deal with any prince or state, either by writing or by ambassador, without his consent. All this while, and somewhat longer, *Aratus* was the only man that seemed to rule the king's heart; carrying him to *Sicyon*, his own town (for winter was come on) where he not only feasted him as a great prince, but suffered more than human honours, as sacrifices and the like, to be done unto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Sicyonians* was followed by the rest of *Achaia*, which had made (forsooth) a very wise bargain, if, instead of *Cleomenes* that would have been a king, it had obtained the protection

tection of a god. But this god was poor, and wanting wherewith to pay his *Macedonians*, imposed the burthen upon the *Acheans*. This was hardly taken, yet worse must be endured in hope of better. Neither was *Aratus* himself over-carefully respected, when the statues of those tyrants, which he had thrown down in *Argos*, were again erected by *Antigonus*; or when the statues which he had erected, of those that had taken *Acrocorinthus* with him, were all thrown down by the same king, and one only left unto himself at his earnest entreaty. It might therefore appear that this god was also spiteful. Nevertheless, in taken revenge upon those that offended him, *Aratus* did satisfy his own passion by the aid of these *Macedonians*. For with extreme torments he did put *Aristomachus* to death, who had been once tyrant of *Argos*, afterwards general of the *Acheans*, and, from them revolting unto *Cleomenes*, did fall at length into their hands. In like sort handled he (though not as yet) the *Mantineans*, for their ingratitude and cruelty shewed to the *Acheans*. For he slew all the principal citizens, and sold the rest, men, women and children, all for bond-slaves; dividing the spoil, two parts to the *Macedonians*, and the third to the *Acheans*. The town itself was given by *Antigonus* to the *Argives*, who peopled it with a colony of their own; and *Aratus*, having charge of this business, caused it to be new-named *Antigonia*. Surely of this cruelty there can be no better excuse, than even the flattery which *Aratus* was driven to use to *Antigonus*; forasmuch as it was a token of fertility, whereinto they had urged and brought him; whom he, as in revenge thereof, did thus requite. But leaving to speak of this change, which the coming in of the *Macedonian* wrought, in the civil state of the *Acheans*, let us return unto his war against the *Lacedemonians*.

The next summer *Antigonus* won *Tegea*, *Mantineia*, *Orchomenus*, *Heræa* and *Telphussa*. *Mantineia* he dispeopled, as was said before; in *Orchomenus* he placed a garrison of his *Macedonians*; the rest he restored to the *Acheans*, with whom he wintered at *Ægium*, where they held a parliament. Once only *Cleomenes* had met him this year, and that was on the borders of *Laconia*, where he lay ready to defend his own territory. The reason why he stirred no further, nor followed *Antigonus* to *Mantineia*, and to those other towns that he won, was this: He had few soldiers, and not money enough to wage more. *Ptolemy* the *Egyptian* promised much, but would perform nothing; unless he might have *Cleomenes*'s own mother, and his children in pledge. These were sent into *Egypt*; yet the aid came not. For *Ptolemy* was slow, as dealing in the business of *Greece*, rather for his mind's sake, than upon any apprehension of necessity. *Cleomenes* therefore provided for himself, as well as his own ability would serve. He manumitted all the *Heilotes*, which were the *Lacedemonian* slaves; taking money for their liberty, and arming two thousand of them after the *Macedonian* fashion. Having thus increased his forces, he came on the sudden to *Megalopolis* that lay secure, as having defended itself in more dangerous times, and having now *Antigonus* near at hand in *Ægium*. The town he won; but after he was entred, all that were fit to bear arms rose hastily against him; and though they could not drive him out, yet saved the multitude, to whom they gave a port free for their escape. He sent after the citizens, offering the goods to them again, if they would be of his party. But they bravely refused his offer; wherefore he sacked and ruined it, carrying with him to *Sparta*

a great booty that he found therein. These news astonished the *Acheans* at *Ægium*, who thereupon broke up their parliament. *Antigonus* sent hastily for his *Macedonians* out of their wintering quarters, but they were so long in coming, that *Cleomenes* was safely gone home. Therefore he returned them back to their lodgings, and went himself to *Argos*, there to pass the rest of this unlucky winter, somewhat further from the eyes of the grieved *Acheans*. When he had lain a while at *Argos*, *Cleomenes* was at the gates, with no great number of men, yet with more than *Antigonus* had then about him. The *Argives* perceiving that their country would be spoiled if *Antigonus* did not issue into the field, were very earnest with him to go forth and fight. But he was wiser than to be moved by their clamours, and suffered them to see their villages burnt, to bid him resign his office of protector unto some that were more valiant, and to satisfy their passions with foolish words, rather than he would be overcome in fight, and thereby lose more honour than could easily be repaired. By this *Cleomenes* had his desire in weakening the reputation of his enemy, though he thereby added neither followers nor other strength unto *Lacedemon*.

Afterwards, when the season was more fit for war, *Antigonus* gathered together all his troops, meaning to requite these bravado's of his enemy, with the conquest of *Sparta*. *Cleomenes* on the other side laboured to keep the war from his own gates, and therefore entred upon the country of *Argos*, where he made such havock as drew *Antigonus* thither, from his intended invasion of *Laconia*. Many great affronts the *Macedonian* was fain to endure in coasting the *Spartan* king; that ranging over the country of the *Argives*, *Phliasiens* and *Orchomenians*, drove a garrison of his out of *Oligyris*; and did sacrifice, as it were before his face, in the suburbs of *Argos*, without the temple of *Juno*, that was shut up; sending unto him in scorn to borrow the keys. These were light things, yet served to dishearten the *Achean* side, and to fill the enemy with courage, which was no matter of light importance. Therefore he concluded to lay apart all other regard of things abroad, and to put all to hazard, by setting up his rest, without any more delay, upon *Sparta* itself. He had in his army eight and twenty thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, collected out of sundry nations, as *Macedonians*, *Illyrians*, *Gauls*, *Epirots*, *Beotians*, *Acarnanians* and others, together with the *Acheans*, and their friends of *Peloponnesus*. *Cleomenes* had of all sorts twenty thousand, with which he lay at *Selasia*, fortifying slightly the other passages into *Laconia*, through which the *Macedonians* were not likely to seek entrance. *Antigonus* coming to *Selasia*, found the enemy so strongly incamped, upon and between the hills of *Eva* and *Olympus*, that he was constrained to spend much time there, before he could advance any one foot; neither lay it in his power to come hastily to blows, which he greatly desired, without the hazard of his whole army, in assailing of their well-defenced camp. But at length (as it happens, when men are weary both of their hopes and fears) both kings being resolved to make an end one way or other, *Antigonus* attempted with his *Illyrians* to force that part which lay on the hill *Eva*; but his *Illyrians* were so ill seconded by the *Achean* foot, that the *Spartan* horse and light-armed foot, incamped in the strait valley between those hills, issuing forth, fell upon their skirts, and not only disordered them, but were like to have endangered all the rest. If *Cleomenes* himself had stood in that part of the battle,

tél, he would have made great use of such a fair beginning. But *Euclidas*, his brother, a more valiant than skilful soldier, commanded in that wing: who neither followed this advantage, nor took such benefit as the ground afforded, whereon he lay. *Philopæmen* the *Arcadian* of *Megalopolis*, who afterwards proved a famous captain, served them on horse, as a private young man, among the *Acheans*. He seeing that all was like to go to rout, if their *Illyrians* were driven to fall back upon the army following them, perswaded the captains of the *Achean* horse, to break upon the *Spartan* mercenaries. But they would not: partly despising his youth and want of charge; partly, for that *Antigonus* had given order, that they should keep their places, until they received a sign from him, which was not as yet. *Philopæmen*, perceiving them to be more orderly, than well advised, entreated some of his own countrymen to follow him; gave a charge on the *Spartans*, and forced them, not only to leave the *Illyrians*, but seek how to save themselves. Being so far advanced, he found the place which the *Illyrians* had attempted, like enough to be won, through the skilfulness of him that held it. Wherefore he alighted, and perswaded the men at arms his companions to do the like: the folly of *Euclidas* being manifest, who kept the top of the hill, and stirred not to hinder those that ascended, but waited for them in a plain, where they might fight upon even terms. So he recovered the hill top; where, though he was sore hurt, yet he made good the place that he had gotten, until the whole army came up to him; by which the *Lacedemonians* were beaten from it, with great slaughter of them in their descent. This overthrow, and death of *Euclidas*, made *Cleomenes* lose the day: who fighting bravely on the other side, upon *Olympus*, against *Antigonus* himself, was like to have been surrounded and lost, if he had not withdrawn himself with an extraordinary speed. In this battel ended the glory of *Lacedemon*, which, as a light ready to go out, had with a great, but not long blaze, shined more brightly of late, than in many ages past.

Cleomenes fled unto *Sparta*, where he had no desire to stay, finding only two hundred left, of six thousand *Spartans* that had led unto this battel, and most of his hired soldiers dead, or gone away. So he perswaded his people to yield themselves unto *Antigonus*; and promising to do all that should at any time lie in his own power, for their good, he hastened away to the sea-side (where he had shipping long before provided against all that might happen) and embarked himself for *Egypt*. He was lovingly entertained by *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who undertook to restore him to his kingdom; and (perhaps) meant no less, as being much delighted with his gallant behaviour and qualities. In the mean season he had a pension allowed him, of four and twenty talents yearly. But this *Ptolemy* died; and his son *Ptolemy Philopater* succeeded him: a vicious young prince, wholly governed by lewd women and base men, unmindful of all virtue, and hating any in whom it was found. When therefore *Cleomenes* was desirous to return into *Greece*, whither the troubles in *Poloponnesus* did seem to unite him; *Ptolemy* and his minions, would neither give him aid; nor yet dared to dismiss him (as he desired) to try his own friends in *Greece*, because he was too well acquainted with the weakness of *Egypt*: nor well knew how to detain him against his will. At length they devised matter against him, and made

him prisoner. The last act of him was, that with thirty of his countrymen, he undertook a desperate enterprise: breaking out of the prison, and provoking the *Alexandrians* to rebel and seek their liberty. In which attempt he slew some enemies of his that he met; and having walked up and down the streets without resistance (no man offering to take his part, or, which is very strange, to fight against him on the king's behalf) he, and his companions, agreed together to be ministers of their own death. Upon his dead body *Ptolemy* was bold to shew his own indignation; and slew his mother and children, that had been sent thither as hostages, together with the wives of his adherents, as many as were there, attending upon the old queen. Such was the end of *Cleomenes*; a generous prince, but son of *Leonidas*, who had caused *Agis*, with his mother and grand-mother, to come to such a bloody end, as now befel his own wife, son and grandchildren.

After the victory at *Sallasia*, *Antigonus* without resistance entred *Sparta*: whereinto never the force of an enemy, before him, could make way. He kindly entreated the citizens, and left them to their own laws and government: tarrying there no longer than two or three days; after which he hastened out of *Peloponnesus*, and never returned. The cause of his speedy departure was, an advertisement that he received out of *Macedon*; how the *Illyrians* over-ran, and destroyed the country. Had these news come a little sooner, or had *Cleomenes* either deferred the fight a few days longer, or at leastwise tarried a few days after the fight in *Sparta*, the Kingdom of *Lacedemon* would have stood, and perhaps have extended it over all *Greece*. But God had otherwise determined.

Antigonus fought a great battel with the *Illyrians*, and overcame them. Yet therein he caught his bane; not by any wound, but by over-straining his voice; wherewith he brake a vein that bled inwardly, and in short space finished his life, who was troubled before with a consumption of the lungs. His kingdom descended unto *Philip*, the son of *Demetrius*, being then a boy; as also about the same time it was, that *Antiochus*, surnamed (I know not why) *the Great*; and *Ptolemy Philopater*, began to reign in *Asia*, and *Egypt*, boys all. Of these, *Ptolemy*, though old enough to love harlots when he first was king, yet continued a boy, all the seventeen years of his reign. The unripe age of *Philip* and *Antiochus* bred such intestine inconvenience to their kingdoms, as is usual in the minority of princes; but their elder years brought them acquainted with the *Romans*; upon which occasion, when it comes, we shall more seasonably speak of them, and of their kingdoms, more at large.

S E C T. VII.

How the Illyrians infested the coast of Greece; and how they were subdued by the Romans.

WHILST things thus passed in *Greece*, and whilst the *Carthaginians* were busy in their conquest of *Spain*, the *Romans* had found themselves work among the *Sardinians* and *Corficans*, that were easily subdued at first, and easily vanquished again, when they rebelled. They made also war with the *Illyrians*, wherein they got much honour with little pain. With the *Gauls* they had much ado, that lasted not long; being rather, as *Livy* saith, a tumult than a war. So that by all these light exercises, their valour was hardly kept

from rust. How they got the islands in the *Mediterranean* sea, it hath been shewed before: of their dealings with *Illyrians* and *Gauls*, it is not mete to be utterly silent.

The *Illyrians* inhabited the country now called *Slavonia*: a troublesome nation, impatient of rest, and continually making war for gain, without either regard of friend or foe. They were invited by *Demetrius* king of *Macedon*, to help the *Mydionians*, his friends, that were besieged by the *Etolians*; for that they refused to be of their society. Before the *Illyrian* succours came, the *Mydionians* were so far spent, that the *Etolians* contended about the booty: the old pretor, or chief magistrate of their nation, who was going out of his office, claiming to have the honour of the victory, and the division of the spoil to be referred unto him; for that he had, in a manner, brought the siege to an end, and won the town: others, that were in hope to be chosen into the office, contradicting this, and desiring that old orders might be kept. It was a pretty strife, and somewhat like to that of the *French* in latter ages, who thought upon dividing the prey, before they had won the victories, which anon they lost, at *Poitiers* and *Agincourt*. The *Etolians* wisely compounded the difference, ordering it thus; that the old, and the new pretor, should be jointly intitled in the victory, and have equal authority in distribution of the gettings. But the *Illyrians* finished the strife much more elegantly, and after another fashion. They arrived, and landed, ere any was aware of them; they fell upon the *Etolians*; and though good resistance was made, yet got the victory, partly by force of their multitude, partly by the help of the *Mydionians*, that were not idle in their own business, but stoutly sallied out of the town. Many of the *Etolians* were slain, more were taken, their camp and all their baggage was lost: the *Illyrians* took the spoil, and went their way; the *Mydionians* erected a trophy, inscribing the names, both of their old and new magistrate (for they also chose new Officers at the same time) as the *Etolians* had directed them by example.

The success of this voyage, highly pleased *Agron* king of the *Illyrians*: not only in regard of the money, wherewith *Demetrius* had hired his assistance, or of the booty that was gotten; but for that having vanquished the stoutest of the *Greeks*, he found it not uneasy, to enrich himself by setting upon the less warlike. For joy of this he feasted, and drank so immoderately, that he fell into a *Pleureisy*, which in a few days ended his life. His kingdom, together with his great hopes, he left unto *Tenta*, his wife.

Tenta gave her people free liberty to rob all forts at sea, making no difference between friend and foe; as if she had been sole mistress of the salt waters. She armed a fleet, and sent it to *Greece*: willing her captains, to make war where they found advantage, without any further respect. These fell with the western coast of *Peloponnesus*, where they invaded the *Eleans* and *Messenians*. Afterwards they returned along by *Epirus*, and stayed at the city of *Phenice*, to take in victuals and other necessities. There lay in *Phenice* eight hundred *Gauls*; that having been mercenaries of the *Carthaginians*, went about to betray, first *Argirentum*, then *Fryx*, to the *Romans*; but failing to do either, they nevertheless revoked, and were their misdeeds disarmed, and sent to sea by the *Romans*, yet entertained by these *Epirots*, and trusted to lie in garrison within their town. The *Gauls* were soon grown acquainted with the *Illyrians*, to whom they betrayed *Phenice*; which deserved none other, in trusting

them. All *Epirus* was presently in arms, and hastened to drive out those unwelcome guests. But whilst the *Epirots* lay before the town, there came news into their camp, of another *Illyrian* army, that was marching thither by land, under one *Scerdilaïdas*, whom queen *Tenta* had sent to help his fellows. Upon this advertisement, a part of them is sent away towards *Antigonia*, to make good that town, and the fireights adjoining, by which these new comers must enter into their country; another part of them remains at *Phenice*, to continue the siege. Neither the one, nor the other, sped well in their business. For *Scerdilaïdas* found means to join with his fellows, and they that were besieged within *Phenice*, sallied out of the town, and gave such an overthrow to the *Epirots*, as made them despair of saving their country, without great and speedy help from abroad. Wherefore ambassadors were sent to the *Acheans* and *Etolians*, craving their help, with very pitiful terms of entreaty. They obtained their suit; neither was it long, before an army, sent by these two nations, was ready in *Epirus*, to present battel unto *Scerdilaïdas*. But *Scerdilaïdas* was called home, by letters from *Tenta* the queen, that signified a rebellion of some *Illyrians* against her: so that he had no mind to put his forces to hazard, but offered composition, which was accepted. The agreement was, that the *Epirots* might ransom their town, and all their people that were prisoners; and that the *Illyrians* should quietly depart, with all their booty and slaves. Having made this profitable and honourable bargain, the *Illyrians* returned into their own country by land, sending their booty away by sea.

At their coming home, they found no such great trouble, as that which they brought, or had occasioned in this voyage. For in fulfilling the commandment of their queen, they had taken many *Italian* merchants, whilst they lay at *Phenice*; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints, made unto the *Roman* senate, were so frequent, that ambassadors were sent to require of *Tenta*, that she should abstain from doing such injuries. These ambassadors found her very jolly; both for the riches which her fleet had brought in, and for that she had, in short space, tamed her rebels, and brought all to good order, save only the town *Iffa*, which her forces held straightly besieged. Swelling with this prosperity, she could hardly afford a good look to the *Romans*, that found fault with her doings, and calling them by a true name, *Piracy*, required amends. Yet, when their speech was ended, she vouchsafed to tell them, that injury in publick she would do them none: as for private matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the manner of kings to forbid their subjects to get commodity, how they best could by sea. But (said the younger of the two ambassadors) we *Romans* have a manner, and a very valuable one, to take revenge in publick, of those private wrongs that are borne out by publick authority: therefore we shall teach you, God willing, to reform your kingly manners, and learn better of us. These words the queen took so impatiently, that no revenge could satisfy her, but the death of him that had spoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the common law of nations, she caused him to be slain, as if that had been the way to set her heart at rest; which was indeed the means to disquiet and afflict it ever after.

The *Romans*, provoked by this outrage, prepare two great armies; the one by sea, consisting of two hundred sail, commanded by *C. Fulvius*, the

the other by land, led by *A. Posthumus*. They trouble not themselves any more with requiring satisfaction; for this injury is of such a nature, as must be requited with mortal war. It is indeed contrary to all human law, to use violence towards ambassadors: the reason and ground whereof seems to be this; that since, without mediation, there would never be an end of war and destruction, therefore it was equally received by all nations, as a lesson taught by nature, that ambassadors should pass freely, and in safety, between enemies. Nevertheless, as I take it, this general law is not without limitation. For, if any king or state lay hold upon ambassadors sent by their enemies, not unto themselves, but unto some third, whom they should draw into the quarrel; then it is as lawful to use violence to those ambassadors (thus employed, to make the war more terrible) as it is to kill the men of war, and subjects, of an enemy. And so might the *Athenians* have answered it, when they slew the *Lacedemonian* ambassadors, that were sent to *Xerxes*, to draw him into a war upon the *Athenians*. Neither are those ambassadors, which practise against the person of that prince, in whose countries they reside, warranted by any law whatsoever. For, whereas the true office of an ambassador residing, is the maintenance of amity; if it be not lawful for one prince, to practise against the life of another; much less may an ambassador do it without incurring justly the same danger of punishment, with other traitors; in which case, his place gives him no privilege at all. But we will leave this dispute to the *Civilians*, and go on with the revenge, taken by the *Romans*, for the slaughter of their ambassador *Coruncanus*.

The *Illyrian* queen was secure of the *Romans*, as if they would not dare to stir against her. She was indeed in an error; that hath undone many of all sorts, greater and less than she, both before and since; *having more regard unto fame, than unto the substance of things*. The *Greeks* were at that time more famous than the *Romans*; the *Etolians* and *Epirots* had the name of the most warlike people in *Greece*; these had she easily vanquished, and therefore thought, that with the *Romans* she should be little troubled. Had she considered, that her whole army, which wrought such wonders in *Greece*, was not much greater, than of ten thousand men; and that nevertheless it prevailed as much, by odds of number, as by valour or skill in arms; she would have continued to use her advantage, against those that were of more fame than strength, with such good caution, that she should not have needed to oppose her late gotten reputation, against those that were more mighty than her self. But she was a woman, and did what she listed. She sent forth a greater fleet than before, under *Demetrius* of *Pharos*; with the like ample commission to take all that could be gotten. This fleet divided it self, and one part of it fell with ^a *Dyrrachium*, the other with *Corcyra*. *Dyrrachium* was almost surprised by the *Illyrians*; yet was it rescued by the stout citizens. In ^b *Corcyra* the *Illyrians* landed, wasted the isle, and besieged the town. Hereupon the *Etolians* and *Acheans* were called in to help: who came, and were beaten in a fight at sea; losing, besides others of less note, *Marcus Carynensis*, the first pretor of *Achaia*, whom *Aratus* succeeded. The town of *Corcyra*, dismayed with this overthrow, opened the gates unto *De-*

metrius Pharius, who took possession of it with an *Illyrian* garrison, sending the rest of his forces to besiege *Dyrrachium*. In the mean season, *Tenta* was angry with her captain *Demetrius*: I know not why; but so, as he resolved to try any other course, rather than to trust her.

The *Romans* were even ready to put to sea, though uncertain which way to take, when advertisement was brought to *C. Fulvius* the consul, of *Demetrius's* fear and discontent. Likely it was, that such an occasion might greatly help to advance the business in hand; wherefore the consul sailed thither, where he found the town of *Corcyra* so well prepared to his hand by *Demetrius*, that it not only received him willingly, but delivered into his power the *Illyrian* garrison, and submitted it self unto the *Roman* protection.

After this good beginning, the consul sailed along the coast to ^c *Apollonia*, accompanied with *Demetrius*, whom he used thenceforth as his counsellor and guide. To *Apollonia* came also *Posthumus* the other consul, with the land-army, numbered at twenty-thousand foot and two thousand horse. Thence they hasten towards *Dyrrachium*, which the *Illyrians* had besieged; but upon news of the *Roman* army, they disperse themselves. From thence the *Romans* enter *Illyria*, and take *Parthedia*; beat the *Illyrians* by sea, take twenty of their ships, and enforce the queen *Tenta* to forsake the coast, and to cover her self in *Rison*, far within the land. In the end, part of the *Romans* haste them homeward, and leave the best places of *Illyria* in the hands of *Demetrius*; another part stays behind, and prosecutes the war in such sort, that *Tenta* was forced to beg peace, which she obtained upon miserable conditions; to wit, that she should quit the better part of *Illyria*, and pay tribute for the rest; and from thenceforth never send any of her ships of war towards the coasts of *Greece*, beyond the island of *Lissa*, except it were some one or two vessels unarmed, and by way of trade.

After this *Illyrian* war, the *Romans* sent ambassadors into divers parts of *Greece*, signifying their love to the country, and how, for good-will thereunto, they had made war with good success upon *Tenta*, and her people. They hoped, belike, that some distressed cities would take this occasion to desire their patronage; which if it happened, they were wise enough to play their own games: but no such matter fell out. The ambassadors were only rewarded with thanks, and a decree made at *Corinth*, that the *Romans* thenceforth might be partakers of the *Isthmian* pastimes. This was an idle courtesy, but well meant by the vain *Greeks*, and therefore well taken by the *Romans*, who by this *Illyrian* expedition got nothing in *Greece*, save a little acquaintance, that shall be more hereafter.

S E C T. VIII.

Of the war between the Romans and Gauls, somewhat before the coming of Hannibal into Italy.

THE *Gauls*, that dwelt in *Lombardy*, were the next against whom the *Romans* took arms. These were a populous nation, and often molested *Rome*; sometimes with their own forces, and sometimes with the assistance of those that inhabited *France*. Once their fortune was good, when they took *Rome* and burnt it; though the issue of that war proved not answerable to the beginning, if we

^a *Dyrrachium*, sometime called *Epidamus*, and now *Durazzo*, seated upon the Adriatic Sea, between the islands of *Pharos*, and *Corcyra*.

^b *Corcyra*, an island of the Adriatic Sea, not far from *Durazzo*, called now *Corsica*, and in the possession of the Venetians.

^c *Apollonia*, a city near *Dyrrachium*, or *Durazzo*, upon the sea-coast. *Plinet* calls it *Sillopolis*.

may give credit unto *Roman* historians. In following times their success was variable, and commonly bad. Many overthrows they received; and, if they got any victory, it yielded them no profit, but was soon extorted out of their hands: they were indeed more fierce, than well advised; lightly stirred up to war, and lightly giving over. At the first brunt, they were said to be more than men; but when that was past, less than women. The *Romans* were acquainted with their temper by long experience, and knew how to handle them; yet gave always careful heed to their approach, were it only bruited: for the danger of them was sudden and uncertain, by reason of their neighbourhood, and want of intelligence among them. Few of their attempts upon *Rome* were called wars, but *tumultus Gallici*, tumults of the *Gauls*; and rightly: for they gave many alarms to *Italy*, and used to rise with great armies; but after a few days march, and sometimes before their setting forth, any small occasion served to disperse them. Having received an overthrow, they would rest ten or twelve years, sometimes twenty or thirty, till they were stirred up again by younger heads, unacquainted with the danger. Whilst they rested, the state of *Rome*, that against these made only defensive war, had leisure to grow, by setting upon others. Herein God provided well for that monarchy, which he intended to raise; that the *Gauls* never fell upon *Italy* with a mighty power, in the time of any other great and dangerous war. Had they attempted to conquer it, whilst *Pyrrhus* was travelling in the same enterprize, or in either of the two former *Punic* wars; it may be doubted what would have become of this imperious city. But it seems that the *Gauls* had no better intelligence in the affairs of *Italy*, than strangers had in *Gaul*; at least, they knew not how to use their times, and were therefore like to smart, whensoever the enemies, whom they had much provoked, and little hurt, should find leisure to visit them at their own home; which was now after the first *Punic* war. Once before this, the *Romans* had been bold to set upon the *Gauls* in their own country, and that was three years before the coming of *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*. At that time the *Senones*, a tribe of the *Gauls*, invading *Umbria*, and besieging *Arretium*, had won a great battle, and slain *L. Cecilius*, with the most of his army. *Mannius Curius*, the new consul, sent ambassadors to them, to treat about ransom of prisoners; but these ambassadors they slew. Therefore, when fortune turned to the better, the *Romans* followed it so well, that they expelled these *Senones* out of their country, and sent a colony of their own to inhabit it. This caused the ^a *Boij*, another people of *Gaul*, to fear the like measure, who thereupon took arms, and drew the *Umbrians* to their side: but the *Romans* overthrew them in two great battles, and thereby made them sue for peace, which lasted until this end of the *Illyrian* war.

It vexed the *Gauls* to see a *Roman* colony planted in their country, who had been accustomed to enlarge their bounds, by driving out their neighbours perforce; wherefore they laboured with the *Transalpines* (so the *Romans* called those in *France*, as lying from them beyond the *Alps*, though to us they were nearer, like as they called *Cisalpines*, or *By-biter the Alps*, those who dwelt between them and the mountains) to draw them to their party; reasonably presuming, that as their disjunction had caused their loss, so their union might recompense it with

large amends: but the business was so foolishly carried, that the *Cisalpines* and *Transalpines* fell together by the ears, putting the *Romans* only to a tumult, without further trouble of war. Soon after, they were urged by a greater indignity, to go more substantially to work; for *C. Flaminius*, a popular man in *Rome*, proposed a decree, which was ratified by the people; that besides one colony already planted in the territory of the *Senones*, as many more should be carried thither as would serve to people the whole country between *Ancona* and *Ariminum*, exterminating utterly those *Gauls*. Such an offer, were it made in *England*, concerning either *Virginia* or *Guinea* it self, would not over-joy the multitude: But the commonalty of *Rome* took this in so good part, notwithstanding all danger joined with the benefit, that *Flaminius* had ever after their goodwill.

This dreadful precedent extremely displeased the *Boij*, who being neighbours to *Ariminum*, feared the like displantation. And, because the rest of the *Gauls* had reason to resolve that themselves also should be rooted out by degrees, the great nation of the *Insubrians*, which inhabited the duchy of *Milan*, joined with the *Boij*, and upon a common purse entertained the *Gessates*, nations about *Rhodanus*, wageable as the *Switzers* in these times. The *Gessates* having received a great impress, come to the field under the conduct of their kings, *Concolitanus* and *Aneroestus*, who, with the *Boij* and *Insubrians*, compound an army of fifty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse, and those of the best men, and best appointed, that ever invaded the *Roman* territory; to whom the *Senogalli*, that had been beaten out of their possessions, gave a great increase of strength. On the contrary side, the *Venetians*, and the ^b *Cenomanni*, adhered to the *Romans*, as better believing in their prosperity and rising fortune: for fear of whose incursions therefore, the *Gauls* were forced to leave a good part of their army on the frontier of *Milan*: with the rest of their forces they entered into *Tuscany*. The *Romans* hearing of this danger, send *Emilius* to *Rimini*, to stop their passage; and in the place of *C. Atilius*, their other consul, who then was in *Sardinia*, they employ one of their pretors for the defence of *Tuscany*.

Being at this time greatly troubled with the consideration of this powerful army which the *Gauls* had assembled, they caused a view to be taken as well of all their own forces, as of those of their allies, who were no less willing than themselves to oppose the incursions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cause, that their own destruction could not be prevented, otherwise than by the good fortune of *Rome*. The numbers found in this muster deserve to be recorded, because they set out the power of the *Romans* in those days. With the consuls they sent forth to the war four legions of their own, every legion consisting of five thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse, and of their allies thirty thousand foot and two hundred horse. There were also appointed for supplies (if any misadventure came to these) of the *Sabines* and *Umbrians* fifty thousand foot and four thousand horse; which army was to be lodged in the border of *Umbria*. Of the *Umbri* and *Sarfinates*, which inhabited the *Apennines*, there were twenty thousand, and of the *Venetians* and *Cenomanni* other twenty thousand; which latter armies were directed to invade the *Boij*, that, forcing them to defend their own territories, the ge-

^a There were divers nations of the *Boij*; as in *Pannonia*, *Illyria*, *Germany*, in *Bourbonois* in *France*, and in *Aquitaine*; but these *Boij* were of the French race, and dwelt at this time about the mouth of the river of *Po*. ^b *Cenomanni*, are the people about *Bergamo*, on the north side of the river *Po* in *Italy*. There were also of these *Cenomanni* in *France*, and inhabited the country of *Maine*.

neral army of the *Gauls* should be thereby greatly diminished. There were besides these, to be ready against all uncertain chances of war, thirty thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, garrisoned in *Rome* it self, of their own people; and of their allies thirty two thousand foot and two thousand horse. Over and above these great troops, in the roll of the *Latins*, that was sent unto the senate, there were numbered eighty thousand foot and five thousand horse; in that of the *Samnites* seventy thousand foot and seven thousand horse; in that of the ^a *Iapyges*, and *Messapyges*, fifty thousand foot and sixteen thousand horse; the *Lucans* sent a list of thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse; the ^b *Marfi*, ^c *Marracini*, ^d *Ferentani*, and the *Vestini*, of twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse. The *Romans* had also two legions in *Sicily*, and about *Tarentum*, containing eight thousand four hundred foot and four hundred horse. So as of the *Romans* and *Campanians* jointly, reckoning men armed, and fit to bear arms, there were registered two hundred and fifty thousand foot and twenty-three thousand horse; of which, reckoning the *Romans* apart, there were an hundred and fifty thousand foot and about six thousand horse. Casting up the whole forces of all the provinces in *Italy*, both of the *Romans* and their confederates, it amounted to seven hundred thousand foot and seventy thousand horse; but the number is somewhat miscast by *Polybius*, not with a purpose to enrich himself by the dead pays; for where he reckons nine hundred horse too many, he falls short nine thousand two hundred of the foot.

How great soever this muster was, it seems to have been like unto that which *Lodowick Sforza* made, when *Lewis* the twelfth invaded *Milan*; at what time, the better to encourage himself, and his subjects, he took a roll of all persons able to bear arms within the dutchy, though indeed he were never able to bring a tenth part of them into the field. Certain it is, that the battels of *Trebia*, *Trasymene*, and *Canne*, did not consume any such proportion as was answerable to this large account; yet were the *Romans* fain to arm their slaves, even for want of other soldiers, after their overthrow at *Canne*. Wherefore the marvel is not great, that the *Carthaginians* and others were little terrified with report of such a multitude; for all heads are not fit for helmets, though the *Roman* citizens were, in general, as good fighting men as elsewhere might be found.

Notwithstanding all these counter-preparations, the *Gauls* keep on their way; and, entering into *Tuscany*, destroy, and put to fire and sword all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards *Rome*, hoping to find the *Romans* rather in deliberation, than in the field: but their intelligence fails them. For the *Roman* army, sent into *Tuscany*, having taken some other way than they did, and, finding that it had missed of them, came again last after them, to arrest them in their journey. Hereof when they heard the rumour, fearing to be charged on their backs, they turned head, and in the same evening discovered the *Roman* army, by whom they encamped. It was now a matter of apparent necessity, that fight they must; wherefore they helped themselves with a stratagem, that shewed no great fineness of wit, but such as well beseemed those that had none other occupation than war, and stood them in good stead at the present. In the dead of the night, they cause their foot to march away, but not far, leaving their horse in guard;

to whom they give order to come off at the first light of day, with such a speed, as might rather argue a running away, than a retreat, as if they had not dared to abide battel. The *Romans*, interpreting this their hasty departure, as the *Gauls* desired they should, follow them in disorder. The *Gauls* return, charge them, and kill six thousand upon the place; the rest take a piece of ground of advantage, and defend themselves, till *L. Æmilius*, being at *Ariminum*, comes to their succour. Upon the coming of the consul, the *Gauls* consult whether they should give the *Romans* battel, or forbear. In which dispute, *Aneroestus*, one of their kings, perswades them rather to return into their own countries; where, after they had disposed of the great spoils and riches which they had gotten, they should then renew the war, being without carriage, poster, or other impediment. This advice they all embrace; for seeing they that were mercenaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the spoils of their enemies, they thought it wisdom to hazard neither it nor themselves any further.

This indeed had been a good resolution, if they had taken it before the enemy had been in sight. But as well in the wars of these latter ages, as in former times, it hath ever been found extreme dangerous to make a retreat in the head of an enemy's army; for although they that retire, do often turn head, yet in always going on from the pursuing enemy, they find within a few miles either streight, hedge, ditch, or place of disadvantage, which they are enforced to pass in disorder. In such cases, the soldier knows it as well as the captain, that he, which forsakes the field, perceives and fears some advantage of the enemies. Fear, which is the betrayer of those succours that reason offereth, when it hath once possessed the heart of man, it casteth thence both courage and understanding: they that make the retreat, are always in fear to be abandoned; they that lead the way, fear to be engaged, and so the hindmost treads on his heels that is foremost; and consequently all disband, run, and perish, if those that favour the retreat be not held to it by men of great courage. The miserable overthrow that the *French* received in *Naples* in the year 1503, upon a retreat made by the marquis of *Sal*, doth testify no less; for although a great troop of *French* horse sustained the pursuing enemy a long time, and gave the foot leisure to trot away; yet being retarded by often turnings, the *Spanish* foot overtook, and defeated them utterly. During the wars between the *Imperialists* and the *French*, *Boisi* and *Mont* were lost at *Brignolles*, who in a bravery would needs see the enemy, before they left the field. So was *Strofi* overthrown by the marquis of *Marignan*, because he could not be perswaded to dislodge the night before the marquis's arrival. Therefore did the *French* king *Francis* the first wisely, when, without respect of point of honour, he dislodged from before *Landersey* by night, as many other the most advised captains (not finding themselves in case to give battel) have done. *Je ne trouve point* (saith the marshal *Monluc*) *au fait des armes chose si difficile, qu'une retraite*; I find nothing in the art of war so difficult, as to make a safe retreat. A sure rule it is, that there is less dishonour to dislodge in the dark, than to be beaten in the light. And hereof *M. de la Noüe* gives this judgment of a day's retreat, made in *France* presently before the battel of *Moncountour*. For (saith he) staying upon our reputation in shew, *not to dis-*

^a *Iapyges* and *Messapyges* seem to be one nation, who are also called *Salentines*, *Peucecianns*, *Apulians*, and *Calabrians*. The country is now *Apulia*, containing the northermost head-land of *Calabria*. ^b *A proph* of the kingdom of *Naples*. ^c *Ptolemy* calls them a people of *Italy*. ^d *A people of Campania*, called to this day *Ferentines*, saith *Leander*.

lodge by night ; we lost our reputation indeed, by dislodging by day ; whereby we were forced to fight upon our disadvantage, and to our ruin. And yet did that worthy gentleman count *Lodowick of Nassau*, brother to the late famous prince of *Orange*, make the retreat at *Moncountour* with so great resolution, as he saved the one half of the protestant army, then broken and disbanded, of which my self was an eye-witness, and was one of them that had cause to thank him for it.

Now the *Gauls*, embracing the same advice (as they take it) of one of their kings, turn their backs to the enemy, and their faces homeward. *Æmilius* follows them as near as he can, without engaging himself, attending his advantage. In the mean while, *C. Atilius* the other consul, with the legions of *Sardinia*, lands at *Pisa* ; so as the *Gauls*, inclosed between two armies, are forced to fight : they therefore equally strengthen their rear and front. To sustain *Æmilius*, they appoint the *Gessates* and the *Milanois* ; in the front they range the *Piemontois*, and the rest of the *Gauls* inhabiting upon the river of *Po*. The manner of the fight *Polybius* describeth at large, which was well fought of all hands : but in the end the *Gauls* fell, and so did *Atilius* the consul, who died in the place, accompanied with the two kings of the *Gauls* *Concolitanus* and *Aneroestus*, with forty thousand of their vassals.

After this fatal overthrow the *Gauls* lost courage, and, ere long, all that they held in *Italy* ; for they were invaded the year following this overthrow, by the new consuls *Fu. vius* and *Manlius*. The *Romans* knew well how to use their victory ; they gave not ten, twenty, or thirty years time, to the *Gauls*, to repair their forces, as the *Gauls* had done to them.

These new consuls bear the *Boij*, but by reason of the great rains that fell, and the great pestilence that reigned, they were compelled for that present to surcease. In the second year, *Furius* and *Flaminius* invade the *Milanois*, and prevail very far, being strongly assisted by the *Cenomanni* and the *Veneti*. Nevertheless, these consuls were revoked out of their province by the senate of *Rome*, and compelled to resign their office ; because the *augures*, or soothsayers, had found, that some token or other of the birds (in which, and all sorts of their divination, the *Romans* were extremely superstitious) had not only foreshewed little good when they were chosen, but had also nullified the election. *C. Flaminius*, receiving letters of this revocation from the senate, and being otherwise advertised of the contents, was not hasty to open them ; but first gave battel unto the enemies, vanquished them, and spoiled their country ; then perused the letters, and returning home, obtained a triumph, fore against the will of the senate, and not altogether with goodliking of the people, who yet bare him out, for that he sided in faction with the commonalty, though a man of great nobility.

This was that *Flaminius*, who had propounded the decree for dividing the country of the *Senones* among the people of *Rome*. He was the first, or one of the first, that understanding the majesty of *Rome* to be indeed wholly in the people, and no otherwise in the senate, than by way of delegacy, or grand commission ; did not stand highly upon his birth and degree, but courted the multitude, and taught them to know and use their power over himself, and his fellow senators, in reforming their disorders. For this, the commons highly esteemed him, and the senators as deeply hated him : but he had the surer side, and found imitators that rose by the same art, which in process of time, grew the only or chief way to preferment.

No. 38.

Flaminius and his colleague being deposed, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, were chosen consuls for the rest of that year. The *Gauls* about this time desired peace, and were like to have obtained it, though the new consuls were against it, as fearing to want work. But when thirty thousand of the *Gessates*, following their king *Britomarus*, were come over the *Alps*, and joined with the *Insubrians*, all other discourse, than of present war, was at an end. So the consuls hastened into their province, where they besieged *Acerre*, a town not far from *Novaro* (so far had the *Romans* pierced already) in the dutchy of *Milan*. To divert them from this siege, *Britomarus* sat down before *Clasidium*, a town in the same tract, with great part of his forces, leaving the rest, with the *Insubrians*, to attend upon the consuls at *Acerre*, and to look to the defence of *Milan* : but this would not suffice to make the *Romans* break up their siege. *Marcellus*, taking with him the greatest part of the horse, and six hundred foot lightly armed, thought to deal well enough with those at *Clasidium*. *Britomarus* heard of the consul's coming, and met him upon the way so suddenly, that the *Romans* had no leisure to rest themselves after their journey, but were compelled instantly to fight : herein *Britomarus* had done well, if he had not forthwith, in a rash bravery, lost his game at a cast. He had advantage enough in number both of horse and foot ; but he thought so well of his own personal valour, that he rode out single before his army, provoking any one to fight with him. *Marcellus* was no less daring than the barbarous king ; whether more wise in this action, I will not dispute ; he was more fortunate, and that sufficed to commend him. He slew and disarmed *Britomarus* in presence of both armies, whereby his own men took such courage, and his enemies were so dismayed, that without much trouble of fight, the *Romans* obtained a great victory.

This was the third and last time that ever any *Roman* general slew the general of the enemies with his own hand. To this kind of victory belonged a peculiar triumph, whereof only *Romulus*, *Cossus*, and this *Marcellus*, had the honour ; yet I dare say, that the two *Scipio's*, and divers other *Roman* captains, especially *Cesar*, were better men of war than any of these three ; though they never offered up to *Jupiter*, *Opima spolia*, *The armour of a general slain by themselves, when they were generals*, nor perhaps affected so to do.

After this victory, *Acerre* was yielded to the *Romans*, and *Milan* soon after, with all that belonged to the *Cisalpin*es or *Gauls* that dwelt in *Lombardy*. Thus was that valiant and mighty nation, that had so many years vexed the state of *Rome*, and in former times taken the city it self, brought to nothing in a short time ; their pleasant and fertile territory possessed by the *Romans* ; and the remainder of their nation, inhabiting *Italy*, so many as would not subject their necks to the *Roman* yoke, either forced to abandon their countries, or to hide themselves in the cold and barren mountains, like out-laws and thieves. And thus did the *Romans* spend the twenty-three years following the peace made with *Carthage*. In part of which time, they were at such leisure, that they closed up the temple of *Janus*, which they never did before (it standing always open when they had any war) save once, in the reign of *Numa* ; nor in long time after, until the reign of *Augustus*. But this their present happiness was not to last long ; a dangerous war, and perhaps the greatest that ever had been, was to come unto their gates ; which being well ended, they might boldly undertake to extend their monarchies as far as their ambition could reach.

C H A P. III.

Of the second Punic war.

S E C T. I.

The wars of Hannibal in Spain. Quarrels between the Romans and Carthaginians. Hannibal besiegeth and taketh Seguntum, whilst the Romans are busied with the Illyrians. War proclaimed between Rome and Carthage.

HANNIBAL the son of *Amilcar*, was about six and twenty years old when he was chosen general of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spain*: he was elected by the army, as soon as *Asdrubal* was dead, and the election was ratified by the state of *Carthage*, wherewith *Hanno* and his complices were nothing pleased. This was now the third of the *Barchine* family (so called of *Amilcar*, whose surname was *Barcas*) that had command in chief over the men of war; which honour would, perhaps, have been less envied by these domestic enemies, if the allies and friends of the *Barchine* house had not also borne the whole sway in government, and been the only men regarded both by the senate and the people. This general good-will, as it was first purchased by the most worthy deserts of *Amilcar*, in saving his country from imminent ruin, enlarging the dominion thereof, and enriching it with treasures and great revenues; so was it retained by the same good arts among his friends and followers. *Hanno* therefore, and his partizans, being neither able to tax the virtue of their enemies, that was un-reproveable, nor to perform the like services unto the common-weal, had nothing left whereby to value themselves, excepting the general reprehension of war, and cautelous advice of not provoking the *Romans*. This they seasoned otherwhiles with detraction, saying, that the *Barchine* faction went about to oppress the liberty of the city. But their malicious words were unregarded, and, if it were factious to bear ill-will to *Rome*, then were all the citizens (very few excepted) no less *Barchine* than *Hannibal* himself: for it was long since apparent, that the oath of the *Romans* to the articles of peace, afforded no security to *Carthage*, were she never so quiet and officious, unless she would yield to become their subject. Since therefore the peace was like to hold no longer, than until the *Romans* could find some good advantage to renew the war, it was rather desired by the *Carthaginians*, that whilst their own state was in good case, the war should begin; than, that in some unhappy time of famine or pestilence, or after some great loss of army or fleet, they should be driven to yield unto the impudent demands of their enemies, and to give away basely their lands and treasures, as they had lately done; or miserably fight upon terms of disadvantage.

This disposition of his countrymen *Hannibal* well understood; neither was he ignorant (for his father and other friends had long time devised of this business) that, in making war with the *Romans*, it was no small advantage to get the start of them. If once he could bring an army into *Italy* without molestation, there was good hope that he should find friends and assistance, even of those people that helped to increase the *Roman* army in foreign wars.

But this could never be effected, if the matter were openly disputed at *Carthage*; for it was to be doubted, that the *Carthaginians*, how glad soever they would be to hear that he had set the war on foot, would nevertheless be slow and timorous, as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterprizes, if the matter were referred to their deliberation; which if it should happen, then were the *Romans* like to be made acquainted not only with the generalities of his purpose, but with such particulars as must be discoursed of in procuring allowance to his design. This might suffice to disorder the whole project; wherefore he resolved to lay siege unto *Saguntum*, which might seem not greatly to concern the *Romans*, and would highly please the *Carthaginians*, that had fresh in mind the indignity of that *Spanish* town's allegiance, with their half friends. So should he assuage both the patience of his enemies, and the disposition of his own citizens.

Having thus concluded, he nevertheless went fair and orderly to work; and, beginning with those that lay next in his way, approaching unto *Saguntum* by degrees. This he did (saith *Livy*) to give some colour to his proceedings; as if he had not principally intended the war against *Saguntum*, but had been drawn thither by course of business: yet reason teacheth plainly, that without regard of such formalities, it was needful to finish the conquest of the rest, before he did any thing that should provoke the *Romans*. First therefore he entered upon the territory of the *Olcades*, and having besieged *Althea* (*Livy* calleth it *Carteia*) their chief city, he became in a few days master not only thereof, but of all the other towns of their country. This nation, which he first undertook, being subdued, and the winter at hand, he rested his army in *New Carthage*, or *Carthagena*, and imparted liberally to the soldiers the spoils he had gotten in his late conquest.

In the spring following he pursued the war against the *Vaccei*, and without any great difficulty, won first *Salmantica*, now called *Salamanca*; and after it, *Arbucala*, by assault, though not without a long siege, and great difficulty. But in his return, he was put to the height both of his courage and of his martial judgment; for all such of the *Vaccei* as were able to bear arms, being made desperate by the spoil of their country, with those of *Salamanca*, and of the *Olcades*, that had escaped in the late overthrow, joining themselves with the *Toletans*, compounded an army of an hundred thousand able men, and stayed *Hannibal* on the banks of the river *Tagus*, which runneth to the sea by *Lisbon* in *Portugal*. These four nations having had experience of *Hannibal's* invincible courage, and that he never saw enemy upon whom he durst not give charge, were thoroughly resolved that his natural valour would at this time no less neglect the cold advice of discretion, than at other times it had seemed to do, when the like great occasion perswaded him to use it. But he that makes himself a body of crystal, that all men may look through him, and discern all the parts of his disposition, makes himself withal an ass; and

^a A people (saith *Stephanus*) near the river of *Ebro*. But in the old description of *Spain*, in *Ottelius*, they are found near *Tagus*, and by *Suidas*, not far from *New Carthage*. ^b A people of *Castile* the old. ^c *Arbucala*, or *Albricala*, an inland city of the *Vaccei* in *Aragon*.

thereby teacheth others, either how to ride or drive him. Wise men, though they have single hearts in all that is just and virtuous; yet they are like coffers with double bottoms; which when one looks into, being opened, they see not all they hold on the sudden, and at once. It is true, that this subtil *Carthaginian*, when he served under *Asdrubal*, was, of all the men of mark in the army, the most adventurous. But that which may beseem a captain or inferior commander, doth not always become a chief; though it hath sometime succeeded well with such great ones, as have been found more fortunate than wise. At this time, our great man of war knew as well how to dissemble his courage, as at other times to make it good. For he withdrew himself from the river side, as if fearful to ford it, thereby to draw over that great multitude from their banks of advantage. The *Spaniards*, apprehending this in such sort as *Hannibal* desired that they should, thrust themselves in fury and disorder into the swift stream, with a purpose to charge the *Carthaginians*, abandoning (as they thought for fear) the defences on the contrary side. But when *Hannibal* saw them in their way, and well near over, he turned back his elephants to entertain them at their landing, and thrust his horse-men both above and beneath them into the river. These carrying a kind of *Lance de gay*, sharp at both ends, which they held in the midst of the staff, had such an advantage over the foot that were in the river, under their strokes, clattered together, and unable to move or shift their bodies as on firm ground, that they slew all those (in a manner) without resistance, which were already entered into the water, and pursued the rest, that fled like men amazed, with so great a slaughter, as from that day forward there was not any *Spaniard* on that side the river of *Iberus* (the *Saguntines* excepted) that had the daring to lift up their hands against the *Carthaginians*.

The *Saguntines* perceiving the danger towards them, cried before they were hurt. They sent ambassadors to *Rome*, and bemoaned themselves, as likely to suffer that which afterwards they suffered indeed, only because of their alliance and friendship with this honourable city, which the *Carthaginians* hated. This tale moved the senate, but much more a report, that *Saguntum* was already besieged. Hereupon some cry out that war should be proclaimed by land and sea; as also, that the two consuls should be sent with armies, the one into *Spain*, the other into *Afric*. But others went more *Roman*-like to work, and carried it. So it was only concluded, that ambassadors should be sent into *Spain* to view the state of their confederates, which were indeed none other than the *Saguntines*. For if *Hannibal* intended war against *Rome*, it was likely that he would give them, ere it were long, a more plausible occasion to take arms against him: if he had no such purpose, yet would it be in their power to determine what they listed themselves, upon the report of these ambassadors; and this their gravity, in being not too rash at first, would serve to countenance their following decree. Of these ambassadors *Livy* reports, that they found *Hannibal* before *Saguntum*, but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to *Carthage*, where also they were not regarded nor heard. But *Polybius*, an historian of sincerity less questionable, tells, that they found him at *Carthage*, and had conference with him, though such as left them doubtful. This is more agreeable to the rest of *Hannibal's* whole course. And surely we might wonder, why the

Carthaginians should afterwards admit a more peremptory ambassage (as *Livy* confesseth) and fall to disputation about the covenants of peace, if they had rejected that which was sent upon none other pretence than prevention of war.

Whilst the ambassadors passed to and fro; *Hannibal* prepared not only his forces, but some *Roman* pretences against *Saguntum*. He found out *Mamertines*, or people that should do as the *Mamertines* in *Sicily* had done for the *Romans*, and implore his help against the *Saguntines*. These were the *Turdetani*, a nation adjoining to *Saguntum*, and having many quarrels with them (as happens commonly among neighbours) of which *Hannibal* himself had hatched some. Finding therefore such an occasion, whatsoever it was, as made him able to say, that the *Saguntines* had first provoked him ere he meddled with them; he made no more ado but sat down with his whole power before their town. He was now more secure than he had formerly been of his own citizens; for that they had not entertained the *Roman* ambassadors with any trembling reverence, as of late years they had been wont. Nevertheless, he was glad of any handsome colour to shadow his actions; not only because the war, which he so much desired, was not proclaimed; but that he might not be checked in his course as an open enemy, before he could set foot in *Italy*. The *Romans* had the like, tho' contrary desire. They were glad of the quarrel; as hoping, that *Carthage*, with all thereto belonging, should thereby in short space become their own. Yet were they not hasty to threaten before they were ready to strike; but meant to temporize, until they had an army in readiness to be sent into *Spain*, where they thought to make *Saguntum* the seat of the war.

In the mean while, *Demetrius Pharius*, whom the *Romans* had made king over a great part of *Illyria*, rebelled against them; either for that he found himself over-straitly tied up by them with hard conditions, or rather because he was of an unthankful disposition. The commotion of the *Gauls*, and afterwards the same of the *Carthaginian* war, emboldened him to despise his benefactors and patrons, whom he ought to have defended and aided in all perils, even with the hazard of his whole estate, which he had received of their gift. But he was a traitor to his own queen, and therefore dealt according to his kind, with those that had rewarded him for being such. First, he built ships, and spoiled the isles of *Greece*, against the covenants to which he was bound. Then he adventured further, and seized upon some places that the *Romans* kept in their own hands. If he had begun sooner, or rather if he had stay'd somewhat longer, he might have sped better. For the business with the *Gauls* was ended; with *Hannibal* not thoroughly begun: when he declared himself, by his doings, an enemy, and was vanquished. The *Roman* consul, *Emilius*, was sent against him; who in seven days won the strong town of *Dimalum*, and thereby brought such terror upon the country round about, that ambassadors were sent from all places to yield themselves, without putting him to further pains: only the city of *Pharus*, in which *Demetrius* lay prepared to resist, which he might have done long, if the hot-headed rebel had not been too foolish. *Emilius* landed a great part of his army in the isle of *Pharus* by night, and bestowed them in covert, presenting himself the next morning with twenty ships before the town, and offering to force the haven. *Demetrius* with all his power issued out against the consul,

consul, and was soon intercluded from the town by those that lay in ambush. Wherefore he fled away through by-paths to a creek, where he had shipping ready for him, and embarked himself, leaving all his estate unto them of whose liberality he first had it.

This business, though it were soon dispatched, yet prevented it not the siege of *Saguntum*, before which *Hannibal* sat down, ere *Emilius* was landed in *Illyria*. In the beginning of the siege the *Carthaginians* were much discouraged, by reason of the brave sallies made by the *Saguntines*; in one of which their general received a dangerous wound in the thigh, that caused him to lie many days unable to move. Nevertheless he was not unmindful of his work in the mean while, but gave order to raise certain moveable towers, that might equal those which were built on the walls of the city, and to prepare to batter the curtains, and make a breach. These being finished and apply'd, had soon wrought their effect. A great and large breach was made by the fall of divers towers, and a great length of wall, wherein an hot assault was given; but it was so well sustained by the *Saguntines*, as the *Carthaginians* were not only beaten from the breach, and out of some ground within the town, which upon the first fury they had won; but they were pursued even to their own trenches and camp. Nevertheless the *Carthaginian* army, wherein were about an hundred and fifty thousand men, did so weary the townsmen with continual travail, that at length it got within the walls; and was only hindred from taking full possession of the city, by some counter-works of the *Saguntines*, that were also ready to be won. In this extremity there was one *Alcon* a *Saguntine*, that conveyed himself out of the town, to treat with *Hannibal* for some accord. But the conditions which the *Carthaginian* offered were so severe, and without all compass of honour, as *Alcon* durst not return to propound them to his countrymen. For *Hannibal* demanded all that they had, gold, silver, plate, and other riches within the city; yea, the city itself to be abandoned by the citizens; promising, that he would assign some other place for their habitation; not allowing them to carry out with them any other thing wherewith to sustain themselves, than the cloaths on their backs; or other arms to defend them, than their nails and teeth. Yet might they far better have submitted themselves unto this miserable appointment (seeing thereby they might have enjoyed their lives, and saved the honour of their wives and daughters) than to have rested at the discretion of the conqueror, as soon after they did; by whom their wives and daughters were deflowered before their own faces, and all put to sword that were above fourteen years of age. For it was a poor comfort, which a great number of them took, when not daring to fight, and sell their blood at the dearest rate, they shut themselves up like most wretched creatures in their own houses, and therein burnt themselves with all they had, so dying unrevenged. The treasures found in *Saguntum*, which were very great, *Hannibal* kept, therewith to pay his army: the slaves and other booty he divided among his soldiers, reserving some things of choice, wherewith to present his friends at *Carthage*, and to animate them unto the war.

These tidings exceedingly vexed the *Romans*, who had good cause to be angry at their own slowness, in forbearing to send help unto the *Saguntines*, that held out eight months, looking still for succour, but in vain. Wherefore they determined to repair

their honour by taking sharp revenge. To this end they sent ambassadors again to *Carthage*, demanding only, *Whether it were by general consent and allowance of the Carthaginians, that Hannibal had made war upon Saguntum*; which, if they granted (as it seemed they would) then to give them defiance. Hereunto answer was made in the senate of *Carthage*, to this effect. That this their second embassy, howsoever qualified with mild words, was indeed more insolent than the former. For in that they only required justice against *Hannibal*; but in this, the very state and commonwealth of *Carthage* was urged to plead guilty, or not guilty. But (said the *Carthaginian* speaker) whether the general of our army in *Spain*, in besieging *Saguntum*, have only followed his own counsel, or whether he did it by direction from us, it is not the question which the *Romans* ought to ask us. That which is indeed worthy examination or dispute, is; *Whether it were lawful or unlawful for Hannibal to do as he hath done*. For it belongs to us to call our own commanders in question, and to punish them according to their faults and errors; to you, to challenge us, if we have done any thing contrary to our late league and contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with *Lucretius* the consul, the allies of both nations were comprehended; but the *Saguntines* were not then of your allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made; for of your allies in the future, or of ours, there was no dispute. As touching the last agreement between you and *Asdrubal*, wherein you will say, that the *Saguntines* were comprehended by name; it is you that have taught us how to answer that particular. For whatsoever you found in the treaty between us and *Lucretius*, to your own disadvantage, you cast it upon your consul's presumption, as promising those things for which he had no warrant from the senate and people of *Rome*. If then it be lawful for the *Romans* to disavow the actions of their consuls and commanders, concluding any thing without punctual and precise warrant, the same liberty may we also assume, and hold ourselves no way bound in honour to perform those bargains which *Asdrubal* hath made for us, without our commandment and consent.

This was an impertinent answer, and little better than a mere cavil. For *Lucretius* the consul, in his treaty of peace with the *Carthaginians*, had expressly referred the allowance thereof to the people of *Rome*. It had been therefore much better to have dealt plainly, and to have alledged, that after this league was made and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the *Romans*, in robbing the *Carthaginians* of the isle of *Sardinia*, and withal of twelve hundred talents; which perjury the state of *Carthage*, being now grown able, would revenge with open war. As for the *Saguntines*, it little skilled that the *Romans* had admitted them into confederacy, and forthwith inserted their names into the treaty of peace with *Asdrubal*; seeing that the treaty with *Asdrubal*, and all other business between *Rome* and *Carthage*, following the violence and breach of peace, in taking away *Sardinia*, were no better than *Roman* injuries, as implying this commination; *Do whatsoever we require, else will we make war, without regard of our oath which we have already broken*.

But this the *Carthaginians* did not alledge, forgetting, in heat of contention (as *Polybius* takes it) the best of their plea. Yet since *Livy* himself doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of *Sardinia* from the *Carthaginians*, did inflame the spirit of *Amilcar* with desire of revenge; we may

may reasonably think, that the mention of this injury was omitted, not so much upon forgetfulness, as for that it was not thought convenient, by ripping up such ancient matter of quarrel, to shew that the war, now towards, had long been thought upon, and like to be made with extraordinary force, in other manner than heretofore. In conclusion, the *Carthaginian* senate moved the *Roman* ambassadors to deliver unto them in plain terms the purposes of those that sent them, and the worst of that which they had long determined against them: as for the *Saguntines*, and the confining of their armies within *Iberus*, those were but their pretences. Whereupon Q. *Fabius* gathering up the skirt of his gown, as it somewhat had been laid in the hollow thereof, made this short reply: I have here (quoth he) in my gown-skirt both peace and war; make you (my masters of the senate) election of these two, which of them you like best, and purpose to embrace. Hereat all cried out at once; Even which of them you yourself have a fancy to offer us. Marry then (quoth *Fabius*) take the war, and share it among you. Which all the assembly willingly accepted.

This was plain dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each part had resolved to make war, it was merely frivolous. For all these disputes of breach of peace have ever been maintained by the party unwilling, or unable to sustain the war. The rusty sword and the empty purse do always plead performance of covenants. There have been few kings or states in the world that have otherwise understood the obligation of a treaty, than with the condition of their own advantage; and commonly (seeing peace between ambitious princes and states, is but a kind of breathing) the best advised have rather begun with the sword than with the trumpet. So dealt the *Arragonois* with the *French* in *Naples*; *Henry II.* of *France*, with the *Imperialists*, when he wrote to *Brisac*, to surprize as many places as he could ere the war broke out; *Don John*, with the *Netherlands*, and *Philip II.* of *Spain*, with the *English*, when in the great imbargo he took all our ships and goods in his ports.

But *Hannibal*, besides the present strength of *Carthage*, and the common feeling of injuries received from these enemies, had another private and hereditary desire, that violently carried him against the *Romans*. His father *Amilcar*, at what time he did sacrifice, being ready to take his journey into *Spain*, had solemnly bound him by oath, to pursue them with immortal hatred, and to work them all possible mischief, as soon as he should be a man, and able. *Hannibal* was then about nine years old when his father caused him to lay his hand upon the altar and make this vow; so that it was no marvel, if the impression were strong in him.

That it is inhuman to bequeath hatred in this sort, as it were by legacy, it cannot be denied. Yet for mine own part, I do not much doubt, but that some of those kings with whom we are now in peace, have received the like charge from their predecessors, that as soon as their coffers shall be full, they shall declare themselves enemies to the people of *England*.

S E C T. II.

Hannibal takes order for the defence of Spain and Africa. His journey into Italy.

WAR being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* resolved not to put up his sword which he

had drawn against the *Saguntines*,^a until he had therewith opened his passage unto the gates of *Rome*. So began the second *Punic* war; second to none that ever the senate and people of *Rome* sustained. *Hannibal* wintered at *Carthage*, where he licensed his *Spanish* soldiers to visit their friends, and refresh themselves against the spring. In the mean while, he gave instructions to his brother *Asdrubal* for the government of *Spain* in his absence. He also took order to send a great many troops of *Spaniards* into *Africa*, to equal the numbers of *Africans* formerly drawn into *Spain*; to the end, that so the one nation might remain as pledges and gages for the other. Of the *Spaniards*, he transported into *Africa* thirteen thousand eight hundred and fifty foot, and twelve hundred horse; also eight hundred slingers of the *Baleares*. Besides these, he selected four thousand foot, all young men, and of quality, out of the best cities of *Spain*, which he appointed to be garrison'd in *Carthage* itself, not so much in regard of their forces, as that they might serve for hostages; for among those four thousand, the best of the *Spanish* citizens, and those that swayed most in their several states, had their sons or kinsmen. He also left with his brother, to guard the coasts and ports, fifty and seven galleys, whereof thirty seven were presently armed and appointed for the war. Of *Africans* and other nations strangers, he left with him above twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse, besides one and twenty elephants.

Having in this sort taken order for the defence of *Spain* and *Africa*, he sent discoverers before him to view the passages of the *Pyrenean* mountains, and of the *Alps*. He also sent ambassadors to the mountaineers of the *Pyrenees*, and to the *Gauls*, to obtain a quiet passage, that he might bring his army entire into *Italy*, and not be compelled to diminish his forces by any war in the way, till he came to encounter the *Romans*. His ambassadors and discoverers being returned with good satisfaction; in the beginning of the spring he pass'd over the river of *Iberus*, with an army consisting of fourscore and ten thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. All those parts of *Spain*, into which he had not entered before, he now subdued; and appointed *Hanno* (not that old enemy of his house, who sat still at *Carthage*) to govern *Spain* on the east-side of *Iberus*, to whom he left an army of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Being arrived at the borders of *Spain*, some of his *Spanish* soldiers returned home, without asking leave; which that others might not also do or attempt, he courteously dismissed many more that seemed willing to be gone. Hereby it came to pass, that the journey seemed the less tedious unto those that accompanied him, as being not enforced by compulsion. With the rest of his army, consisting now but of fifty thousand foot, and nine thousand horse, he pass'd the *Pyrenees*, and entered into *Gaul*. He found the *Gauls* that bordered upon *Spain* ready in arms to forbid his entrance into their country; but won them, with gentle speech, and rich presents that he bestowed upon their leaders, to favour his expedition. So without any molestation he came to the bank of *Rhodanus*; where dwelt, on each side of the river, a people called *Volca*. These were unacquainted with the cause of his coming, and therefore sought to keep him from passing over the water. But he was greatly assisted by some of those *Gauls* that in

^a Majorca and Minorca.

habited on the west-side of *Rhodanus*, to wit, by those of *Vivaretz* and *Lionnois*. For although many of them had transported themselves and their goods into the country of *Dauphine*, thinking to defend the further bank against him; yet such as remained, being very desirous to free their country of so many ill guests, were better pleased to have their countrymen well beaten, which had abandoned them, than to have their own store of corn and cattle wasted, by the long stay of so great an army as lay upon them. For which reason they helped him to make boats, informed him of another more easy passage higher up the river, and lent him guides. When the vessels for transportation of his army were in readiness, he sent *Hanno*, the son of *Bomilcar*, up the river; himself in the mean while making countenance to enter the ford below. The end of this labour was, that *Hanno*, charging the *Gauls* unawares upon their own side, and *Hannibal*, at the same time, passing the river in their faces, the further bank was won, though with some difficulty, and the enemies dispersed. Yet was he greatly troubled in conveying over his elephants, who marvellously feared the water. He was therefore driven to make rafts of trees, and cover them with earth and turf; whereof he fastened one to each bank, that might serve as a bridge, to and from another of the same sort, but loose, upon which the beasts were towed over.

Having past this first brunt, and overcome both the rage of the river, and of those that defended it, he was visited by the princes of the *Gauls Cisalpinæ*, that inhabited *Piedmont* and *Milan*, who lately had revolted from the *Romans*. These informed him of the passages of the *Alps*, that they were not so difficult as common report made them, and from these he received guides, with many other encouragements. All which notwithstanding; he found himself extremely incumbered by the *Savoyards*; and lost, both of his carriages and of his *Carthaginians*, more than willingly he would, or had formerly thought that he should. For he was twice mainly assailed by them before he could recover the plain countries on the other side. And whereas this journey over the mountains cost him fifteen days travel, he was every day, more or less, not only charged by those mountaineers, but withal extremely beaten with grievous weather and snow; it being the beginning of winter when he began and overcame this passage. But the fair and fertile plains, which were now ready to receive them, with the assistance and conduct of the *Cisalpine Gauls*, who by their proper forces had so often invaded the *Roman* territory, gave them great comfort and encouragement to go on; having nothing else of difficulty remaining, but that which from the beginning they made account to overcome by their proper valour and resolution; namely, the *Roman* armies and resistance.

SECT. III.

How the Romans in vain solicited the Spaniards and Gauls to take their part. The rebellion of the Cisalpine Gauls against the Romans.

THE countries of *Spain* and *Gaul*, through which the *Carthaginians* marched thus far, had been solicited before by the same *Roman* ambassadors, who had denounced the war at *Carthago*. These, as they were instructed by the senate, took *Spain* in their way homeward from *Carthago*, with a purpose to draw into the *Roman* alliance as many of the cities and princes as they could; at least to dissuade them from contracting any friendship

with the *Carthaginians*. The first which they attempted, were the *Volsicians*, a people in *Spain*; from whom, in open assembly, they received by one that spake for the rest, this uncomfortable answer: With what faith (faith he) can ye *Romans* persuade us to value your alliance, or to prefer it before the friendship of the *Carthaginians*; seeing we are taught by the example of the *Saguntines*, to be more wise than so? For they, relying on your faith and promised assistance, have been utterly rooted out, and destroyed by the *Carthaginians*; whom they might else have held their assured friends, and good neighbours, as we, and other the people of *Spain*, have found them. Ye may therefore be gone, with this resolution from us, that for our parts (and, so I think, I may answer for the rest of our countrymen) the *Romans* henceforth are not to expect any kindness at our hands; who are resolved, never to make account of their protection, nor amity. From the *Volsicians*, the ambassadors took their way towards the *Gauls*; using their best arguments to persuade them not to suffer the *Carthaginians* to pass into *Italy*, through their territory: and withal greatly glorifying themselves, their strength, and large dominion. But the *Gauls* laugh'd them to scorn, and had hardly the patience to hear them speak. For shall we (said one of their princes) by resisting *Hannibal's* passage into *Italy*, entertain a war which is not meant to be made against us? Shall we hold the war among our selves, and in our own territory, by force, which marcheth with a speedy pace from us, towards our ancient enemies? Have the *Romans* deserved so well of us, and the *Carthaginians* so ill, that we should set fire on our own houses, to save theirs from burning? No, we know it well, that the *Romans* have already forced some nations of ours, out of their proper territory and inheritance; and constrained others, as free as themselves, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the *Carthaginians* our enemies, who have no ways yet offended us, nor we them.

With this displeasing answer the ambassadors returned home; carrying no good news, of friends likely to help them; but rather some assurance from the people of *Maffilia*, which were confederates with *Rome*, that the *Gauls* were determined to take part with their enemy. Of this inclination, the *Cisalpine Gauls* gave hally proof. For when the news was brought into *Italy*, that the *Carthaginians* had passed *Iberus*, and were on the way towards *Rome*; this alone sufficed to stir up the *Boij*, and *Insubrians*, against the *Romans*. These people were lately offended at the plantation of new *Roman* colonies, at *Cremona* and *Placentia*, within their territories. Relying therefore upon the *Carthaginian* succour, which they supposed to be now at hand, they laid aside all regard of those hostages, which they had given to the *Romans*, and fell upon the new colonies. The towns it seems that they could not win; for *Hannibal* shortly after failed to get them. But they forced the *Roman* commissioners (who belike were abroad in the country) to fly to *Modena*, where they besieged them. The siege of *Modena* had continued some small time; when the *Gauls*, having little skill in assaulting cities, waxed weary, and seemed desirous to have peace, and to come to some good accord with the *Romans*. This they did of purpose to draw on some meeting; that they might therein lay hand upon the *Roman* deputies, thereby to redeem their hostages, in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their wish. For the *Romans* sent out ambassadors to treat with them, and

and to conclude a peace ; whom they detained. *Manlius* the pretor, who lay in these quarters with an army, hearing this outrage, marched in all haste to the relief of the besieged. But the *Gauls*, having laid a strong ambush in a wood joining to the way, fell upon the pretor so opportunely, as he was utterly overthrown, and all his followers left dead in the place ; a few excepted, that recovered, by fast running, a little village, but defensible, upon the river of *Po*. When this was heard at *Rome*, *C. Attilius*, another of the pretors, was hastily sent to relieve the besieged, with a legion, and five thousand of the *Roman* associates : which forces were taken out of the consul's army, and supplied by a new levy.

As the *Gauls* were too rash and hasty ; so were the *Romans* too slow, and indeed too ill-advised, in the beginning of this war. They were not persuaded, that *Carthage*, which had almost servilely endured so many indignities, in time of the late peace ; would be so brave and courageous on the sudden, as to attempt the conquest of *Italy* it self. Wherefore they appointed one of their consuls, to make war in *Spain*, the other in *Afric* : resting secure of all danger at home. *Titus Sempronius* took his way toward *Afric*, with an hundred and sixty *Quinqueremes*, or galleys, of five to an oar, which preparation may seem to threaten even the city of *Carthage*, to which it shall not come near. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the other consul, made all possible haste, by way of *Genoa*, into *Provence* ; and used such diligence, having the wind also favourable, as in five days he recovered *Massilia*. There he was advertised, of *Hannibal's* having passed the river of *Rhodanus*, whom he thought to have found busy yet a while in *Spain*. *Hannibal* had also news of the consul's arrival ; whereof he was neither glad nor sorry, as not meaning to have to do with him. Each of them sent forth scouts, to discover the others number and doings : *Hannibal*, about five hundred *Numidians* ; *Scipio*, three hundred of his better appointed *Roman* horse. These met and fought, and the *Numidians* were beaten ; yet could not the *Romans* greatly brag, having slain only two hundred, and lost of their own, one hundred and forty. But when *Scipio* drew near, to have met with the *Carthaginians*, he found, they were gone three days before ; and that (as he then found assuredly true) with an intent to look upon the walls of *Rome*. This interrupted his intended voyage into *Spain*. Nevertheless he sent away thither his brother *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, with the greatest part of the fleet and army, to try what might be done against *Asdrubal* and the other *Carthaginian* lieutenants in that country. He himself, taking with him a few choice bands, returned by sea to *Pisa* ; and so passing through *Tuscany* to *Lombardy*, drew together the broken troops of *Manlius* and *Attilius*, that lately had been beaten by the *Gauls* : with which forces he made head against the enemy, thinking to find him over-laboured, with travel of his painful journey.

S E C T. IV.

Scipio the Roman consul overcome by Hannibal at Ticinum. Both of the Roman consuls beaten by Hannibal, in a great battel at Trebia.

FIVE months *Hannibal* had spent in his tedious journey from *Carthage* ; what great muster he could make, when he had passed the *Alps*, it is not easily found. Some reckon his foot at an

hundred thousand, and his horse at twenty thousand ; others report them to have been only twenty thousand foot, and six hundred horse. *Hannibal* himself, in his monument which he raised, in the temple of *Juno Lucina*, agreeth with the latter sum. Yet the *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, and others that joined with him, are likely to have mightily increased his army in short space. But when he marched eastward from the banks of *Rhodanus*, he had with him eight and thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse ; of which all, save those remembered by himself in the inscription of his altar in *Juno's* temple, are like to have perished, by diseases, enemies, rivers, and mountains ; which mischiefs had devoured, each, their several shares.

Having newly passed the *Alps*, and scarce refreshed his wearied army in the country of *Piedmont* ; he sought to win the friendship of the *Taurini*, who lay next in his way. But the *Taurini* held war at that time with the *Insubrians*, which were his good friends ; and refused (perhaps for the same cause) his amity. Wherefore he assaulted their town, and won it by force in three days. Their spoil served well to hearten his army ; and their calamity, to terrify the neighbour places. So the *Gauls*, without more ado, fell unto his side : many for fear (many also for good-will, according to their former inclination. This disposition ran through the whole country : which joined, or was all in a readiness to join with the *Carthaginians* ; when the news of *Scipio* the consul's arrival, made some to be more advised than the rest. The name of the *Romans* was terrible in those quarters ; what was in the *Carthaginians*, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the *Roman* consul was already gotten through the most defensible passages, ere any speech had been heard of his approach : many sat still for very fear, who else would fain have concluded a league with these new-come friends ; and some, for greater fear, offered their service against the *Carthaginians*, whom nevertheless they had wished well to speed.

This wavering affection of the province, whereinto they were entered, made the two generals hasten to the trial of a battel. Their meeting was at *Ticinum*, now called *Pavia* ; where each of them wondered at the other's expedition : *Hannibal* thinking it strange, that the consul whom he had left behind him on the other side of the *Alps*, could meet him in the face, before he had well warmed himself in the plains ; *Scipio* admiring the strange adventure of passing those mountains. and the great spirit of his enemy. Neither were the senate at *Rome* little amazed at *Hannibal's* success, and sudden arrival. Wherefore they dispatched a messenger in all haste unto *Sempronius*, the other consul, that was then in *Sicily*, giving him to understand hereof : and letting him further know, that whereas he had been directed to make the war in *Africa*, it was now their pleasure that he should forbear to prosecute any such attempt, but that he should return the army under his charge, with all possible speed, to save *Italy* it self. According to this order, *Sempronius* sent off his fleet from *Lilybaeum*, with direction to land the army at *Ariminum*, a port town not far from *Ravenna* ; quite another way from *Carthage*, whither he was making haste. In the mean while, *Scipio* and *Hannibal* were come so near, that fight they must, ere they could part asunder. Hereupon, both of them prepared the minds of their soldiers, by the best arguments they had : unto which *Hannibal* added the rhetoric of

^a These dwell about Turin, a goodly city, now subject unto the duke of Savoy ; which from them took the name of *Augusta Taurinorum*.

a present example, that he shewed upon certain prisoners of the *Savoyards*, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpose, into *Italy*. For these, having been no less miserably fettered and chained, than sparingly fed; and withal so often scourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their desire, than to be delivered from their miseries by any kind of present death, were brought into the middle of the army; where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with some other of his companions, till the one of them were slain, with condition, being the victor, to receive his liberty, and some small reward. This was no sooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did *Hannibal* cause his lots to be cast, which of them should enter the list, with such weapons, as the chieftains of the *Gauls* were wont to use in single combats. Every one of these unhappy men wished, that his own lot might speed; whereby it should at least be his good fortune, to end his miseries by death, if not to get a reward by victory. That couple, whose good hap it was to be chosen, fought resolutely: as rather desiring, than fearing death; and having none other hope, than in vanquishing. Thus were some few couples matched, it skilled not how equally: for all these poor creatures were willing, upon whatsoever uneven terms, to rid themselves out of slavery. The same affection that was in these combatants, and in their fellows which beheld them, wrought also upon the *Carthaginians*, for whom the spectacle was ordained. For they deemed happy, not only him, that by winning the victory had gotten his liberty, together with an horse and armour, but even him also, who being slain in fight, had escaped that miserable condition, unto which his companions were returned. Their general perceiving what impression this dumb shew had wrought in them, began to admonish them of their own condition, speaking to this effect: That he had laid before them an example of their own estates: seeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to run the same fortune, that these slaves had done; all to live victorious and rich; or all to die, or (which these prisoners esteemed far more grievous) to live in a perpetual slavery: that none of them all, in whom was common sense, could promise to himself any hope of life by flight; since the mountains, the rivers, the great distance from their own countries, and the pursuit of merciless enemies, must needs retrench all such impotent imaginations. He therefore prayed them to remember, that they, who had even now praised the fortune both of the victor, and of the vanquished, would make it their own case; seeing that there was never any in the world, appointed with such a resolution, that had ever been broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the contrary, he told them, that the *Romans*, who were to fight upon their own soil, and in view of their own towns; who knew as many ways to save themselves by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withal, could no way entertain such a resolution as theirs: seeing the same necessity (to which nothing seems impossible) did no way press them, or constrain them. In this sort did *Hannibal*, with one substantial argument, *that there was no mean between victory and death*, encourage his companions. For (saith a great captain of *Franco*) *la commodite de la retraite avance la suite; the commodity of a retreat doth greatly advance a flat running away*.

Scipio, on the other side, after that he had given order for the laying of a bridge over the river of

Ticinus, did not neglect to use the best arguments and reasons he could to encourage the army he led; putting them in mind of the great conquests and victories of their ancestors; against how many nations they had prevailed, and over how many princes their enemies they had triumphed. As for this army commanded by *Hannibal*, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than of *Carthaginians*, whom in their late war they had so often beaten by land and sea; yet he prayed them withal to consider, that at this time it was not only so diminished in numbers, as it rather seemed a troop of brigants and thieves, than an army likely to encounter the *Romans*; but so weather-beaten, and starved, as neither the men nor horses had strength or courage to sustain the first charge that should be given upon them. Nay (saith he) ye yourselves may make judgment what daring they have now remaining, after so many travels and miseries; seeing when they were in their best strength, after they had passed the *Roan*, their horse-men were not only beaten by ours, and driven back to the very trenches of their camp, but *Hannibal* himself, fearing our approach, ran head-long towards the *Alps*; thinking it a less dishonour to die there by frost, famine, and precipitation, than by the sharp swords of the *Romans*, which had so often cut down his people both in *Africa*, and in *Sicily*. It was not long after this, ere the two generals met, each being far advanced before the gross of his army with his horse; and the *Roman* having also with him some light-armed foot, to view the ground, and the enemy's countenance. When they discovered the approach one of the other, *Scipio* sent before him his horsemen of the *Gauls* to begin the fight, and bestowing his darters in the void ground between their troops, to assist them; himself with his *Roman* men at arms followed softly in good order. The *Gauls* (whether desirous to try the metal of the *Carthaginians*, or hoping thereby to get favour of the *Romans*) behaved themselves courageously, and were courageously opposed; yet their foot, that should have aided them, shrank at the first brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without casting a dart, for fear of being trodden down by the enemy's horse. This notwithstanding, the *Gauls* maintained the fight, and did more hurt than they received, as presuming that they were well back'd; neither was the consul unmindful to relieve them, their hardiness deserving his aid, and the hasty flight of those that should have stood by them, admonishing him that it was needful. Wherefore he adventured himself so far, that he received a dangerous wound, and had been left in the place, if his son (afterwards surnamed *Africanus*) had not brought him off; though others give the honour of this rescue to a *Ligurian* slave. Whilst the *Romans* were busied in helping their consul, an unexpected storm came driving at their backs, and made them look about how to help themselves. *Hannibal* had appointed his *Numidian* light-horse to give upon the *Romans* in flank, and to compass them about, whilst he with his men at arms sustained their charge, and met them in the face. The *Numidians* performed this very well; cutting in pieces the scattered foot, that ran away at the first encounter; and then falling on the backs of those, whose looks were fastened upon *Hannibal* and *Scipio*. By this impression the *Romans* were shuffled together, and routed; so that they all betook them to their speed, and left unto their enemies the honour of the day.

When *Scipio* saw his horse-men thus beaten, and the rest of his army thereby greatly discouraged, he thought it a point of wisdom, having lost so many of his fleet upon the first puff of the wind, to take
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port with the rest before the extremest of the tempest overtook him; for he saw by the lowering morning what manner of day it was like to prove: therefore his battel of foot being yet unbroken, he, in a manner, stole the retreat, and recovered the bridge over *Ticinus*, which he had formerly built. But notwithstanding all the haste that he made, he left six hundred of his rear behind him, who were the last that should have passed, and staid to break the bridge. Herein he followed this rule of a good man of war, *Si certamen quandoque dubium videatur, tacitam miles arripiat fugam: fuga enim aliquando laudanda*; which must be understood in this sort: *If a general of an army, by some unprosperous beginnings, doubt the success, or find his army fearful or wavering, it is more profitable to steal a safe retreat, than to abide the uncertain event of battel.*

It was two days after ere *Hannibal* could pass the river, *Scipio* the whilst refreshing his men, and easing himself of his wound in *Placentia*: but as soon as *Hannibal* presented his army before the town, offering battel to the *Romans*, who durst not accept it, nor issue forth of their camp, the *Gauls*, that hitherto had followed *Scipio* for fear, gathered, out of his fear, courage to forsake him. They thought that now the long-desired time was come, in which better chieftains and soldiers than *Aneroestus*, *Britomarus*, and *Gessates*, were come to help them, if they had the hearts to help themselves. Wherefore the same night they fell upon the *Roman* camp, wounded, and slew many; especially of those guards that kept watch at the gate, with whose heads in their hands they fled over to the *Carthaginians*, and presented their service. *Hannibal* received them exceeding courteously, and dismissed them to their own places, as men likely to be of more use to him, in perswading the rest of their nation to become his confederates, than in any other service at the present.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the consul stole a retreat, as he had done before; but not with the like ease and security. *Hannibal* had a good eye upon him, and ere he could get far, sent the *Numidians* after him, following himself with all his army. That night the *Romans* had received a great blow, if the *Numidians*, greedy of spoil, had not staid to ransack their camp, and thereby given time to all, save some few in rear, that were slain or taken, to pass the river of *Trebia*, and save themselves. *Scipio*, being both unable to travel by reason of his wound, and withal finding it expedient to attend the coming of his fellow-consul, encamps himself strongly upon the banks of *Trebia*. Necessity required that he should so do; yet this diminished his reputation, for every day more and more of the *Gauls* fell to the *Carthaginian* side; among whom came in the *Boij*, that brought with them the *Roman* commissioners, which they had taken in the late insurrection. They had hitherto kept them as pledges, to redeem their own hostages; but now they deliver them up to *Hannibal*, as tokens and pledges of their affections towards him, by whose help they conceived better hope of recovering their own men and lands. In the mean while *Hannibal*, being in great scarcity of victuals, attempted the taking of *Clusidium*, a town wherein the *Romans* had laid up all their store and munition: but there needed no force, a *Brundusian*, whom the *Romans* had trusted with keeping it, sold it for a little money.

The news of these disasters brought to *Rome*, filled the senate and people rather with a desire of hasty revenge, than any great sorrow for their loss received; seeing that, in a manner, all their foot,

wherein their strength and hope consisted; were as yet entire. They therefore halted away *Sempronius*; that was newly arrived, towards *Ariminum*; where the army, by him sent out of *Sicily*, awaited his coming. He therefore halted hither, and from thence he marched speedily towards his colleague, who attended him upon the banks of *Trebia*. Both the armies being joined in one, the consuls devised about that which remained to be done: *Sempronius* receiving from *Scipio* the relation of what had passed since *Hannibal's* arrival, the fortune of the late fight, and by what error or misadventure the *Romans* were therein foiled, which *Scipio* chiefly laid on the revolt and treason of the *Gauls*.

Sempronius, having received from *Scipio* the state of the affairs in those parts, sought by all means to try his fortune with *Hannibal*, before *Scipio* were recovered of his wounds, that thereby he might purchase to himself the sole glory of the victory, which he had already, in his imagination, certainly obtained. He also feared the election of the new consuls, his own time being well near expired. But *Scipio* perswaded the contrary, objecting the unskillfulness of the new-come soldiers; and withal, gave him good reason to assure him, that the *Gauls*, naturally unconstant, were upon terms of abandoning the party of the *Carthaginians*; those of them inhabiting between the rivers of *Trebia* and *Po* being already revolted. *Sempronius* knew all this as well as *Scipio*; but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made haste to find out the dishonour which he might otherwise easily have avoided. This resolution of *Sempronius* was exceeding pleasing to *Hannibal*, who feared nothing so much as delay and loss of time; for the strength of his army, consisting in strangers, to wit, in *Spaniards* and *Gauls*, he no less feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatience of the other; who, being far from their own home, had many passions moving them to turn their faces towards it. To further the desire of *Sempronius*, it fell out so, that about the same time the *Gauls* inhabiting near unto *Trebia*, complained of injuries done by the *Carthaginians*. They did not supply *Hannibal* with necessities, as he supposed that they might have done; although he daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for their sakes, and to set them at liberty, he had undertaken this expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his words, he was bold to be his own carver, and took from them by force as much as he needed of that which they had. Hereupon they fly to the *Romans* for help, and, to make their tale the better, say, that this wrong is done them, because they refused to join with *Hannibal*. *Scipio* cared not much for this; he suspected their falshood, and was assured of their mutability: but *Sempronius* affirmed, that it stood with the honour of *Rome* to preserve their confederates from suffering injury, and that thereby might be won the friendship of all the *Gauls*. Therefore he sent out a thousand horse, which coming unlooked for upon *Hannibal's* foragers, and finding them heavy laden, cut many of them in pieces, and chased the rest even into their own camp. This indignity made the *Carthaginians* sally out against them, who caused them to retire faster than they came. *Sempronius* was ready to back his own men, and repelled the enemies. *Hannibal* did the like. So that at length all the *Roman* army was drawn forth, and a battel ready to be fought, if the *Carthaginian* had not refused it.

This victory (for so the consul would have it called) made the *Romans* in general desirous to try the main chance in open field: all the perswasions

of *Scipio* to the contrary notwithstanding. Of this disposition *Hannibal* was advertised by the *Gauls*, his spies, that were in the *Roman* camp. Therefore he bethought himself how to help forward the victory, by adding some stratagem to his forces: he found in the hollow of a water-course, over-grown with high reeds, a fit trench to cover an ambush. Therein he cast his brother *Mago*, with a thousand choice horse, and as many foot. The rest of his army, after they had well warmed, and well fed themselves in their camp, he led into the field, and marched towards the consul. Early in the morning he had sent over *Trebia* some companies of *Numidian* light-horse to brave the enemy, and draw him forth to a bad dinner, ere he had broken his fast. *Sempronius* was ready to take any opportunity to fight; and therefore not only issued out of his camp, but forded the river of *Trebia*, in a most cold and miserable day, his foot being wet almost to the arm-holes; which, together with the want of food, did so enfeeble and cool their courages, as they wanted force to handle the arms they bare. Strong they were in foot, as well of their own nation, as of the *Latins*: having of the one, sixteen, of the other, twenty thousand. The mass of these they ranged in a gross battalion, guarded on the flanks with three thousand horse: thrusting their light-armed, and darters, in loose troops in the head of the rest, in the nature of a vanguard. The *Carthaginian* numbers of foot, were in a manner equal to their enemies; in horse, they had by far the better, both in number and goodness. When therefore the *Roman* horse, ranged on the flanks of their foot, were broken by the *Numidians*; when their foot were charged both in front and flank, by the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and elephants; when finally the whole army was unawares press'd in the rear, by *Mago* and his two thousand, that rose out of their place of ambush: then fell the *Romans*, by heaps, under the enemies swords; and being beaten down, as well fighting in disorder, as flying towards the river, by the horsemen that pursued them, there escaped no more of six and thirty thousand, than ten thousand of all sorts, horse and foot.

Three great errors *Sempronius* committed, of which every one deserved to be recompensed with the loss that followed. The first was, that he fought with *Hannibal* in a champain, being by far inferior in horse, and withal thereby subject to the *African* elephants, which, in inclosed or uneven grounds and wood-lands, would have been of no use. His second error was, that he made no discovery of the place upon which he fought; whereby he was grossly over-reach'd, and insnared, by the ambush which *Hannibal* had laid for him. The third was, that he drench'd his footmen with empty stomachs, in the river of *Trebia*, even in a most cold and frosty day, whereby in effect they lost the use of their limbs. For, as one saith well; *There is nothing more inconvenient and perilous, than to present an army tired with travel, to an enemy fresh and fed; since where the strength of body faileth, the generosity of mind is but as an unprofitable vapour.*

The broken remainder of the *Roman* army, was collected by *Scipio*, who got therewith into *Placentia*; stealing away the same night, which was exceeding rainy, from the *Carthaginians*, who either perceived him not, because of the showers; or would not perceive him, because they were over-wearied. *Sempronius* escaped with extremum danger; flying through the country that was overrun by the enemies horse. He was attended by more, than were requisite in a secret flight; yet by

fewer, than could have made resistance, if the enemy had met with him. Nevertheless he got away, and came to *Rome*, where he did his office in choosing new consuls for the year following: and then returned into his province, with a fresh supply against *Hannibal*.

S E C T. V.

The departure of Hannibal from the Cisalpine Gauls into Hetruria. Flaminius the Roman consul slain; and his army destroyed by the Carthaginians, at the lake of Trasymene.

THE winter growing on apace, was very sharp, and unfit for service: to the great contentment of the *Romans*, who being not able to keep the field, lay warm in *Placentia*, and *Cremona*. Yet *Hannibal* did not suffer them to rest very quiet: but vexed them with continual alarms; assailing divers places; and taking some; beating the *Gauls* their adherents; and winning the *Ligurians* to his party, who presented him, in token of their faithful love, with two *Roman* questors or treasurers, two colonels and five gentlemen, the sons of senators, which they had intercepted. These, and in general all such prisoners as he had of the *Romans*, he held in streight places, loaden with irons, and miserably fed: those of their followers he not only well entreated, but sent them to their countries without ransom; with this protestation, That he therefore undertook the war in *Italy* to free them from the oppression of the *Romans*. By these means he hoped, and not in vain, to draw many of them to his party and assistance. But the *Gauls* were not capable of such persuasions. They stood in fear, lest he should make their country the seat of war, and perhaps take it from them. They were also more grieved than reason willed them, at his feeding upon them, and wasting their territory. Wherefore some of them conspired against his life; others admonished him of the danger: and these that gave him the advice, were ready soon after to practise against him; but were in like sort detected. He was therefore glad to use perriwigs of hair, and false beards of divers colours, to the end that he might not be descried, nor known, to those that should undertake to make him away. Fain he would have passed the *Apennines*, upon the first appearance of spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarry among the *Gauls*, till he had seen more swallows than one. At length, when the year was somewhat better opened, he resolved to take his leave of these giddy companions, and bring the war nearer to the gates of *Rome*. So away he went, having his army greatly increased with *Ligurians* and *Gauls*; more serviceable friends abroad, than in their own country. That the passage of the *Apennine* mountains was troublesome, I hold it needless to make any doubt. Yet since the *Roman* armies found no memorable impediment, in their marches that way: the great vexation which fell upon *Hannibal*, when he was travelling through and over them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the extremity of winter, that makes all ways foul, than to any tolerable difficulty in that journey. Nevertheless, to avoid the length of way, together with the resistance and fortifications, which may not improbably be thought to have been erected upon the ordinary passages towards *Rome*: he chose at this time, though it were with much trouble, to travel through the fens and rotten grounds of *Tuscany*. In those marshes and bogs, he lost all his elephants, save one, together with the use of one of his eyes; by the moisture.

moistness of the air, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading through deep mire and water. In brief, after he had with much ado recovered the firm and fertile plains; he lodged about *Arretium*: where he somewhat refreshed his wearied followers, and heard news of the *Roman* consuls.

C. Flaminius, and *Cn. Servilius* had of late been chosen consuls for this year: *Servilius*, a tractable man, and wholly governed by advice of the senate; *Flaminius*, an hot-headed popular orator, who having once been robbed (as he thought) of his consulship, by a device of the senators, was afraid to be served so again, unless he quickly finished the war. This jealous consul thought it not best for him to be at *Rome*, when he entred into his office; lest his adversaries, by faining some religious impediment, should detain him within the city, or find other business for him at home, to disappoint him of the honour, that he hoped to get in the war. Wherefore he departed secretly out of the town, and meant to take possession of his office, when the day came, at *Ariminum*. The *Fathers* (so the senators were called) highly displeased with this, revoked him by ambassadors: but he neglected their injunction; and, hasting to meet with the *Carthaginians*, took his way to *Arretium*, where he shortly found them.

The fiery disposition of this consul, promised unto *Hannibal* great assurance of victory. Therefore he provoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the *Roman*; hoping thereby to draw him unto fight, ere *Servilius* came with the rest of the army. All the country between *Fesule* and *Arretium* he put to fire and sword, even under the consul's nose; which was enough to make him stir, that would not have sitten still, though *Hannibal* had been quiet. It is true, that a great captain of *France* hath said, '*Pays gasté n'est pas perdu; a wasted country is not thereby lost.*' But by this waste of the country, *Flaminius* thought his own honour to be much impaired, and therefore advanced towards the enemy. Many advised him (which had indeed been best) to have patience a while, and stay for his colleague. But of this he could not abide to hear: saying, that he came not to defend *Arretium*, whilst the *Carthaginians* went burning down all *Italy* before them, to the gates of *Rome*. Therefore he took horse, and commanded the army to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their ensigns stuck so fast in the ground, as it could not be plucked up by the ensign-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or false, *Tully* makes a jest: saying, that the cowardly knave did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) having hardly pitched it into the earth. Neither was the answer of *Flaminius* (if it were true) disagreeable hereto: for he commanded, that it should be digged up, if fear had made the hands too weak to lift it up; asking withal, whether letters were not come from the senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this their jealousy, both he, and the senate that gave him cause, are likely to repent.

All the territory of *Cortona*, as far as to the lake of *Thrasymene*, was on a light fire, which whilst the consul thought to quench with his enemies blood, he pursued *Hannibal* so unadvisedly, that he fell with his whole army, into an ambush cunningly laid for him, between the mountains of *Cortona*, and the lake. There was he charged unawares on all sides (save only where that lake of *Perusia* permitted neither his enemies to come at him, nor him to die from them) knowing not which way to turn, or make resistance. So was

he slain in the place, accompanied with fifteen thousand dead carcases of his countrymen. About six thousand of his men, that had the vanguard, took courage, as for the most part it happens, out of desperation; and, breaking through the enemies, that stood in their way, recovered the tops of the mountains. If these had returned, and given charge upon the *Carthaginians* backs, it was thought that they might have greatly amended, if not wholly altered, the fortune of the day. But that violence of their fear, which, kindled by necessity, had wrought the effects of hardiness; was well asswaged, when they ceased to despair, of saving their lives by flight. They stood still, in a cold sweat, upon the hill-top; hearing under them a terrible noise, but not any ways discovering how things went, because of the great fog that held all that morning. When it grew toward noon, the air was cleared, and they might plainly discern the lamentable slaughter of their fellows. But they staid not to lament it: for it was high time, they thought, to be gone, ere they were descried, and attacked by the enemies horse. This they should have thought upon sooner, since they had no mind to return unto the fight. For descried they were, and *Mabarbal* sent after them; who overtook them by night in a village, which he surrounded with his horse: and so they yielded the next day, rendering up their arms, upon his promise of their lives and liberties.

This accord *Hannibal* refused to confirm; saying, that it was made by *Mabarbal*, without sufficient warrant, as wanting his authority to make it good. Herein he taught them (yet little to his own honour) what it was to keep no faith: and fitted them with a trick of their own. For, if it were lawful unto the *Romans* to alter covenants, or add unto them what they had listed; if the *Carthaginians* must be fain to pay certain hundreds, and yet more hundreds of talents, besides their first bargain; as also to renounce their interest in *Sardinia*, and be limited in their *Spanish* conquests, according to the good pleasure of the *Romans*, whose present advantage is more ample, than the conditions of the late concluded peace: then can *Hannibal* be as much a *Roman*, as themselves; and make them know, that perfidiousness gaineth no more in prosperity, than it loseth in the change of fortune. Fifteen thousand *Italian* prisoners, or thereabout, he had in his hands: of which, all that were not *Romans*, he set free without ransom; protesting, as he had done before, that it was for their sakes, and to free them and others from the *Roman* tyranny, that he had undertaken this war. But the *Romans* he kept in strait prison, and in fetters; making them learn to eat hard meat. This was a good way, to breed in the people of *Italy*, if not a love of *Carthage*, yet a contempt of *Rome*: as if this war had not concerned the general safety, but only the preserving of her own neck from the yoke of slavery, which her over-strong enemies would thrust upon her in revenge of her oppressions. But an ancient reputation, confirmed by success of many ages, is not lost in one or two battels. Wherefore more is to be done, ere the *Carthaginians* can get any *Italian* partisans.

Presently after the battel of *Thrasymene*, *C. Centronius*, with four thousand *Roman* horse, drew near unto the camp of *Hannibal*. He was sent from *Ariminum*, by *Servilius* the other consul, to increase the strength of *Flaminius*: but coming too late, he increased only the misadventure. *Mabarbal* was employed by *Hannibal*, to intercept this company, who finding them amazed with the report which

which they had newly heard of the great overthrow, charged them, and brake them: and killing almost half of them, drove the rest unto an high piece of ground, whence they came down, and simply yielded to mercy, the next day. *Servilius* himself was, in the mean time, skirmishing with the *Gauls*; against whom he had wrought no matter of importance, when the news was brought him of his colleague's overthrow and death in *Hetruria*, that made him hasten back to the defence of *Rome*.

In these passages, it is easy to discern the fruits of popular jealousy, which perswaded the *Romans* to the yearly change of their commanders in the wars, which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that empire. Certain it is, that all men are far better taught by their own errors, than by the examples of their fore-goers. *Flaminius* had heard, in what a trap *Sempronius* had been taken up but the year before, by this subtil *Carthaginian*; yet suffered he himself to be caught soon after in the same manner. He had also belike forgotten, how *Sempronius*, fearing to be prevented by a new consul, and ambitious of the sole honour of beating *Hannibal* in battel, without help of his companion *Scipio*, had been rewarded with shame and loss: else would he not, contrary to all good advice, have been so hasty to fight, before the arrival of *Servilius*. If *Sempronius* had been continued in his charge, it is probable that he would have taken his companion with him the second time, and have searched all suspected places, proper to have shadowed an ambush: both which this new consul *Flaminius* neglected. We may boldly avow it, that by being continued in his government of *France* ten years, *Cesar* brought that mighty nation, together with the *Helvetians*, and many of the *Germans*, under the *Roman* yoke; into which parts, had there been every year a new lieutenant sent, they would hardly, if ever, have been subdued. For it is more than the best wit in the world can do, to inform itself, within one year's compass, of the nature of a great nation, of the factions, of the places, rivers, and of all good helps, whereby to prosecute a war to the best effect. Our princes have commonly left their deputies in *Ireland* three years; whence, by reason of the shortness of that their time, many of them have returned as wise as they went out; others have profited more, and yet when they began but to know the first rudiments of war, and government, fitting the country, they have been called home, and new apprentices sent in their places, to the great prejudice both of this and that estate. But it hath ever been the course of the world, rather to follow old errors, than to examine them: and of princes and governours, to up-hold their slothful ignorance, by the old examples and policy of other ages and people; though neither likenets of time, of occasion, or of any other circumstance, have perswaded the imitation.

S E C T. VI.

Now *Q. Fabius*, the *Roman* dictator, fought to consume the force of *Hannibal*, by lingering war. *Minutius* the master of the horse, honoured and advanced by the people for bold and successful attempting, adventures rashly upon *Hannibal*, and is like to perish with his army, but rescued by *Fabius*.

G R E A T L Y were the *Romans* amazed, at this their ill success, and at the danger appa-

rent; which threatened them in more terrible manner, than ever did war, since *Rome* it self was taken. They were good foldiers; and so little accustomed to receive an overthrow, that when *Pyrrhus* had beaten them, once and again, in open field, all *Italy* was strangely affected with his success, and held him in admiration, as one that could work wonders. But *Pyrrhus's* quarrel was not grounded upon hate: he only fought honour, and fought (as it were) upon a bravery: demeaning himself like a courteous enemy. This *Carthaginian* detested the whole *Roman* name; against which he burned with desire of revenge. *Ticinum*, *Trebia*, and *Thrasymene*, witnessed his purpose, and his ability. Which to withstand, they fled unto a remedy that had long been out of use, and created a dictator. The dictator's power was greater than the consuls, and scarcely subject unto controul of the whole city. Wherefore this officer was seldom chosen, but upon some extremity, and for no longer time than six months. He was to be named by one of the consuls, at the appointment of the senate: though it were so, that the consul (if he stood upon his prerogative) might name whom he pleased. At this time, the one consul being dead, and the other too far off, the people took upon them, as having supreme authority, to give up the dignity, by their election, to *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the best reputed man of war in the city. *Novum factum, novum consilium expetit; contrary winds, contrary courses.* *Q. Fabius* chose *M. Minutius Rufus* master of the horse; which officer was customarily, as the dictator's lieutenant; though this *Minutius* grew afterwards famous, by taking more upon him.

The first act of *Fabius*, was the reformation of somewhat amiss in matter of religion: a good beginning, and commendable; had the religion been also good. But if it were true (as ^a *Livy* reports it) that the books of *Sibyl* were consulted, and gave direction in this business of devotion; then must we believe, that those books of *Sibyl*, preserved in *Rome*, were dictated by an evil spirit. For it was ordained, that some vow, made in the beginning of this war to *Mars*, should be made anew, and amplified; as having not been rightly made before: also that great plays should be vowed unto *Jupiter*, and a temple to *Venus*; with such other trumpery. This vehemency of superstition, proceeds always from vehemency of fear. And surely this was a time, when *Rome* was exceedingly dis-tempered with passion; whereof that memorable accident, of two women that suddenly died, when they saw their sons return alive from *Thrasymene*, may serve to bear witness; though it be more properly an example of motherly love. The walls and towers of the city were now repaired and fortified; the bridges upon rivers were broken down; and all care taken for defence of *Rome* it self. In this tumult, when the dictator was newly set forth against *Hannibal*; word was brought, that the *Carthaginian* fleet had intercepted all the supply that was going to *Cn. Scipio* in *Spain*. Against these *Carthaginians*, *Fabius* commanded *Servilius* the consul to put to sea; and, taking up all the ships about *Rome* and *Ostia*, to pursue them: whilst he, with the legions, attended upon *Hannibal*. Four legions he had levied in haste: and from *Ariminum* he received the army, which *Servilius* the consul had conducted thither.

With these forthwith he followed apace after *Hannibal*; not to fight, but to affront him. And

^a *Liv.* l. 22.

knowing well, what advantage the *Numidian* horse had over the *Romans*, he always lodged himself on high grounds, and of hard access. *Hannibal* in the mean while, pursuing his victory, had ranged over all the country, and used all manner of cruelty towards the inhabitants; especially to those of the *Roman* nation, of whom he did put to the sword all that were able to bear arms. Passing by *Spoleum* and *Ancona*, he encamped upon the *Adriatic* shores; refreshed his diseased, and over-travelled companies; armed his *Africans* after the manner of the *Romans*; and made his dispatches for *Carthage*, presenting his friends, which were in effect all the citizens, with part of the spoils he had gotten. Having refreshed his army, fed his horses, cured his wounded soldiers, and (as *Polybius* hath it) healed his horse heels of the scratches, by washing their pasterns in old wine; he followed the coast of the *Adriatic* sea towards *Apulia*, a northern province of the kingdom of *Naples*; spoiling the *Marrucini*, and all other nations lying in his way. In all this ground that he over-ran, he had not taken any one city; only he had assayed *Spoleum*, a colony of the *Romans*; and finding it well defended, presently gave it over.

The malice of a great army is broken, and the force of it spent, in a great siege. This the *Protestant* army found true at *Poitiers*, a little before the battle of *Moncouter*; and their victorious enemies, anon after, at *St. Jean de Angeley*. But *Hannibal* was more wise. He would not engage himself in any such enterprise, as should detain him, and give the *Romans* leave to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in force and reputation; knowing, that when once he was absolute master of the field, it would not be long ere the walled cities would open their gates, without expecting any engine of battery. To this end he presented *Fabius* with battle, as soon as he saw him; and provoked him with all manner of bravado's. But *Fabius* would not bite. He well knew the differences between soldiers bred up, ever since they were boys, in war and in blood, trained and hardened in *Spain*, made proud and adventurous by many victories there, and of late by some notable acts against the *Romans*; and such as had no oftner seen the enemy, than been vanquished by him. Therefore he attended the *Carthaginian* so near, as he kept him from stragling too far; and preserved the country from utter spoil. He inured his men by little and little, and made them acquainted with dangers by degrees; and he brought them first to look on the lion afar off, that in the end they might sit on his tail.

Now *Minutius* had a contrary disposition, and was as fiery as *Flaminius*; taxing *Fabius* with cowardice and fear. But all stirred not this well-advised commander. For wise men are no more moved with such noise, than with wind bruised out of a bladder. There is nothing of more indiscretion and danger, than to pursue misfortune: it wasteth it self sooner by sufferance, than by opposition. It is the invading army that desires battle; and this of *Hannibal*, was both the invading, and the victorious. *Fabius* therefore suffered *Hannibal* to cross the *Apennines*, and to fall upon the most rich and pleasant territory of *Campania*; neither could he by any arguments be persuaded, to adventure the *Roman* army in battle: but being far too weak in horse, he always kept the hills and fast grounds. When *Hannibal* saw he could by no means draw this wary dictator to fight; that the winter came on; and that the towns stood firm for the *Romans*, whose legions were in sight, though afar off;

he resolved to rest his army, that was laden with spoil, in some plentiful and assured place, till the following spring. But ere this can be done, he must pass along by the dictator's camp, that hung over his head on the hills of *Calicula* and *Casilinum*: for other way there was none, by which he might issue out of that goodly garden-country, which he had already wasted, into places more abundant of provision for his wintering. It was by mere error of his guide, that he first entered within these streights. For he would have been directed unto *Cassinum*, whence he might both assay the fair city of *Capua*, which had made him friendly promises under-hand, and hinder the *Romans* from coming near it to prevent him. But his guide misunderstood the *Carthaginian* pronunciation, and conducted him awry another way, from *Cassinum* to *Casilinum*, whence *Fabius* hoped that he should not easily escape. Now began the wisdom of *Fabius* to grow into credit; as if he had taken the *Carthaginians* in a trap, and won the victory without blows. But *Hannibal* reformed this opinion, and freed himself, by a slight invention, yet serving the turn as well as a better. In driving the country, he had gotten about two thousand kine; whose horns he dressed with dry faggots, and setting fire to them in a dark night, caused them to be driven up the hills. The spectacle was strange, and therefore terrible; especially to those that knew it to be the work of a terrible enemy. What it should mean, *Fabius* could not tell: but thought it a device to circumvent him; and therefore kept within his trenches. They that kept the hill-tops, were horribly afraid, when some of these fiery monsters were gotten beyond them; and ran therefore hastily away, thinking that the enemies were behind their backs, and fell among the light-armed *Carthaginians*, that were no less afraid of them. So *Hannibal*, with his whole army, recovered sure ground, without molestation: where he stayed till the next morning; and then brought off his light foot-men, with some slaughter of the *Romans*, that began to hold them in skirmish. After this, *Hannibal* made semblance of taking his journey towards *Rome*: and the dictator coasted him in the wonted manner, keeping still on high grounds, between him and the city, whilst the *Carthaginians* wasted all the plains. The *Carthaginian* took *Geryon*, an old ruinous town in *Apulia*, forsaken by the inhabitants, which he turned into barns, and store-houses for winter, and encamped under the broken walls. Other matter of importance he did none: but the time passed idly, till the dictator was called away to *Rome*, about some business of religion, and left the army in charge with *Minutius*, the master of the horse.

Minutius was glad of this good occasion to shew his own sufficiency. He was fully persuaded, that his *Romans*, in plain field, would be too hard for the *Africans* and *Spaniards*: by whom if they had been foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by subtilty and ambush, which he thought himself wise enough to prevent. All the army was of his opinion; and that so earnestly, as he was preferred by judgment of the soldiers, in worthiness to command, before the cold and wary *Fabius*. In this jollity of conceit, he determined to fight. Yet had he been peremptorily forbidden so to do, by the dictator; the breach of whose command was extreme peril of death. But the honour of the victory, which he held undoubtedly his own; the love of the army, and the friends that he had at home bearing office in *Rome*, were enough to save him from the dictator's rods and

axes, took he the matter never so heinously. *Hannibal* on the other side was no less glad, that he should play with a more adventurous gamester. Therefore he drew near, and, to provoke the *Romans*, sent forth a third part of his army to waste the country. This was boldly done, seeing that *Minutius* encamped hard by him: but it seems, that he now despised those whom he had so often vanquished. There was a piece of high ground between the two camps, which because it would be commodious to him that could occupy it, the *Carthaginians* seized upon by night with two thousand of their light-armed. But *Minutius*, by plain force, won it from them the next day; and entrenching himself thereupon, became their nearer neighbour.

The main business of *Hannibal* at this time was, to provide abundantly, not only for his men, but for his horses, which he knew to be the chief of his strength, that he might keep them in good heart against the next summer: if, besides this, he could give the *Romans* another blow, it would increase his reputation, encourage his own men, terrify his enemies, and give him leave to forage the country at will. Since therefore *Minutius* did not in many days issue forth of his camp, the *Carthaginian* sent out (as before) a great number of his men to fetch in harvest. This advantage *Minutius* wisely espied and took. For he led forth his army, and setting it in order, presented battel to *Hannibal*, that was not in case to accept it, even at his own trenches. His horse, and all his light armature, divided into companies, he sent abroad against the foragers; who being dispersed over all the fields, and laden with booty, could make no resistance. This angered *Hannibal*, that was not able to help them; but worse did it anger him when the *Romans* took heart to assail his trenches. They perceived that it was mere weakness which held him within his camp, and therefore were bold to despise his great name, that could not resist their present strength. But in the heat of the business, *Asdrubal* came from *Geryon* with four thousand men, being informed of the danger by those that had escaped the *Roman* horse. This emboldened *Hannibal* to issue forth against the *Romans*, to whom nevertheless he did not such hurt as he had received.

For this piece of service *Minutius* was highly esteemed by the army, and more highly by the people at *Rome*, to whom he sent the news, with somewhat greater boast than truth. It seemed no small matter, that the *Roman* army had recovered spirit, so far forth that dared to set upon *Hannibal* in his own camp; and that in so doing it came off with the better. Every man therefore praised the master of the horse, that had wrought this great alteration; and consequently, they grew as far out of liking with *Fabius* and his timorous proceedings, thinking that he had not done any thing wisely in all his dictatorship, saving that he chose such a worthy lieutenant; whereas indeed in no other thing had he so greatly erred. But the dictator was not so joyful of a little good luck, as angry with the breach of discipline, and fearful of greater danger thereon likely to ensue. He said, that he knew his own place, and what was to be done; that he would teach the master of the horse to do so likewise, and make him give account of what he had done, if he were dictator; speaking it openly, that good success issuing from bad counsel was more to be feared than calamity; forasmuch as the one bred a foolish confidence, the other taught men to be wary. Against these sermons every one cried out, especially *Metellus*, a tribune of the peo-

ple, which office warranted him to speak, and do what he list without fear of the dictator. It is not enough (said he) that this our only man, chosen to be general, and lord of the town in our greatest necessity, hath done no manner of good, but suffered all *Italy* to be wasted before his eyes, to the utter shame of our state; unless he also hinders others from doing better than himself can, or dares? It were good to consider what he means by this. Into the place of *C. Plautius* he hath not chosen any new consul all this while; *Servilius* is sent away to sea. I know not why; *Hannibal* and he, have, as it were, taken truce; *Hannibal* sparing the dictator's grounds (for *Hannibal* had indeed forborn to spoil some grounds of *Fabius*, that so he might bring him into envy and suspicion;) and the dictator giving him leave to spoil all others without impeachment. Surely his drift is even this: he would have the war to last long, that he himself might be long in office, and have the sole government both of our city and armies. But this must not be so. It were better that the commonalty of *Rome*, which gave him this authority, should again take it from him, and confer it upon one more worthy. But lest, in moving the people hereto, I should seem to do him injury, thus far forth I will regard his honour; I will only propound, that the master of the horse may be joined in equal authority with the dictator; a thing not more new, nor less necessary, than was the electing of this dictator by the people.

Though all men, even the senators, were ill persuaded of the course which *Fabius* had taken against *Hannibal*, as being neither plausible, nor seeming beneficial at the present; yet was there none so injurious as to think, that his general intent and care of the weal publick was less than very honourable. Whereas therefore it was the manner in passing of any act, that some man of credit and authority, besides the propounder, should stand up, and formally deliver his approbation; not one of the principal citizens was found so impudent as to offer that open disgrace, both unto a worthy personage, and (therewithal) unto that dignity, whose great power had freed the state at several times from the greatest dangers. Only *C. Terentius Varro*, who the year before had been pretor, was glad of such an opportunity to win the favour of the multitude. This fellow was the son of a butcher, afterwards became a shop-keeper; and, being of a contentious spirit, grew, by often brablings, to take upon him as a pleader, dealing in poor mens causes. Thus by little and little he got into office, and rose by degrees, being advanced by those, who in hatred of the nobility favoured his very baseness. And now he thought the time was come for him to give an hard pull at the consulship; by doing that which none of the great men, fearing or favouring one another, either durst or would. So he made an hot invective, not only against *Fabius*, but against all the nobility; saying, that it grieved them to see the people do well, and take upon them what belonged unto them in matter of government; that they sought to humble the commons by poverty, and to impoverish them by war; especially by war at their own doors, which would soon consume every poor man's living, and find him other work to think upon than matter of state. Therefore he bad them to be wise; and since they had found one (this worthy master of the horse) that was better affected unto them and his country, to reward him according to his good deserts; and give him authority accordingly as was propounded by the tribune, that

that so he might be encouraged and enabled to proceed as he had begun. So the act passed.

Before this busy day of contention, *Fabius* had dispatched the election of a new consul, which was *M. Atilius Regulus*, in the room of *C. Flaminius*; and, having finished all requisite business, went out of town, perceiving well that he should not be able to withstand the multitude, in hindering the decree. The news of *Minutius's* advancement was at the camp as soon as *Fabius*: so that his old lieutenant, and new colleague, began to treat with him as a companion; asking him at the first, in what sort he thought it best to divide their authority; whether that one one day, and the other the next, or each of them successively, for some longer time, should command in chief. *Fabius* briefly told him, that it was the pleasure of the citizens to make the master of the horse equal to the dictator, but that he should never be his superior: he would therefore divide the legions with him by lot, according to the custom. *Minutius* was not herewith greatly pleased; for that with half of the army he could not work such wonders as otherwise he hoped to accomplish. Nevertheless he meant to do his best, and so taking his part of the army, encamped about a mile and a half from the dictator. Needful it was (though *Livy* seems to tax him for it) that he should so do. For where two several commanders are not subordinate one unto another, nor joined in commission, but have each entire and absolute charge of his own followers, there are the forces (though belonging unto one prince or state) not one, but two distinct armies; in which regard one camp shall not hold them both without great inconvenience. *Polybius* neither finds fault with this disjunction, nor yet reports that *Fabius* was unwilling to command in chief successively (as the two consuls used) with *Minutius*, by turns. He saith, that *Minutius* was very refractory, and so proud of his advancement, that continually he opposed the dictator: who thereupon referred it to his choice, either to divide the forces between them, as is said before, or else to have command over all by course. This is likely to be true. For natures impatient of subjection, when once they have broken loose from the rigour of authority, love nothing more than to contest with it; as if herein consisted the proof and assurance of their liberty.

It behoved the master of the horse to make good the opinion which had thus advanced him. Therefore he was no less careful of getting occasion to fight, than was *Fabius* of avoiding the necessity. That which *Minutius* and *Hannibal* equally desired could not long be wanting. The country lying between them was open and bare, yet as fit for ambush as could be wished: for that the sides of a naked valley adjoining, had many and spacious caves; able, some one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In these lurking places *Hannibal* bestowed five hundred horse, and five thousand foot; thrusting them so close together, that they could not be discovered. But lest by any misadventure they should be found out, and buried in their holes, he made offer betimes in the morning to seize upon a piece of ground that lay on the other hand; whereby he drew the eyes and the thoughts of the *Romans* from their more needful care, to business little concerning them. Like unto this was the occasion, which, not long before, had provoked *Minutius* to adventure upon the *Carthaginians*. Hoping therefore to increase his honour, in like sort as he got it, he sent first his light armature, then his horse, and at length (seeing that *Hannibal* seconded his own troops with fresh com-

panies) he followed in person with the legions. He was soon caught, and so hotly charged on all sides, that he knew neither how to make resistance, nor any safe retreat. In this dangerous case, whilst the *Romans* defended themselves, losing many, and those of their best men, *Fabius* drew near in very good order to relieve them. For this old captain, perceiving afar off, into what extremity his new colleague had rashly thrown himself and his followers, did the office of a good citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his country, than the disgrace which he had wrongfully sustained, sought rather to approve himself by halting to do good, than by suffering the enemy to feel the reward of his doing ill. Upon *Fabius's* approach *Hannibal* retired, fearing to be well wetted with a shower from the cloud (as he termed the dictator) that had hung so long on the hill-tops. *Minutius* forthwith submitted himself to *Fabius*, by whose benefit he confessed his life to have been saved. So from this time forwards the war proceeded coldly, as the dictator would have it; both whilst his office lasted, which was not long, and likewise afterwards, when he delivered up his charge unto the consuls, that followed his instructions.

Servilius the consul had pursued in vain a *Carthaginian* fleet, to which he came never within kenning. He ran along all the coast of *Italy*, took hostages of the *Sardinians* and *Corficans*, passed over into *Africa*, and there negligently falling to spoil the country, was shamefully beaten aboard his ships, with the loss of a thousand men. Weighing anchor therefore in all haste, he returned home by *Sicily*; and (being so required by the dictator's letters) repaired to the camp with his fellow-consul, where they took charge of the army.

S E C T. VII.

The Roman people, desirous to finish the war quickly, chuse a rash and unworthy consul. Great forces levied against Hannibal. Hannibal taketh the Romans provisions in the castle of Cannæ. The new consuls set forth against Hannibal.

WITH little pleasure did they of the poorer sort in *Rome* hear the great commendations that were given to *Fabius* by the principal citizens. He had indeed preserved them from receiving a great overthrow; but he had neither finished the war, nor done any thing in appearance thereto tending. Rather it might seem, that the reputation of this his own worthy act, was likely to counterance the slow proceedings, or perhaps the cowardise (if it were no worse) of those that followed him, in protracting the work to a great length. Else, what meant the consuls to sit idle the whole winter, contrary to all former custom; since it was never heard before, that any *Roman* general had willingly suffered the time of his command to run away without any performance; as if it were honourable to do just nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what; and were ready, every man, to discharge the grief and anger of his own private loss, upon the ill administration of the publick.

This affection of the people was very helpful to *C. Torrentius Varro*, in his suit for the consulship. It behoved him to strike while the iron was hot; his own worth being little or none, and his credit over-weak, to make way into that high dignity. But the commonalty were then in such a mood, as abundantly supplied all his defects. Wherein to help he had a kinsman, *Bibius Hrenutus*, then tribune of the people; who spared not to use the liberty

liberty of his place, in saying what he listed, without all regard of truth or modesty. This bold orator stuck not to affirm, that *Hannibal* was drawn into *Italy*, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure, by the noblemen; that *Minutius*, indeed, with his two legions, was likely to have been overthrown, and was rescued by *Fabius* with the other two; but, had all been joined together, what they might have done, it was apparent, by the victory of *Minutius*, when he commanded over all as master of the horse; that without a *Plebeian* consul, the war would never be brought to an end; that such of the *Plebeians* as had long since been advanced to honour by the people, were grown as proud as the old nobility, and contemned the meaner sort, ever since themselves were freed from contempt of the more mighty; that therefore it was needful to chuse a consul, who should be altogether a *Plebeian*, a mere new man, one that could boast of nothing but the people's love, nor could wish more than to keep it, by well deserving of them. By such persuasions the multitude was won to be wholly for *Terentius*, to the great vexation of the nobles, who could not endure to see a man raised for none other virtue than his detracting from their honour, and therefore opposed him with all their might. To hinder the desire of the people, it fell out, or at least was alledged, that neither of the two present consuls could well be spared from attending upon *Hannibal*, to hold the election. Wherefore a dictator was named for that purpose, and he again deposed; either (as was pretended) for some religious impediment, or because the fathers desired an *Inter-regnum*, wherein they might better hope to prevail in choice of the new consuls. This *Inter-regnum* took name and being in *Rome* at the death of *Romulus*, and was in use at the death of other kings. The order of it was this: All the fathers or senators, who at the first were an hundred, parted themselves into tens or decuries, and governed successively by the space of five days, one decury after another in order; yet so, that the lictors or virgers, carrying the fasces or bundles of rods and axes, waited only upon the chief of them with these ensigns of power. This custom was retained in times of the consuls; and put in use, when by death or any casualty, there wanted ordinary magistrates of the old year, to substitute new for the year following. The advantage of the fathers herein was, that if the election were not like to go as they would have it, there needed no more than to slip five days, and then all to begin anew; by which interruption the heat of the multitude was commonly well asswaged. Upon such change of those that were presidents of the election, it was also lawful unto new petitioners to sue for the magistracies that lay void, which otherwise was not allowed; but a time limited, wherein they should publickly declare themselves to seek those offices. But no device would serve against the general favour born unto *Terentius*. One *Inter-regnum* passed over, and the malice of the fathers, against the virtue (as it was believed) of this mean, but worthy man, seemed so manifest, that when the people had urged the business to dispatch, only *Terentius* was chosen consul; in whose hand it was left to hold the election of his colleague. Hereupon all the former petitioners gave over. For whereas men of ordinary mark had stood for the place before, it was now thought meet, that both to supply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this unexpert and hot-headed man, one of great sufficiency and reputation, should be joined with him, as both companion and op-

posite. So *L. Æmilius Paulus*, he who few years since had overcome the *Illyrians*, and chased *Demetrius Pharius* out of his kingdom, was urged by the nobility to stand for the place; which he easily obtained, having no competitor. It was not the desire of this honourable man to trouble himself any more in such great business of the common-wealth. For, notwithstanding his late good service, he and *M. Livius*, that had been his companion in office, were afterwards injuriously vexed by the people, and called unto judgment; wherein *Livius* was condemned, and *Æmilius* hardly escaped. But of this injustice they shall put the *Romans* well in mind each of them in his second consulship, wherein they shall honourably approve their worth; the one of them nobly dying in the most grievous loss, the other bravely winning in the most happy victory that ever befel that common-wealth.

These new consuls, *Varro* and *Paulus*, omitted no part of their diligence in preparing for the war; wherein though *Varro* made the greater noise, by telling what wonders he would work, and that he would ask no more than once to have a sight of *Hannibal*, whom he promised to vanquish the very first day, yet the providence and care of *Paulus* travelled more earnestly toward the accomplishment of that, whereof his fellow vainly boasted. He wrote unto the two old consuls *Servilius* and *Attilius*, desiring them to abstain from hazard of the main chance; but nevertheless to ply the *Carthaginians* with daily skirmish, and weaken them by degrees, that when he and his colleague should take the field, with the great army which they were now levying, they might find the four old legions well accustomed to the enemy, and the enemy well weakened to their hands. He was also very strict in his musters, wherein the whole senate assisted him so carefully, as if in this action they meant to refute the slanders with which *Terentius* and his adherents had burdened them. What number of men they raised it is uncertain. Fourscore thousand foot at the least, and six thousand horse; they were strong in the field when the day came, which *Varro* had so greatly desired of looking upon *Hannibal*.

Hiero, the old king of *Syracuse*, as he had relieved the *Carthaginians* when they were distressed by their own mercenaries, so did he now send help to *Rome*, a thousand archers and slingers, with great quantity of wheat, barley, and other provisions; fearing nothing more, than that one of these two mighty cities should destroy the other, whereby his own estate would fall to ruin, that stood upright by having them somewhat even-balanced. He gave them also counsel to send forces into *Africa*; if (perhaps) by that means they might divert the war from home. His gifts and good advice were lovingly accepted, and instructions were given to *Titus Othacilius* the pretor, which was to go into *Sicily*, that he should accordingly pass over into *Africa*, if he found it expedient.

The great levies which the *Romans* made at this time, do much more serve to declare their puissance than any, though larger, account by poll, of such as were not easily drawn into the field, and fitted for service. For, besides these armies of the consuls, and that which went into *Sicily*, twenty five thousand with *L. Posthumius Albanus*, another of the pretors, went against the *Gauls* to reclaim that province, which the passage of *Hannibal* through it had taken from them. The contemplation of this their present strength might well embolden them to do as they did. They sent am-

bassadors

bassadors to *Philip* the son of *Demetrius*, king of *Macedon*, requiring him to deliver into their hands *Demetrius Pharius*; who having been their subject and rebel, was fled into his kingdom. They also sent to the *Illyrians* to demand their tribute, whereof the day of payment was already past. What answer they received it is not known; only this is known, that *Demetrius Pharius* was not sent unto them, and that *Philip* henceforth began to have an eye upon them, little to their good. As for the *Illyrian* money, by the shifts that they were driven soon after to make, it will appear, that the one half of it (how little soever) would have been welcome to *Rome*, and accepted without any cavil about forfeiture for non-payment of the whole.

Whilst the city was busied in these cares, the old consuls lay as near unto *Hannibal* as possibly they could, without incurring the necessity of a battle. Many skirmishes they had with him, wherein their success for the most part was rather good than great. Yet one mischance not only blemished the honour of their other services, but was indeed the occasion to draw on the misery following. *Hannibal*, for the most part of that time made his abode at *Geryon*, where lay all his store for the winter. The *Romans*, to be near him, lodged about *Cannusium*; and, that they might not be driven to turn aside for all necessities, to the loss of good opportunities, they bestowed much of their provisions in the castle of *Cannæ*; for the town was razed the year before. This place *Hannibal* won, and thereby not only furnished himself, but compelled his enemies to want many needful things, unless they would be troubled with far carriage. Besides this, and more to his advantage, he enabled himself to abide in that open country, fit for the service of his horse, longer than the *Romans*, having so many mouths to feed, could well endure to tarry, without offering battle, which he most desired. Of this mishap, when *Servilius* had informed the senate, letting them understand how this piece, taken by *Hannibal*, would serve him to command no small part of the country adjacent; it then seemed needful, even unto the fathers themselves, to adventure a battle with the *Carthaginian*, rather than suffer him thus to take root in the ground of *Italy*. Nevertheless, answer was returned unto *Servilius*, that he should have patience yet awhile, for that the consuls would shortly be there with a power sufficient to do as need required.

When all things were ready in the city, and the season of the year commodious to take the field, the two consuls, with their army, set forth against *Hannibal*. This was always done with great solemnity; especially, whensoever they went forth to war against any noble or redoubted enemy. For sacrifices and solemn vows were made unto *Jupiter*, and the rest of their gods, for good success and victory; which being performed, the generals, in warlike attire, with an honourable train of the principal men, not only such as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the war as volunteers, for love; but a great number of others that meant to abide at home, were accompanied on their way, and dismissed with friendly leave-taking, and good wishes. At this time all the fathers and the whole nobility waited upon *Æmilius Paulus*, as the only man whom they thought either worthy of this honour, or likely to do his country remarkable service. *Terentius*, his attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer citizens; a troop no less in greatness than the other was in dignity. At the parting, *Fabius*, the late dictator, is said to have exhorted the consul *Paulus*

with many grave words, to shew his magnanimity, not only in dealing with the *Carthaginians*, but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outrageous folly of his fellow-consul. The answer of *Paulus* was; that he meant not again to run into danger of condemnation by offending the multitude; that he would do his best for his country; but if he saw his best were likely to be ill taken, he would think it less rashness to adventure upon the enemies sword, than upon the malice of his own citizens.

S E C T. VIII.

Diffension between the two Roman consuls. Whether it be likely, that Hannibal was upon point of flying out of Italy, when the Romans pressed him to fight. The great battle of Cannæ.

THESE new generals arriving at the camp, dismissed *M. Atilius*, one of the last year's consuls, requesting it because of his age and weakness; *Servilius* they retained with them as their assistant. The first thing that *Æmilius* thought necessary, was, to hearten his soldiers with good words; who, out of their bad success hitherto, had gathered more cause of fear than of courage. He willed them to consider, not only now, their victories in times past against the *Carthaginians*, and other more warlike nations than were the *Carthaginians*; but even their own great numbers, which were no less than all that *Rome* at the present was able to set forth. He told them in what danger their country stood; how the state and safety thereof rested upon their hands; using some such other common matter of persuasion. But the most effectual part of his oration was, that *Hannibal*, with this his terrible army, had not yet obtained one victory by plain force and valour; but that only by deceit and ambush he had stolen the honour which he had gotten at *Trebia* and *Thrasymene*. Herewithal he taxed the inconsiderate rashness of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; of whom the one saw not his enemies until he was surrounded by them, the other scarce saw them when they struck off his head, by reason of the thick mist, through the darkness whereof he went groping (as it were blindfold) into their snares. Finally, declaring what advantages they had against the enemy, and how destitute the enemy was of those helps by which he had hitherto prevailed against them; he exhorted them to play the men, and do their best. They were easily persuaded; for the contemplation of their own multitude, and confidence of the *Roman* virtue in matter of arms, gave them cause to think, that under a captain so well experienced, and every way sufficient, as *Æmilius* was known to be, they should easily prevail against the *Carthaginians*, that came far short of them in all things else, save craft, which would not always thrive. But in one thing they mislooked the meaning of their general. It was his desire that they should have heart to fight, not that they should use the patience of waiting a convenient season. But they, having pre-conceived a victory, thought all delays to be impediments, and thereby sought to rob themselves of their best help, which was good conduct. They remembered what talk they had heard at *Rome*, and were themselves affected with the vulgar desire of ending the war quickly, wherein since *Æmilius* had acknowledged, that the advantage was theirs, why did he make them forbear to use it? Thus thought the common soldier, and thus also thought the consul *Terentius*, who was no less popular in the camp than he had been in the city. Expectation is always tedious; and never more, than when the event is of most importance.

importance. All men longed, both at *Rome* and in the army, to be freed from the doubtful passions of hope and fear: therefore *Terentius*, who hastened their desire to effect, was likely to win more thanks than should his colleague, though greater in performance. Thus, while the *Romans* think themselves to have the better of their enemies, they fall into an inconvenience, than which few are more dangerous; dissension of their chief commanders. *Varro* would fight, *Æmilius* would so too; but said that it was not yet time: why? because the enemy must shortly dislodge, and remove hence into places less fit for his horse. But shall the *Romans* wait, till *Hannibal*, having eaten up his last year's provisions, return into *Campania* to gather a second harvest? This would (said *Varro*) favour too much of *Q. Fabius*: And your haste (said *Paulus*) doth favour no less of *C. Flaminius*. Their deeds were like their words; for they commanded by turns interchangeably every day. *Æmilius* lodged six miles from *Hannibal*, where the ground was somewhat uneven. Thither, if the *Carthaginians* would take pains to come, he doubted not to send them away in such haste, as they should not leave running till they were out of *Italy*. But they came not. *Terentius* therefore the next day descended into the plains; his colleague holding him, and beseeching him to stay. Nevertheless, he sat down close by *Hannibal*, who, as an unbidden guest gave him but a rude welcome and entertainment. The *Carthaginian* horse and light armature fell upon the *Roman* vant-courers, and put the whole army in tumult, whilst it was yet in march; but they were beaten off, not without loss, for that the *Romans* had, among their *Velites*, some troops weightily armed, whereas the *Carthaginians* had none. The day following, *Æmilius*, who could not handsomely withdraw the army out of that level ground, encamped upon the river *Aufidus*, sending a third part of his forces over the water, to lie upon the eastern bank, where they entrenched themselves. He never was more unwilling to fight than at this present, because the ground served wholly for the advantage of his enemy, with whom he meant to deal, when occasion should draw him to more equal terms. Therefore he stirred not out of his trenches, but fortified himself, expecting when *Hannibal* should dislodge, and remove towards *Geryon*, *Cannæ*, or some other place, where his store lay, for want of necessaries; whereof an army foraging the country was not likely to carry about with it sufficient quantity for any long time.

Here it would not be passed over with silence, that *Livy* disleereth much in his relation from *Polybius*; telling many strange tales of the misery into which *Hannibal* had been driven, and of base courtes that he devised to take, if the *Romans* could have retained their patience a little longer. He had (saith *Livy*) but ten days provision of meat. He had not money to pay his soldiers. They were an unruly rabble, gathered out of several nations, so that he knew not how to keep them in order; but that from murmuring they fell to flat exclamations, first, about their pay and provant, and afterwards for very famine. Especially the *Spaniards* were ready to forsake him, and run over to the *Roman* side. Yea, *Hannibal* himself, was once upon the point to have stolen away into *Gaul* with all his horse, and left his foot unto their miserable destinies. At length, for lack of all other counsel, he resolved to get him as far as he could from the

Romans, into the southermost parts of *Apulia*; to the end, that both his unfaithful soldiers might find the more difficulty in running from him, and that his hunger might be relieved with the more early harvest. But whilst he was about to put this device in execution, the *Romans* pressed him so hard, that they even forced him unto that which he most desired, even to fight a battel upon open champaign ground, wherein he was victorious. It was not uncommendable in *Livy*, to speak the best of his own citizens; and, where they did ill, to say, that, without their own great folly, they had done passing well. Further also he may be excused; as writing only by report. For thus he saith; a *Hannibal de fugâ in Galliam* [dicitur] agitasse; *Hannibal* [is said] to have bethought himself of flying into *Gaul*: where he makes it no more than a matter of hearsay; as perhaps was all the rest of this relation. As for the process itself, it is very incredible. For if *Hannibal*, coming out of *Gaul*, through the marishes and bogs of *Æturgia*, could find victuals enough, and all things needful unto his army, the summer foregoing: what should hinder him to do the like this year? especially seeing he had played the careful husband in making a great harvest; since he had long been master of the open field; and besides, had gotten, by surprise, no small part of the *Romans* provisions? Suitable hereunto is all the rest. If *Hannibal* had taken nothing but corn and cattel; his soldiers might perhaps have fallen into mutiny for pay. But he brought gold with him into *Italy*: and had so well increased his stock, since he came into that country, that he had armed his *African* soldiers, all *Roman-like*; and loaden his followers with spoil: having left wherewith to redeem as many of his own, as were taken by the enemy; when the *Romans* were not willing, as finding it not easy, to do the like. In this point therefore, we are to attend the general agreement of historians: who give it as a principal commendation unto *Hannibal*, that he always kept his army free from sedition, though it were composed of sundry nations; no less different in manners, religion, and almost in nature, than they were in languages: and well might he so do, having not only pronounced, that which of his men soever fought bravely with his enemy, was thereby a *Carthaginian*; but solemnly protested and swore (besides other rewards) to make as many of them, as should deserve and seek it, free citizens of *Carthage*. The running away into *Gaul* was a senseless device. *Hannibal*, being there with his whole army, took so little pleasure in the country and people, that he made all haste to get him out of it. And what should he now do there with his horse? or how could he be trusted, either there or elsewhere? yea, how could he desire to live; having betrayed all his army, and relinquished his miserable foot, to the butchery of their enemies? This tale therefore *Plutarch* omitteth; who, in writing the life of *Hannibal*, takes in a manner all his Directions from *Livy*. But of this and the like it is enough to say, that all historians love to extol their own countrymen; and where a loss cannot be dissembled, nor the honour of the victory taken from the enemy, and given unto blind fortune, there to lay all the blame on some strange misgovernment of their own forces: as if they might easily have won all, but lost all through such folly, as no enemy can hope to find in them another time.

Now let us return back to the two armies,

where they lie encamped on the river *Aufidus*. *Varro* was persuaded, that it concerned him in honour, to make good his word unto the people of *Rome*: and, since he had thus long waited in vain, to get the consent of *Paulus* now at length to use his own authority; and, without any more disputing of the matter, to fight when his own day came. When therefore it was his turn to command; at the first break of day he began to pass the river, without staying to bid his colleague good morrow. But *Paulus* came to him; and fought, as in former times, to have dissuaded him, from putting the estate of his country to a needless hazard. Against whose words and substantial arguments, *Terentius* could alledge none other, than *point of honour*. *Hannibal* had presented them battle at their trenches: should they endure this bravado? He had sent his *Numidians* over the river but even the day before, who fell upon the *Romans* that were fetching water to the lesser camp; and drove them shamefully to run within their defences, which also they made offer to assail: must this also be suffered? He would not endure it: for it could not but weaken the spirit of the *Roman* soldier; which as yet was lively, and full of such courage, as promised assured victory. When *Æmilius* perceived, that he could not hinder the obstinate resolution of his companion; he took all care, that what he saw must be done, might be done well. Ten thousand *Roman* foot he caused to be left behind, in the greater camp, opposite unto the *Carthaginian*; to the intent, that either *Hannibal* might be compelled, to leave behind him some answerable number, for defence of his trenches (which out of his paucity he was less able to spare from the battle, than were the *Romans*;) or that these ten thousand, falling upon the *Carthaginian* camp, when the fight began, and taking it with all the wealth therein, might thereby (as commonly do such accidents) terrify and distract the enemies in the heat of fight. This done; the two consuls went over the water with their army to the lesser camp, whence also they drew forth their men, and ranged them in order of battle: the ground on the east part of the river, seeming perhaps more fit for marshalling of their army. *Hannibal* was glad of this, as he had great cause; and, without any delay, passed likewise over, somewhat higher up the stream, which ran from the south; leaving in his own camp so many, as he thought would serve to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men; he bad them look about them, and view the ground well, upon which they were to fight. They did so. And could you (said he) pray for any greater fortune, than to join battle with the *Romans* upon such a level ground, where the stronger in horse are sure to prevail? They all assented to him; and shewed by their countenances, that they were very glad of it. Well then (said he further) ye are first of all to thank the Gods, that have brought them hither; and then us, that have trained them along, and drawn them into necessity of playing for their lives, where they are sure to lose them. As for these *Romans*, I was fain to encourage you against them, when ye met them first: but now ye may even encourage your selves, by calling to mind that they are the men, whom ye have as often beaten as seen. Of one thing only I will put you in mind: That whereas hitherto you fought for other respects; as, to drive them before you out of *Gaul*; and to win the open country, and fields of *Italy*; both of which ye have obtained: now are ye to fight for the towns themselves, and all the riches within them, which this victory shall

make yours. Therefore play the stout soldiers; and, ere many hours pass, ye shall be lords of all that the *Romans* hold.

When he had said this; his brother *Mago* came to him, whom he had sent to view the countenance of the enemy. *Hannibal* asked him, what news; and what work they were likely to have with these *Romans*? Work enough (answered *Mago*) for they are an horrible many. As horrible a many as they are (thus *Hannibal* replied) I tell thee, brother, that among them all, search them never so diligently, thou shalt not find one man, whose name is *Mago*. With that he fell a laughing, and so did all that stood about him: which gladdened the soldiers, who thought their general would not be so merry, without great assurance. Whether it were so, that *Hannibal*, in the pride of his victories already gotten, valued one *Mago* above many thousand *Romans*; or whether he intimated, that the *Romans* were no less troubled with thinking upon *Mago* and his companions, than was *Mago* with beholding their huge multitude; or whether he meant only to correct the sad mood of his brother with a jest, and shew himself merry unto the soldiers: this his answer was more manly, than was the relation of his discoverer. But if *Hannibal* himself had been sent forth by *Mago*, to view the *Romans*; he could not have returned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which captain *Gam*, before the battle of *Agincourt*, made unto our king *Henry* the fifth: saying, that of the *Frenchmen*, there were enough to be killed; enough to be taken prisoners; and enough to run away. Even such words as these, or such pleasant jests as this of *Hannibal*, are not without their moment; but serve many times, when battle is at hand, to work upon such passions, as must govern more of the business: especially, where other needful care is not wanting; without which they are but vain boasts.

In this great day, the *Carthaginian* excelled himself; expressing no less perfection of his military skill, than was greatness in his spirit and undertakings. For, to omit the commodiousness of the place, into which he had long before conceived the means to draw his enemies to battle; he marshalled his army in such convenient order, that all hands were brought to fight, where every one might do best service. His darters, and slingers of the *Balears*, he sent off before him, to encounter with the *Roman Velites*. These were loose troops, answerable in a manner to those, which we call now by a *French* Name *Enfans perdues*; but when we use our own terms, the *Forlorn Hope*. The gross of his army following them he ordered thus: His *Africans*, armed after the *Roman* manner, with the spoils which they had gotten at *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, or elsewhere; and well trained in the use of those weapons, that were of more advantage, than those wherewith they had formerly served; made the two wings, very deep in file. Between these he ranged his *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, armed, each after their own country manner; their shields alike; but the *Gauls* using long broad swords, that were forcible in a downright stroke; the *Spaniards*, short and well-pointed blades, either to strike or thrust; the *Gauls*, naked from their navel upwards, as confident in their own fierceness; the *Spaniards* wearing white cassocks embroidered with purple. This medley of two nations, differing as well in habit and furniture, as in quality, made a gallant shew; and terrible, because strange. The *Gauls* were strong of body, and furious in giving charge; but soon wearied, as accustomed to spend their violence at the first brunt, which disposition all that come of them have inherited to this day. The

Spaniards

Spaniards were less eager, but more wary ; neither ashamed to give ground, when they were overpressed ; nor afraid to return, and renew the fight, upon any small encouragement. As the roughness of the one, and patience of the other, served mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firm temper ; so the place which they held in this battle, added confidence jointly unto them both. For they saw themselves well and strongly flanked with *Carthaginians* and other *Africans* ; whose name was grown terrible in *Spain*, by their conquests ; and in *Gaul*, by this their present war. Since therefore it could not be feared, that any great calamity should fall upon them, whilst the wings on either side stood fast : these barbarians had no cause to shrink, or forbear to imploy the utmost of their hardiness, as knowing that the enemy could not press far upon them, without further engaging himself than discretion would allow. Hereunto may be added that great advantage, which the *Carthaginian* had in horse : by which he was able, if the worst had happened, to make a good retreat. The effect of contraries is many times alike. Desperation begetteth courage ; but not greater, nor so lively, as doth assured confidence. *Hannibal* therefore caused these *Gauls* and *Spaniards* to advance ; leaving void the place wherein they had stood, and into which they might fall back, when they should be over-hardly pressed. So, casting them into the form of a crescent, he made them as it were his vanguard : the two points of this great half moon, that looked toward the empty space from which he had drawn it, being narrow and thin, as serving only to guide it orderly back, when need should require ; the foremost part of the ring, swelling out toward the enemies, being well strengthened and thickened against all impression. The circle hereof seemeth to have been so great, that it shadowed the *Africans*, who stood behind it : though such figures, cut in brass, as I have seen of this battle, present it more narrow ; with little reason, as shall anon appear : as also in the same figures it is omitted, that any companies of *Africans*, or others, were left in the rear, to second the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, when they were driven to retreat ; though it be manifest, that *Hannibal* in person stood between the last ranks of his long battalions, and in the head of his rear, doubtless well accompanied with the choice of his own nation. Between the left battalion and the river *Ausidus*, were the *Gauls* and *Spanish* horse, under the command of *Asdrubal* : On the right wing, toward the wide plains, was *Hanno* (*Livy* saith *Mabarbal*) with the *Numidian* light-horse. *Hannibal* himself, with his brother *Mago*, had the leading of the rear. The whole sum of *Hannibal's* army in the field this day, was ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot ; his enemies having two to one against him in foot ; and he, five to three against them in horse.

The *Roman* army was marshalled in the usual form : but somewhat more narrow, and deep, than was accustomed ; perhaps, because this had been found convenient against the *Carthaginians*, in the former war. It was indeed no bad way of resistance against elephants, to make the ranks thick and short, but the files long ; as also to strengthen well the rear, that it might stand fast compacted as a wall, under shelter whereof the disordered troops might rally themselves. Thus much it seems, that *Terentius* had learned of some old soldiers ; and therefore he now ordered his battels accordingly, as meaning to shew more skill, than was in his understanding. But the *Carthaginians* had here

no elephants with them in the field : their advantage was in horse ; against which, this manner of embatteling was very unprofitable ; forasmuch as their charge is better sustained in front, than upon a long flank. As for *Æmilius* ; it was not his day of command : he was but an assistant ; and in such cases it happens often, that wise men yield for very weariness unto the more contentious. Upon the right hand, and toward the river, were the *Roman* horse-men, under the consul *Paulus* : On the left wing was *C. Terentius Varro* the other consul, with the rest of the horse, which were of the *Latins*, and other associates : *Cn. Servilius* the former year's consul, had the leading of the battle. The sun was newly risen, and offended neither part ; the *Carthaginians* having their faces northward ; the *Romans* towards the south.

After some light skirmish between the *Roman Velites* and *Hannibal's* darters and slingers of the *Baleares*, *Asdrubal* brake upon the consul *Paulus*, and was roughly encountred ; not after the manner of service on horse-back, used in those times, wheeling about *Alman-like*, but each giving on in a right line, pouldron to pouldron, as having the river on the one hand, and the shoulder of the foot on the other hand, so that there was no way left, but to pierce and break through. Wherefore they not only used their lances and swords, but rushing violently amongst the enemies, grasped one another : and so their horses running from under them, fell many to the ground ; where, starting up again, they began to deal blows like footmen. In conclusion, the *Roman* horse were overborn, and driven by plain force to a staggering recoil. This the consul *Paulus* could not remedy. For *Asdrubal*, with his boisterous *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, was not to be resisted by these *Roman* gentlemen, unequal both in number and in horsemanship. When the battels came to joining, the *Roman* legionaries found work enough, and somewhat more than enough to break that great crescent, upon which they first fell : so strongly for the while, did the *Gauls* and *Spanish* foot make resistance. Wherefore the two points of their battle drew towards the midst ; by whose aid, these opposites were forced to disband, and fly back to their first place. This they did in great haste and fear, and were with no less haste and folly pursued. Upon the *Africans*, that stood behind them, they needed not to fall foul, both for that there was void room enough, and forasmuch as the rear, or horns of this moon, pointed into the safe retreat, where *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians* was ready to reinforce them, when time should require. In this hasty retreat, or flight of the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* ; it happened, as was necessary, that they, who had stood in the limb or utter compass of the half moon, made the innermost or concave surface thereof (disordered and broken though it were) when it was forced to turn the inside outward, the horns or points thereof, as yet untouched, only turning round, and recoiling very little. So the *Romans*, in pursuing them, were inclosed in an half circle ; which they should not have needed greatly to regard (for that the sides of it were exceeding thin and broken ; and the bottom of it, none other than a throng of men routed, and seeming unable to make resistance) had all the enemies foot been cast into this one great body, that was in a manner dissolved. But whilst the legions, following their supposed victory, rushed on upon those that stood before them, and thereby unwittingly engaged themselves deeply within the principal strength of the enemies, hedging them in on both hands ; the two *African* battalions

lions on either side advanced so far, that getting beyond the rear of them, they inclosed them, in a manner, behind: and forward they could not pass far, without removing *Hannibal* and *Mago*, which made that way the least easy. Hereby it is apparent, that the great crescent, before spoken of, was of such extent, as covered the *Africans*, who lay behind it undiscerned, until now. ^a For it is agreed, that the *Romans* were thus empaled *unawares*, and that they behaved themselves as men that thought upon no other work, than what was found them by the *Gauls*. Neither is it credible, that they would have been so mad, as to run headlong with the whole bulk of their army, into the throat of slaughter, had they seen those weapons bent against them at the first, which when they did see, they had little hope to escape. Much might be imputed to their heat of flight, and rashness of inferior captains: but since the consul *Paulus*, a man so expert in war, being vanquished in horse, had put himself among the legions; it cannot be supposed, that he and they did wilfully thus engage themselves. *Asdrubal* having broken the troops of *Roman* horse, that were led by the consul *Paulus*, followed upon them along the river side, beating down, and killing as many as he could (which were almost all of them) without regard of taking prisoners. The consul himself was either driven upon his own legions, or willingly did cast himself among them, as hoping by them to make good the day, notwithstanding the defeat of his horse. But he failed of this his expectation. Nevertheless he cheered up his men as well as he could, both with comfortable words, and with the example of his own stout behaviour: beating down, and killing many of the enemies with his own hand. The like did *Hannibal* among his *Carthaginians*, in the same part of the battle; and with better success. For the consul received a blow from a sling, that did him great hurt: and though a troop of *Roman* gentlemen, riding about him, did their best to save him from further harm, yet was he so hardly laid at, that he was compelled by wounds and weakness, to forsake his horse. Hereupon all his company alighted, thinking that the consul had given order so to do, as in many battles, the *Roman* men at arms had left their horses, to help their foot in distress. When *Hannibal* (for he was near at hand) perceived this, and understood that the consul had willed his horse-men to dismount, he was very glad of it, and pleasantly said, *I had rather he would have delivered them unto me bound hand and foot*: meaning, that he had them now almost as safe as if they were so bound. All this while *C. Terentius Varro*, with the horse of the associates, in the left wing, was marvellously troubled by *Hanno* (or *Maburba*) and the *Numidians*: who beating up and down about that great sandy plain, raised a foul dust, which a strong south-wind, blowing there accustomedly, drove into the eyes and mouths of the *Romans*. These using their advantage both of number and of lightness, wearied the consul and his followers exceedingly, neither giving nor sustaining any charge, but continually making offers, and wheeling about. Yet at the first they seemed to promise him an happy day of it. For when the battles were even ready to join, five hundred of these *Numidians* came pricking away from their fellows, with their Shields cast behind their backs (as was the manner of those which yielded) and throwing down their arms, rendered themselves. This was good luck to begin

withal, if there had been good meaning. *Varro* had not leisure to examine them, but caused them, unweaponed as they were, to get them behind the army, where he had them rest quietly till all was done. These crafty adventurers did as he had them for a while, till they found an opportunity to put in execution the purpose for which they had just yielded. Under their jackets they had short swords and poyards, besides which, they found other scattered weapons about the field, of such as were slain, and therewithal flew upon the hindmost of the *Romans*, whilst all eyes and thoughts were bent another way; so that they did great mischief, and raised yet a greater terror. Thus *Hannibal*, in a plain level ground, found means to lay an ambush at the back of his enemies. The last blow, that ended all fight and resistance, was given by the same hand which gave the first. *Asdrubal*, having in short space broken the *Roman* troops of horse, and cut in pieces all, save the company of *Amilius*, that rushed into the gross of his foot, and a very few besides, that recovered some narrow passage between the river and their own battalions, did not stay to charge upon the face of the legions, but fell back behind the rear of his own, and fetching about, came up to the *Numidians*, with whom he joined, and gave upon *Terentius*. This fearful cloud, as it was shewed at the first appearance what weather it had left behind it on the other side; so did it prognosticate a dismal storm unto those upon whom it was ready now to fall. Wherefore *Terentius's* followers, having wearied themselves much in doing little, and seeing more work toward than they could hope to sustain, thought it the best way to avoid the danger by present flight. The consul was no less wise than they, in apprehending the greatness of his own peril, nor more desperate in striving to work impossibilities; it being impossible, when so many shrank from him, to sustain the impression alone, which he could not have endured with their assistance. Now he found that it was one thing to talk of *Hannibal* at *Rome*, and another to encounter him. But of this, or ought else, excepting hasty flight, his present leisure would not serve him to consider. Close at the heels of him and his flying troops followed the *Numidians*, appointed by *Asdrubal* unto the pursuit, as fittest for that service. *Asdrubal* himself, with the *Gauls* and *Spanish* horse, compassing about, fell upon the backs of the *Romans*, that were, ere this, hardly distressed, and in a manner surrounded on all parts else. He brake them easily, who before made ill resistance, being inclosed and laid at on every side, not knowing which way to turn. Here began a pitiful slaughter, the vanquished multitude thronging up and down, they knew not whither, or which way, whilst every one sought to avoid those enemies whom he saw nearest. Some of the *Roman* gentlemen that were about *Amilius*, got up to horse, and saved themselves; which though it is hardly understood how they could do, yet I will rather believe it, than suppose that *Livy* so reporteth, to grace thereby his history with this following tale. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, galloping along by a place, where he saw the consul sitting all bloodied upon a stone, intreated him to rise and save himself, offering him his assistance and his horse. But *Paulus* refused it, willing *Lentulus* to shift for himself, and not to lose time; saying, that it was not his purpose to be brought again into judgment by the people, either as an accuser of his colleague, or as guilty himself of that day's loss. Further, he willed *Lentulus* to commend him to the

^a Plut. in vit. Hannib.

senate, and in particular to Fabius; willing them to fortify Rome as fast and as well as they could; and telling Fabius, that he lived and died mindful of his wholesome counsel. These words (peradventure) or some to like purpose, the consul uttered to *Lentulus*, either when against his will he was drawn to that battel, or when he beheld the first defeat of his horse, at what time he put himself in the head of his legions. For I doubt not but *Hannibal* knew what he said a good while before this, when he thought the consul and his troop in little better case than if they had been bound. The whole gross of the *Romans* was inclosed indeed as within a sack, whereof the *African* battalions made the sides, the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians*, the bottom, and *Asdrubal*, with his horse, closed up the mouth; in which part they first of all were shuffed together, and began the rout, wherein all the rest followed. *Æmilius* therefore, who could not sit his horse, whilst the battel yet lasted, and whilst the spaces were somewhat open, by which he might have withdrawn himself, was now (had he never so well been mounted) unable to fly, having in his way so close a throng of his own miserable followers, and so many heaps of bodies as fell apace in that great carnage. It sufficeth unto his honour, that in the battel he fought no less valiantly, than he had warily before both abstained himself, and dissuaded his fellow-consul from fighting at all. If, when the day was utterly lost, it had lain in his power to save his own life, unto the good of his country, never more needing it; I should think that he either too much disesteemed himself, or being too faintly minded, was weary of the world, and his unthankful citizens. But if such a resolution were praise-worthy in *Æmilius*, as proceeding out of *Roman* valour; then was the *English* virtue of the lord *John Talbot*, viscount *Lisle*, son to that famous earl of *Shrewsbury*, who died in the battel of *Chastillon*, more highly to be honoured. For *Æmilius* was old, grievously, if not mortally wounded, and accountable for the overthrow received; *Talbot* was in the flower of his youth, unhurt, easily able to have escaped, and not answerable for that day's misfortune, when he refused to forsake his father; who foreseeing the loss of the battel, and not meaning to stain his actions past by flying in his old age, exhorted this his noble son to be gone and leave him.

In this terrible overthrow died all the *Roman* foot, save two or three thousand, who (as *Livy* saith) escaped into the lesser camp, whence, the same night, about six hundred of them brake forth, and joining with such of those in the greater camp as were willing to try their fortune, conveyed themselves away ere morning, about four thousand foot and two hundred horse, partly in whole troops, partly dispersed into *Cannusum*: the next day the *Roman* camps, both less and greater, were yielded unto *Hannibal* by those that remained in them. *Polybius* hath no mention of this escape; only he reports, that the ten thousand whom *Æmilius* had left on the west side of *Ausidus* (as was shewed before) to set upon the camp of *Hannibal*, did as they were appointed; but ere they could effect their desire, which they had well-near done, the battel was lost, and *Hannibal* coming over the water to them, drove them into their own camp, which they quickly yielded, having lost two thousand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the first sight of *Hannibal* coming upon them with his victorious army, a great number of these did fly, and thereby escaped,

whilst their fellows, making defence in vain, retired into their camp, and held the enemy buied. * For about two legions they were (perhaps not half full, but made up by addition of others, whose fault or fortune was alike) that having served at *Cannæ*, were afterwards extremely disgraced by the state of *Rome*, for that they had abandoned their companions fighting. Of the *Roman* horse, what numbers escaped, it is uncertain; but very few they were that saved themselves in the first charge, by getting behind the river; *Terentius* the consul recovered *Venusia*, with three score and ten at the most in his company. That he was so ill attended, it is no marvel; for *Venusia* lay many miles off to the southward; so that his nearest way thither had been through the midst of *Hannibal's* army, if the passage had been open. Therefore it must needs be, that when once he got out of sight, he turned up some by-way, so disappointing the *Numidians* that hunted *contre*. Of such as could not hold pace with the consul, but took other ways, and were scattered over the fields, two thousand, or thereabouts, were gathered up by the *Numidians*, and made prisoners: the rest were slain, all save three hundred, who dispersed themselves in flight, as chance led them, and got into sundry towns. There died in this great battel of *Cannæ*, besides *L. Æmilius Paulus* the consul, two of the *Roman* questors or treasurers, and twenty-one colonels or tribunes of the foldiers, fourscore senators, or such as had borne office, out of which they were to be chosen into the senate. Many of these were of especial mark, as having been *Ædiles*, pretors, or consuls; among whom was *Cn. Servilius*, the last year's consul, and *Minutius*, late master of the horse. The number of prisoners taken in this battel, *Livy* makes no greater than three thousand foot and three hundred horse; too few to have defended, for the space of one half hour, both the *Roman* camps; which yet the same *Livy* saith to have been over-cowardly yielded up. We may therefore do better to give credit unto one of the prisoners, whom the same historian shortly after introduceth speaking in the senate, and saying, that they were no less than eight thousand. It may therefore be, that these three thousand were only such as the enemy spared, when the fury of execution was past; but to these must be added about five thousand more, who yielded in the greater camp, when their company were either slain or fled. So the reckoning falls out right; which the *Romans*, especially the consul *Varro*, had before cast up (as we say) without their host; nothing so chargeable, as now they find it. On the side of *Hannibal* there died some four thousand *Gauls*, fifteen hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and two hundred horse, or thereabouts; a loss not sensible, in the joy of so great a victory; which if he pursued, as *Mabarbal* advised him, and forthwith marched away towards *Rome*, it is little doubted but that the war had presently been at an end. But he believed not so far in his own prosperity, and was therefore told, That he knew how to get, not how to use a victory.

SECT. IX.

Of things following the battel at *Cannæ*.

NOT without good cause doth *Polybius* reprehend those two historians, *Fabius* the *Roman*, and *Philinus* the *Carthaginian*; who regarding more the pleasure of them, unto whose honour they consecrated their travels, than the truth of things, and information of posterity, magnified indifferently,

whether good or bad, all actions and proceedings; the one of his *Carthaginians*; the other of his *Roman Quirites*, and *Fathers* conscript. No man of sound judgment will condemn this liberty of censure which *Polybius* hath used. For, to recompense his juniority (such as it was) he produceth substantial arguments to justify his own relation, and confuteth the vanity of those former authors, out of their own writings, by conference of places ill cohering; which pains, it is to be suspected, that he would not have taken, had he been born in either of those two cities, but have spared some part of his diligence, and been contented to have all men think better and more honourably than it deserved of his own country. The like disease, it is to be feared, that we shall hereafter find in others, and shall have cause to wish that either they were somewhat less *Roman*, or else that some works of their opposite writers were extant, that so we might at least hear both sides speak, being henceforth destitute of *Polybius's* help, that was a man indifferent. But since this cannot be, we must be sometimes bold to observe the coherence of things, and believe so much only to be true, as dependeth upon good reason, or (at least) fair probability. This attentive circumspection is needful even at the present, such is the repugnancy or forgetfulness which we find in the best narration of things following the battel of *Cannæ*. For it is said that four thousand foot and horse gathered together about the consul *Terentius* at *Venusia*; that others, to the number of ten thousand, got into *Cannusium*, chusing for their captains young *P. Scipio*, and *Ap. Claudius*; yet that the consul *Terentius Varro*, joining his company unto those of *Scipio* at *Cannusium*, wrote unto the senate, that he had now well near ten thousand men about him; that these letters of the consul were brought to *Rome* when the senate was newly risen, that had been taking order for pacifying those tumults in the city, which grew upon the first bruit of the overthrow; and yet, that ambassadors from *Capua* (after some consultation whether it were meet to send any, or, without further circumstance, to side with *Hannibal*) were sent unto *Terentius*, and found him at *Venusia*, a pretty while before he wrote those letters, which overtook (in a manner) at *Rome* the first news of the overthrow. Among such incoherences, I hold it the best way to omit so much as hath not some particular connexion with matter ensuing; mutual dependency in things of this nature, being no small argument of truth.

When *Hannibal* had sacked the *Roman* camp, and trussed up the spoils, forthwith he dislodged, and marched away into *Samnium*, finding a disposition in the *Hirpines*, and many other people thereabout, to forsake the *Roman* party, and make alliance with *Carthage*. The first town that opened the gates unto him, was *Cossa*, where he laid up his baggage; and leaving his brother *Mago* to take in other places, he hastened into *Campania*. The general affection of the multitude, in all the cities of *Italy*, was inclinable unto him; not only in regard of their grievous losses sustained abroad in the fields, which the *Romans* themselves, who could not hinder him from spoiling the country, especially the poorer sort of them, did hardly endure; but in a loving respect unto that great courtesy (as it seemed) which he used unto such of them as became his prisoners. For as at other times, so now also, after his great victory at *Cannæ*, he had lovingly dismissed as many of the *Italian* confederates of *Rome* as fell into his hands: rebuking them gently for being so obstinate against him that had sought to deliver them

from bondage. Neither spared he to win their love with gifts; pretending to admire their valour; but seeking indeed, by all ways and means, to make them his, whilst all other motives were concurrent. At this time also he began to deal kindly (though against his nature) with his *Roman* prisoners: telling them, that he bore no mortal hatred unto their estate; but being provoked by injuries, sought to right himself and his country; and fought with them, to try which of the two cities, *Rome* or *Carthage*, should bear sovereign rule, not which of them should be destroyed. So he gave them leave to choose ten of their number, that should be sent home to treat with the *Fathers* about their ransom: and together with these, he sent *Carthalo* a nobleman of *Carthage*, and general of his horse, to feed the disposition of the senate; whether it were bowed as yet by so much adversity, and could stoop unto desire of peace. But with the *Romans* these arts prevailed not, as shall be shewed in due place. The people of *Italy*, all, or most of them, save the *Roman* colonies, or the *Latins*, were not only weary of their losses past, but entertained a deceivable hope, of changing their old society for a better. Wherefore not only the *Samnites*, *Lucans*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, ancient enemies of *Rome*, and not until the former generation utterly subdued, began to reassume their wonted spirits: but the *Campanians*, a nation of all other in *Italy* most bound unto the state of *Rome*, and by many mutual affinities therewith as streightly conjoined, as were any save the *Latins*, changed on a sudden their love into hatred, without any other cause found, than change of fortune.

Campania is the most goodly and fruitful province of *Italy*, if not (as some then thought) of all the earth: and the city of *Capua*, answerable unto the country whereof it was head, so great, fair, and wealthy, that it seemed no less convenient a seat of the empire, than was either *Rome* or *Carthage*. But of all qualities, bravery is the least requisite unto sovereign command. The *Campanians* were luxurious, idle and proud: and valuing themselves like jays by their feathers, despised the unfortunate virtue of the *Romans* their patrons and benefactors. Yet were there some of the principal among them, as in other cities, that bore special regard unto the majesty of *Rome*, and could not endure to hear of innovation. But the *Plebeian* faction had lately so prevailed with *Capua*, that all was governed by the pleasure of the multitude, which wholly followed the direction of *Pacuvius Calavius*, an ambitious nobleman, whose credit grew, and was upheld by furthering all popular desires: whereof the conjunction with *Hannibal* was not the least. Some of the *Capuans* had offered this city to the *Carthaginian*, shortly after the battel of *Thrasymene*: whereupon chiefly it was, that *Hannibal* made his journey into *Campania*; the dictator *Fabius* waiting upon him. At that time, either the nearness of the *Roman* army, or some other fear of the *Capuans*, hindered them from breaking into actual rebellion. They had indeed no leisure to treat about any articles of new confederacy: or had leisure served, yet were the multitude (whose inconstant love *Hannibal* had won from the *Romans*, by gentle usage, and free dismissing of some prisoners, in good account among them) unable to hold any such negotiation, without advice of the senate, which mainly impugned it. So they that had promised to yield up their town to *Hannibal*, and to meet him on the way with some of their nobility, that should assure him of all faithful meaning; were driven

driven to sit still in a great perplexity : as having failed to let in this their new friend, yet sufficiently discovered themselves, to draw upon them the hatred of the *Romans*. In this case were no small number of the citizens : who thereupon grew the more incensed against their senate ; on whom they cast all the blame, easily pardoning their own cowardice. The people holding so tender a regard of liberty, that even the lawful government of magistrates grieved them, with an imaginary oppression, had now good cause to fear, lest the senators should become their lords indeed, and, by help of the *Romans*, bring them under a more streight subjection than ever they had endured. This fear, being ready to break into some outrage, *Pacuvius* made use of to serve his own ambition. He discoursed unto the senate, as they sat in council, about these motions troubling the city : and said, that he himself had both married a *Roman* lady, and given his daughter in marriage to a *Roman* ; but, that the danger of forsaking the *Roman* party was not now the greatest : for that the people were violently bent even to murder all the senate, and afterwards to join themselves with *Hannibal*, who should countenance the fact, and save them harmless. This he spake as a man well known to be beloved himself by the people, and privy unto their designs. Having thoroughly terrified the senate, by laying open the danger hanging over them : he promised nevertheless to deliver them all, and to set things at quiet, if they would freely put themselves into his hands, offering his oath, or any other assurance that they should demand, for his faithful meaning. They all agreed. Then shutting up the court, and placing a guard of his own followers about it, that none might enter nor issue forth without his leave ; he called the people to assembly, and speaking as much ill of the senate as he knew they would be glad to hear, he told them that these wicked governors were surprised by his policy, and all fast, ready to abide what sentence they would lay upon them. Only thus much he advised them, as a thing which necessity required, that they should choose a new senate, before they satisfied their anger upon the old. So rehearsing unto them the names of one or two senators, he asked what their judgment was of those. All cried out, that they were worthy of death : choose then (said he) first of all some new ones into their places. Hereat the multitude, unprovided for such an election, was silent ; until at last, some one or other ventured to name whom he thought fit. The men so nominated, were utterly disliked by the whole assembly ; either for some known fault, baseness, and insufficiency ; or else, even because they were unknown, and therefore held unworthy. This difficulty in the new election appearing more and more, whilst more were to be chosen (the fittest men to be substituted, having been named among the first, and not thought fit enough) *Pacuvius* entreated, and easily prevailed with the people, that the present senate might for this time be spared, in hope of amends hereafter ; which (doubtless) they would make, having thus obtained pardon of all offences past. Henceforth, not only the people, as in former times, honoured *Pacuvius*, and esteemed him their patron ; but the senators also were governed by him, to whom they acknowledged themselves indebted, for saving all their lives. Neither did the senate fail after this, by all obsequiousness, to court the people, giving their reins unto their lawless will, who else were likely to cast them down : All the city being thus of one mind ; only fear of

the *Romans* kept them from opening the gates to *Hannibal*. But after the battle at *Cannæ*, this impediment was removed, and few there were that would open their mouths to speak against the rebellion. Yet forasmuch as three hundred principal gentlemen of the *Campans*, did then serve the *Romans* in the isle of *Sicily* : the parents and kinsmen of these prevailed so far, that ambassadors were sent unto *Terentius* the consul ; to see his present case, and what it could minister of hope or fear. These, wheresoever they found him, found him weakly attended, and as weak in spirit as in followers. Yet they offered him formally the service of their state ; and desired to know what he would command them. But he most basely lamented unto them, the greatness of the *Roman* misfortune : saying, that all was lost, and that the *Campans* must now, not help the *Romans*, who had nothing left wherewith to help themselves, but make war in their defence against the *Carthaginians* ; as the *Romans* had sometimes done for the *Campans* against the *Samnites*. Hereunto he is said to have added a foolish invective, against *Hannibal* and his *Carthaginians* : telling, how he had taught them to make bridges of slaughtered carcases, and to feed upon man's flesh ; with such other stuff, as only bewrayed his own fear. As for the *Campans* themselves, he put them in mind of their present strength : they having thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse ; with money, and all provisions, in abundance. Thus he dismissed them, prouder than they came : and filled them with conceit of getting a great lordship ; whereas before they were somewhat timorous in adventuring to seek their own liberty. Having reported this at *Capua* : the same ambassadors were dispatched away to *Hannibal*, with whom they easily made alliance, upon these conditions : that the *Campans* should be absolutely free, and ruled by their own laws ; that no citizen of theirs should be subject unto any *Carthaginian* magistrate, in what case soever, whether in war, or peace ; and, that *Hannibal* should deliver unto the *Campans* three hundred *Roman* prisoners, such as they themselves would choose, whom they might exchange for their gentlemen which were in *Sicily*.

Against all this negotiation, *Decius Magius*, an honourable citizen opposed himself earnestly : using, in vain, many persuasions, to the wilful and headstrong multitude ; whom he put in mind of *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines*, wishing them not to change old friends for new acquaintance. This did he, when they were sending ambassadors to *Hannibal* : and this also did he when the new alliance was concluded ; but most earnestly, when a *Carthaginian* garrison was entering the town : at which time he gave advice, either to keep it out, or to fall upon it, and cut it in pieces, that, by such a notable piece of service, they might make amends unto the *Romans*, whom they had forsaken.

AdVERTISEMENT hereof was given to *Hannibal* : who lying about *Naples*, not far off, sent for *Magius* to come speak with him in the camp. This *Magius* refused : alledging, that he was, by the late concluded articles, free from subjection unto any *Carthaginian* ; and therefore would not come. *Hannibal* thereupon hasted himself towards *Capua* : forbearing to attempt any further upon *Naples* ; which he thought to have taken in his way by *Scalado*, but found the walls too high, and was not well provided, to lay siege unto it. At *Capua* he was entertained with great solemnity and pomp : all the people issuing forth of the town, to behold that great commander, which had won so many noble

noble victories. Having taken his pleasure in the sight of that goodly city, and passed over his first entertainments, he came into their senate: where he commended their resolution, in shaking off the *Roman* yoke; promising, that ere long all *Italy*, and *Rome* it self, should be driven to acknowledge *Capua* as chief, and receive law from thence. As for *Decius Magius*, who openly took part with the *Romans* their enemies; he prayed them, that they would not think him a *Campan*, but a traitor to the state: and use him accordingly, giving sentence out of hand upon him, as he deserved. This was granted: and *Magius* delivered unto *Hannibal*; who, unwilling to offend the *Capuans*, at his first coming, by putting so great a man to death; yet fearing that they might sue for his liberty, if he kept him alive, thought it best to send him away to *Carthage*. Thus *Hannibal* settled his friendship with the *Campan*s: among whom, only this *Decius Magius* had openly dared to speak against him; being assisted by *Perolla*, the son of *Pacuvius*. This *Perolla* would have murdered *Hannibal*, whilst he was at supper, the first night of his coming, had not his father's authority kept him from making any such attempt. All the town (besides) were so earnest in the love of their new society, that they are said to have murdered all the *Romans*, upon whom at the present they could lay hand; or (which is all one) to have smothered them to death in an hot bath.

The same course of fortune, with those of *Capua*, ran some other towns thereabouts, which depended on this, as their mother-city. *Nola*, *Nuceria*, *Naples*, *Casiline*, and *Acerræ*, were the cities next adjoining, that stood out for the *Romans*. Against these *Hannibal* went, thinking to find them weakly manned; as they were indeed, though stoutly defended.

The *Romans* at this time were not in case to put garrisons into all their walled towns; but were fain to leave all places, except a few of the most suspected, unto the faith and courage of the inhabitants. *Rome* it self was in extreme fear of *Hannibal*'s coming, at the first report of the overthrow at *Cannæ*: and the grief of that loss was so general, and immoderate, that it much disturbed the provision against apparent danger. It was hard to judge, whether the loss already received, or the fear of destruction presently threatening, were the more terrible. All the senators found work enough, to stint the noise and lamentable bewailings, whereof the streets were full. Couriers were sent forth, to bring assured tidings how all went; whereof, when letters from the consul *Varro* had thoroughly informed them, they were so amazed, that they ran into barbarous superstition; and taking direction (as was said) from their fatal books, buried alive two men and women, *Gauls* and *Greeks*, in their ox-market. If the books of *Sibyl* gave them such instructions, we may justly think, that *Sibyl* her self was instructed by the devil. Yet is it not improbable, that extremity of fear caused them to hearken to wicked soothsayers; whose detestable counsels they afterwards, for their own honour (as ashamed of such authors) imputed to the books of *Sibyl*. An ambassador was sent to *Delphi*, to consult the oracle of *Apollo*; and enquire, with what prayers and supplications they might pacify the Gods, and obtain an end of these calamities. This is enough to discover the greatness of their fear; though not serving to give remedy. At the same time came letters out of *Sicily*,

from the pretor *Ostacilius*, whom the senate had appointed, if he found it meet, to pass over into *Afric*. In these were contained news of one *Carthaginian* fleet, that wasted the kingdom of *Hieron*, their good friend and confederate; and of another fleet, riding among the isles *Ægateis*, which was in readiness to set upon *Lilybæum*, and the rest of the *Roman* province, if the pretor stirred aside to the rescue of *Hieron*.

In the midst of these extremities, it was thought needful to call home *Terentius* the consul, that he might name a dictator to take sovereign charge of the weal-publick, with absolute power, as necessity required. It must needs seem strange, that all sorts of people went forth to meet the consul, and bid him welcome home, giving him thanks for that he had not despaired of the weal-publick. But this was done (as may seem) by order from the senate; which therein (doubtless) provided wisely for upholding the general reputation. If his coming into the city had renewed the lamentations and out-cries of the people, what else would have followed, than a contempt of their wretchedness, among those that were subject unto their dominion? Now in finding this occasion (though indeed he gave it not) of bestowing upon him their welcome and thanks; they noised abroad a fame, which came perhaps unto the ears of *Hannibal*, of their magnanimity and confidence, that might seem grounded on their remaining strength. This therefore was wisely done; but whereas *Livy* would have us think that it was done generously, and out of great spirit, let me be pardoned, if I believe him not. It was done fearfully, and to cover their grief; had they dared to shew their indignation, they would have struck off his head, as in few years after, *Cn. Fulvius* had his life brought into question, and was banished by them, being less blame-worthy, for a smaller offence. *M. Junius*, by appointment of the senate, was nominated dictator, and *T. Sempronius* master of the horse. These fell presently to mustering of soldiers, of whom they raised ^b four new legions and a thousand horse, though with much difficulty, as being fain to take up some that were very boys. These four legions are elsewhere forgotten in account of the forces levied by this dictator, and ^c two legions only set down, that had been enrolled in the beginning of the year for custody of the city. Wherefore it may be, that these two legions being drawn into the field, four new ones of *Prætextati*, or striplings, were left in their places. In such raw soldiers, and so few, little confidence was to be reposed; for which reason they increased their number, by adding unto them eight thousand sturdy slaves, that were put in hope of liberty, if they should deserve it by manful service. This not sufficing, the dictator proclaimed, that whosoever owed money, and could not pay it, or had committed any capital offence, should forthwith be discharged of his debt, or punishment, if he would serve in the war. To arm these companies, they were fain to take down out of their temples and porches the spoils of their enemies, that had been there set up; among which were six thousand armours of the *Gauls*, that had been carried in the triumph of *C. Flaminius*, a little before the beginning of this war. To such mockery had God brought the pride of the *Romans*, as a due reward of their insolent oppressions, that they were fain to issue forth of their own gates, in the habit of strangers, when *Hannibal* was ready to encounter them with his *Africans*, armed *Roman*-like.

^a Liv. l. 26.

^b Liv. l. 22.

^c Liv. l. 23

About the same time it was, that *Carthalo*, with the agents of the prisoners taken at *Cannæ*, came to *Rome*. *Carthalo* was not admitted into the city, but commanded, whilst he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the *Roman* territory. To the messengers of the captives, audience was given by the senate. They made earnest petition to be ransomed at the publick charge, not only the tears and lamentation of their poor kinsfolk, but the great need wherein the city then stood of able soldiers, commending their suit, which yet they obtained not. Besides the general custom of the *Romans* (held by long tradition, and strengthened by a notable precedent, when *Regulus* was overthrown, and taken prisoner in the former war) not to be too tender of such as had yielded to the enemy, much was alledged against these who now craved ransom; but the special point was, that they were wilfully lost, since they might have saved themselves, as others did. It sufficed not unto these poor men to say, that their offence was no greater than the consuls: they were told, that this was great presumption. The truth was, the state wanted money, and therefore could not want excuses, whereby to avoid the disbursement: whether it were so, or not, that any such plea was held about this matter of redemption, as we find recorded. Neither must we regard it, that the slaves which were armed for the war, are said to have cost more than the sum did amount unto, that would have ransomed these prisoners. For this is but a tale, devised to countenance the *Roman* proceedings, as if they had been severe; when as indeed they were suitable to the present fortune, poor, and somewhat beggarly. Hereof it is no little proof, that *Hannibal* valued those *Roman* slaves, whom he had taken in the camp among their masters, at no more than every one the third part of a common soldier's ransom; and likely it is, that he offered them at the price whereat he thought them current. But if we should suppose, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargain for slaves might have been made, than was by the state at home, in dealing with private men; yet must we withal consider, that these private men did only lend these slaves for a while unto the commonwealth, and were afterwards contented ^a to forbear the price of them (when by order from the senate they were enfranchised) until the war should be ended. If *Hannibal* would have given such long day of payment, it is likely that the *Romans* would have been his chapmen; but seeing he dealt only for ready money, they chose rather to say, we will not give, than, we cannot. The like austerity, upon the same reason, but contrary pretence, was used toward the soldiers that escaped from that great battel. These were charged for having fled, as the prisoners were for not flying, when they might have done so. True it is, that in such cases (if ever) that which they call *raggione del Stato*, may serve for an excuse; when the commonwealth, being driven to a miserable exigent, is fain to help it self, by doing injuries to private men. And so dealt the *Romans* now, condemning all those that had served at *Cannæ*, to be transported into *Sicily*; and there to serve, not as others did, until they had fulfilled twenty years in the wars, or else were fifty years of age; but until this war should be ended, how long soever it lasted, and that without reward. The same thrifty censure was afterwards laid upon others for their misbehaviour; but never upon any man of quality, save only (a good while after this, at better leisure) upon *Cecilius Metellus*, and a few other hare-brain'd fools, his companions,

who being frightened out of their wits with the terror of so great a loss, were devising, after the battel, which way to run out of *Italy*, when *Hannibal* as yet had scarce one town within it. The inequality of this rigour grew shortly distasteful to the commonalty, and was openly blamed by ^b a tribune of the people; nevertheless it was quietly digested, the excuse being no less apparent than the fault.

M. Junius, the dictator, having dispatched all needful business within the city, took the field with twenty-five thousand men. What he did with this army, I cannot find, nor more of him than this, that he spent the time about *Campania*; where (as may be presumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be ascribed, that *Hannibal* did no greater evil; for of any evil done to *Hannibal* by the *Romans* in this their weak estate, only *Marcellus* had the honour. *Marcellus* being then one of the pretors, lay at *Ostia* with a fleet, ready to set sail for *Sicily*, having one legion aboard his ships, and fifteen hundred other soldiers newly taken up; with which forces he was to defend that island, and do what harm he could in *Afric*. But hearing of the overthrow at *Cannæ*, he sent these of his new levy to *Rome*, for defence of the city, and marched hastily with his legion toward *Cannusum*, delivering the fleet, empty of soldiers, to *P. Furius*, his colleague. Thence was he called by the magistrates, and chief citizens of *Nola*, to help them, who were like to be forced by the multitude (affected, as were the rest of the *Campans*) to let in the *Carthaginian*; and knew not how to avoid this otherwise, than by seeming to deliberate about the articles of this new confederacy. Wherefore he made great journies thitherward, and arrived even time enough to prevent the enemy. Many idle walks *Hannibal* made betwixt *Nola* and *Naples*, assaying by fair words and terrible threats the one and the other city. *Naples* was strong, and not infected with any the least touch of disloyalty: it had also a sure haven, whereby it stood in the less fear of sustaining much inconvenience, by spoil of the lands and villages abroad in the country. But at *Nola* it was thought a valuable consideration, that *Hannibal* was master of the field; which if he had laid waste, all the poor people were utterly undone. So thought the multitude, and such talk used some, that had little fear of their own private want or poverty, but a great desire to gratify the *Carthaginian*. Of these, one *L. Bantius* was chief, a stout young gentleman and soldier of especial mark, well beloved in the city, and one that had done good service to the *Romans*; but was found by *Hannibal* half dead at *Cannæ*, and after much gentle usage, good attendance, and cure of his wounds, friendly dismissed with liberal gifts. He therefore thought that it concerned him in honour, to return the greatest thanks he could unto so courteous an enemy. *Marcellus*, perceiving this, wrought upon the same easy nature of the gentleman; and taking notice of him, as if it had been by chance, seemed to wonder why one that had so well deserved of the *Roman* state, had not repaired unto him the pretor, who desired nothing more than such acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifts, and loving entertainment, being himself also a man highly reputed for his personal valour, he made this *Bantius* so far in love with him, that nothing could be attempted within *Nola* against the *Romans*, whereof he had not presently advertisement. At the coming of *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* removed from about *Nola*; and assayed, as formerly he had done, the *Neapolitans*; but they had lately

^a Liv. l. 24.^b Liv. l. 25

taken in a *Roman* garrison, upon confidence whereof they gave him a peremptory answer, to his discontent. Thence went he to *Nuceria*, which he took by composition, and so returned back again to *Nola*. He was not ignorant what good affection the common people of *Nola* bore unto him, who although they durst not stir in his quarrel, being over-awed by the *Roman* garrison; yet if they saw *Marcellus* hardly bestead, and forced to turn his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemy's assailing him without, like enough it seemed, that they would not be wanting unto the accomplishment of their own desires. He therefore brought his army close to the town, and skirmished often with *Marcellus*, not in hope thereby to do much good, but only to make shew of a meaning to force the town, which he sought in the mean while to take by intelligence. In the night-time there passed messages between him and the citizens, his partakers; whereby it was concluded, that if once *Marcellus*, with all his forces, could be trained into the field, the multitude within the town should presently rise, and seizing upon the gates, exclude him as an enemy. Of this negotiation *Marcellus* was advertised, and fearing lest the conspirators would shortly adventure even to find him busied within the city, whilst the *Carthaginians* should scale the walls, he thought it the surest way to cut off the enemy's hope, and send him away betimes. Wherefore ordering his men in three companies, within three several gates looking towards the enemy, he gave a streight command that all the citizens should keep their houses. Thus he lay close a good part of the day, to the enemy's great wonder, against whom he had customarily issued forth before more early every day to skirmish. But when it was further noted, that the walls were bare, and not a man appearing on them, then thought *Hannibal* that surely all was discovered, and *Marcellus* now busied with the citizens. Whereupon he had his men bring ladders, and make ready for the assault, which was done in all haste. But when the *Carthaginians* were at the very walls, and thought nothing less than that the *Romans* would meet them in the field, suddenly the middle gate was opened, whereat *Marcellus*, with the best and oldest of his soldiers, brake forth upon them with a great noise, to make his unexpected fallies the more terrible. Whilst the *Carthaginians*, much out of order, were some of them flying before *Marcellus*, the rest making head against him, the other two gates opened, whereat in like sort issued they of the new-levied companies upon the enemy's backs. The sudden terror was more available unto the *Romans* than their force; yet the execution was so great, that this was accounted as a victory, and reputed one of the bravest acts performed in all that war; forasmuch as hereby it was first proved, that *Hannibal* might be overcome. After this, *Marcellus*, being freed from his enemies that were departed, took a strict account of the citizens of *Nola*, condemning above seventy of high-treason, whose heads he struck off; and so leaving the town in quiet obedience unto their senate, went and encamped hard-by about *Suessula*. *Hannibal*, in the mean season, was gone to *Acerræ*, where, being excluded, he thought it no wisdom to lose time in persuasions, but laid siege unto it, and began on all sides to close it up. This terrified the people, who knew themselves unable to hold out. Therefore, before his works were finished, and they quite surrounded, they stole out by night, and left him the town empty, which he sacked and

burnt. Then hearing news of the dictator, that he was about *Casiline*, thither went *Hannibal*: as being unwilling, that an enemy so near should disquiet him at *Capua*: where he meant to winter. It seems, or rather indeed it is plain, that the late victory of *Marcellus*, had nothing abated the spirit of the *Carthaginian*: who durst with a small part of his army; seek out the dictator, that had with him the heart of the *Roman* strength. Wherefore the joy of his enemies, upon so slight an occasion as the death of some two thousand of his men, at the most, and those not slain in plain battle, but by a sudden eruption; witnesseth chiefly, in what great fear they stood of *Hannibal*, and how crest-fallen they were: that having three years since demanded at *Carthage*, the body of *Hannibal*, to be delivered unto their pleasure, by his own citizens, could now please themselves, as with good news, to hear, that in a skirmish not far from *Rome* he appeared to be a man, and not resistless. At *Casilinum* the dictator was not: but many companies of *Italians*, confederates of *Rome*, were gotten into the town, and held it. Five hundred of the *Preneftines* there were, and above four hundred of *Perusia*, with some of the *Latins*. All these had the good hap to come too late to the battle of *Canne*, being sent by their several states to the camp: whither whilst they were marching, the tidings of that great misfortune encountered them, and sent them back sorrowful; for they loved well their lords the *Romans*, under whose government they lived happily. So came they all, one after another, to *Casiline*, where they met and stayed. Neither had they stayed there long, ere they heard news from *Capua*. How that great city became the ring-leader of all the *Campanians* into rebellion. The people of *Casiline* were affected as they of *Capua*: and therefore sought how to rid their hands of those *Preneftines* and their fellows; but the soldiers were too hard for them, and after many trains laid one for another, at last they slew all the townsmen in a night, and fortified the western part of the town (for it was divided by the river *Vulturnus*) against the enemy. If they had run away with the goods, and pretended, that these of *Casiline* were, as the rest of the *Campanians*, all traitors; they themselves might have been reputed, as no better than the *Mamertines*. But their constancy in defence of the place witnesseth, upon what honest reasons they surprised it. *Hannibal* came thither, thinking to have encountered with greater forces: but these few found him more work than he expected. Divers assaults he gave them, but was still repelled with loss: and many fallies they made, with variable event. The enemy mined; and they countermined: opposing so much industry to his force, that he was driven to close them up, and seek to win them by famine. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, that was master of the horse, lay with the *Roman* army higher up the river, who vain would have relieved *Casiline*, but that the dictator, being gone to *Rome*, about some matters of religion, had given him express charge not to fight till his return. *Marcellus* from *Suessula* could not come, his way being stopped by the overflowings of *Vulturnus*; the *Nolans* also beseeching him not to leave them, who were in danger of the *Campanians* if he departed. Thus it is reported: but if the water stayed his journey, such entreaties were needless. Neither is it like, that the dictator tarried at *Rome* so long, as till extreme famine had consumed the garrison in *Casiline*. Wherefore it may be thought, that the town was lost, because the *Romans* durst not adventure to raise the siege. Barrels

rels of corn were sent by night, floating down the river ; and when some of these, being carried away by an eddy of the water, stuck among the willows on the bank, whereby this manner of relief was discovered and prevented ; *Gracchus* cast a great quantity of nuts into the stream, which faintly sustained the poor besieged men. At length, when all food was spent, and whatsoever grew green under the walls was gathered for sallies ; the *Carthaginians* ploughed up the ground : whereon the besieged presently sowed rape-seed. *Hannibal* seeing this, admired their patience ; and said, that he meant not to stay at *Casiline* until the rapes were grown. Wherefore, though hitherto he had refused to hearken unto any composition, as intending to make them an example to all others, by punishing their obstinacy ; yet now he was content to grant them their lives at an indifferent ransom, which when they had paid, he quietly dismissed them according to his promise. Seven hundred *Carthaginians* he placed in *Casiline*, as a garrison for defence of the *Campani* ; unto whom he restored it. To the *Preneſtine* soldiers great thanks were given, and loving rewards ; among which, they had offer, in regard of their virtue, to be made citizens of *Rome*. But their present condition pleased them so well, that they chose rather to continue as they were, in *Preneſte* : which is no weak proof of the good estate wherein the cities flourished that were subject to the *Roman* government. This siege of *Casiline* was not a little beneficial to the *Romans* ; as having long detained *Hannibal*, and consumed much of his time, that might otherwise have been better spent. For winter overtook him, long before he could dispatch the business : which how to quit with his honour he knew not, when he was once engaged. Therefore he wintered at *Capua* : where he refreshed his army, or rather corrupted it, as all historians report, and made it effeminate ; though, effeminate as it was, he therewithal did often beat the *Romans* in following times, as shall appear hereafter.

S E C T. X.

Of the great supply that was decreed at Carthage, to be sent to Hannibal in Italy. How by the malice of Hanno, and sloth or parsimony of the Carthaginians, the supply was too long deferred. That the riches of the Carthaginians grew faster, than of the Romans. Of Fabius and other old Roman Historians, how partial they were in their writings.

WHEN *Mago*, the son of *Amilcar*, had spent some time about the taking in of such *Italians*, as fell from the *Romans* after the battle at *Canne*, his brother *Hannibal* sent for him to *Capua*, and thence dispatched him away to *Carthage*, with the joyful message of victory. He told the *Carthaginian* senate, with how many *Roman* generals his brother had fought ; what consuls he had chased, wounded, or slain ; how the stout *Romans*, that in the former war never shunned any occasion of fight, were now grown so calm, that they thought their dictator *Fabius* the only good captain, because he never durst adventure to come to battle ; that, not without reason, their spirits were thus abated, since *Hannibal* had slain of them above two hundred thousand, and taken above fifty thousand prisoners. He further told them of the

Brutians, Apulians, Samnites, Lucans, and other people of *Italy*, that following the fortune of those great victories, had revolted unto the *Carthaginians*. Among the rest he magnified *Capua*, as a goodly city, and fit to be not only (as already it was) head of all the *Capuans*, but the chief seat of their dominion in *Italy* : and there he informed them, how lovingly his brother had been entertained, where he meant to rest that winter, attending their supply. As for the war, he said it was even at an end, if they would now pursue it closely, and not give the *Romans* any breathing time, wherein to recollect themselves, and repair their broken forces. He willed them to consider, that the war was far from home, in the enemies country ; that so many battles had much diminished his brother's army ; that the soldiers, who had so well deserved, ought to be considered with liberal rewards ; and that it was not good to burden their new *Italian* friends, with exactions of money, corn, and other necessaries ; but that these things must be sent from *Carthage* : which the victory would require with large amends. Finally, he caused the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the *Roman Knights* that were slain, to be poured out openly in the court : which being measured, filled (as some say) three bushels, or (as others would rather have it) no more than one ; adding, that by this might appear the greatness of the *Roman* calamity, forasmuch as none but the principal of that order were accustomed to wear that ornament.

Who so considers the former *Punic* war, may easily find, that the state of *Carthage* never did receive, in all the duration thereof, any such hopeful advertisements from their captains abroad. Wherefore it is no marvel, if the errand of *Mago* found extraordinary welcome. In the vehemency of this joy, *Himilco*, a senator adverse to the faction of *Hanno*, is said to have demanded of that great persuader unto peace with *Rome*, whether he were still of opinion, that *Hannibal* should be yielded up unto the *Romans* ; or whether he would forbid them to give thanks unto the gods, for this their good success. Hereunto though it be not likely that *Hanno* made the same formal answer, which *Livy* puts into his mouth, calling the *Carthaginian* senators *Patres conscripti*, by a term proper to the *Romans*, and putting them in mind of his own shameful overthrow received at the islands *Ægates* : yet the sum of his speech appears to have been no less malicious, than it is set down, forasmuch as *Hannibal* himself, at his departure out of *Italy*, exclaimed against the wickedness of this *Hanno* ; saying, that his hatred against the *Barchines*, had oppressed their family, when otherwise it could not, with the ruin of *Carthage*. Therefore it may well be, that he made such a jest of these victories, as is reported ; saying, it ill seemed him, who had vanquished the *Romans*, to call for more help, as if he had been beaten ; or him, that had taken their camp, filled forthwith with spoil, to make request for meat and money. To these cavils, if answer were needful, it might be said, that other booty than of horses and slaves, little was to be found in the *Roman* camp : the best of the soldiers carrying no other wealth into the field, than a few^b silver studs in the bridles and trappings of their horses. If *Hannibal* had taken any main convoy of money and provisions, going to supply all wants of a great army in some

^a Thus *Livy* reports it : and credible it is, that noble *Rome* was poor, the bravery of private men was not altogether so great, as the law would have permitted ; though otherwise *Jus Annuli*, the wearing of the ring, was the general privilege of the *Roman* Equites.

^b *Liv* l. 22.

other province (as the two *Scipio's* are afterwards said to have done, when they won the camp of *Asdrubal*, that carried along with him all the wealth of *Spain*, in his journey to *Italy*) then might such an objection more justly have been made unto his demand of a supply. But the most likely part of *Hanno's* oration, and where he best might hope to prevail, contained a persuasion to use their fortune with moderation; and now to seek peace, whilst they had so much the better in war.

What would have been the issue of this counsel, if it had been followed, it were not easy to say. For though it be likely, that the *Roman* pride would have brooked much indignity, in freeing *Italy* from the danger of war; yet it is not likely, that the faith, so often broken to the *Carthaginians* in former times, would have been kept entire, when any opinion of good advantage had called for revenge of so many shameful overthrows; since after this war ended, and a new league concluded, no submissive behaviour could preserve *Carthage* from ruin, no longer than until such time, as *Rome* was at leisure from all other wars. This counsel therefore of *Hanno*, though it might seem temperate, was indeed very pestilent; and served only to hinder the performance of a noble resolution. For it was concluded by a main consent of the senate, that forty thousand *Numidians*, forty elephants, and great abundance of silver, should be sent over to *Hannibal*: and that, besides these, twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, should be levied in *Spain*; not only to supply, as need should require, the armies in that province, but to be transported into *Italy*.

This great aid, had it been as carefully sent, as it was readily decreed, the *Roman* historians would not have found cause, to tax the retchless improvidence of *Hannibal*, in forbearing to march directly from *Cannæ* to *Rome*, or in refreshing his army among the delights of *Capua*: the next year's work would have finished the business, with less dangerous adventure; and the pleasures, which his men enjoyed among the *Campani*, would have been commended, as rewards by him well thought upon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to be employed in the following war. But either the too much carelessness of those, that were loth to make haste in laying out their money, before extrem necessity required it; or the crafty malice of *Hanno*, and his fellows, working upon the private humours of men, that had more feeling of their own commodity, than sense of the publick need; utterly perverted, and made unprofitable in the performance, the order that had been so well set down. The ^a elephants were sent: and some money peradventure; uncertain it is, how long after. But those great forces of three-score thousand foot, and four thousand horse, came not into *Italy*, till much was lost of that which already had been gotten, and a great part of the old *Carthaginian* army was first consumed by time, and sundry accidents of war. Only some small numbers, no way answering unto the proportion decreed, were sent into *Spain*; and the journey of *Asdrubal* thence through *France* into *Italy* much talked of, but he not enabled thereunto, till many years were past, and the *Romans* had recovered their strength.

Here we may note, what great riches the *Carthaginians* drew into their city, both by the tributes received from their subjects, and by their wealthy trade of merchandize. For it is not long

since the war of the mercenaries; and the perfidious tyranny of the *Romans*, extorting, in time of the greatest necessity twelve hundred talents, had exceedingly impoverished *Carthage*: which was before brought into great want, even by the expence of so much money, as was to be disbursed for redeeming of peace, after the loss at *Ægates*. Yet we see, what great armies of *Numidians*, and *Spaniards*, besides those already on foot, are appointed to the service in *Italy*, and how little the *Carthaginians* fear the want of money in these chargeable undertakings: whereas the *Romans*, on the other side, having three or four years together been forced to some extraordinary cost, are fain to go upon credit, even for the price of those slaves, which they bought of their own citizens to arm for their defence. Such advantage, in means to enrich their treasury, had the wealthy merchants of *Carthage*, trading in all parts of the *Mediterranean* sea, even from *Tyrus* their mother-city in the bottom of the streights unto the great ocean, above the *Romans*: who lived on the fruits of their ground; and received their tributes from people following the same course of life. When time therefore was come, that the hatred of *Rome* found leisure to shew it self, in the destruction of *Carthage*; the impudence of *Roman* falsehood, in seeking an honest colour wherewith to shadow the intended breach of faith, discovered plainly whence the jealousy was bred, that this mighty city would again rebel. For the *Carthaginians*, having given up hostages, even before the *Roman* army did set forth, to perform whatsoever should be enjoined them, with condition that their city might not be destroyed; and having accordingly, when they were so required, yielded up all their weapons, and engines of war, the *Romans* told them plainly, that the city of *Carthage*, which was the body of the citizens, should be friendly dealt withal, but the town must needs be demolished, and removed into some other place, that should be twelve miles distant from the sea. For (said the *Romans*) this trade of merchandize, by which ye now live, is not so fit for peaceable men, such as ye promise to become hereafter, as is the trade of husbandry; an wholesome kind of life, and enduing men with many laudable qualities, which enable their bodies, and make them very apt for conversation. This villainous dealing of the *Romans*, though sugar'd with glossing words, plainly shews, what good observation the elder *Cato* had made of the hasty growth of *Carthage* in riches. For when, being demanded his opinion in the senate about any matter whatsoever it were, he added still this conclusion, *Thus I think; and that Carthage should be destroyed*; he may seem, not only to have had regard unto that present wealth, which at his being there he had found in the city, but much more unto these times, and the great height whereunto it rose, even suddenly as we see, out of many calamities, whilst the *Romans* thought, that it had not been in case to dare so terrible a war.

But as the *Carthagians*, in gathering wealth, were more industrious and skillful than the *Romans*; so came they far short of them, in the honourable care of the publick good: having every one, or most of them, a more principal regard of his own private benefit. This made them (besides the negligence commonly found in victors) when the first heat of their affliction, wherein they conclude to pursue the war strongly, was over-past, go more leisurely to work, than had been requisite in the

^a Liv. l. 26.

execution. It was easy for *Hanno* to persuade covetous men, that they should first of all defend their own in *Spain*. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that province was secured, they might send an army into *Italy*; so going to work orderly by degrees. For it were no wisdom to commit all the strength of the commonwealth to one hazard of fortune against the enemies; or (which perhaps were worse) to the government of an ambitious man, and his brethren; who having once (if they could so do) finished the war, might easily make *Hannibal* a king, and subdue *Carthage*, with the forces that she had given them to the conquest of *Rome*.

By such malicious working of *Hanno*, and by their own slackness, incredulity, dulness, or nig-gardize, the *Carthaginians* were persuaded rather to make small disbursements in *Spain*, than to set up all their rest at once in *Italy*. Yet was it indeed impossible to hold a country of so large extent, and so open a coast as that of *Spain*, free from all incursion of the enemy; especially the affection of the naturals being (as in a new conquest) ill established. A better way therefore it had been to make a running war, by which the *Romans* might have been found occupied, even with the ordinary *Carthaginian* garrisons, or some little addition thereunto. For if it were thought meet to defer the prosecution of their main intendment against *Rome* it self, until such time as every little thorn were pulled out of the sides of so great a province, then must *Emporiae* have been besieged and forced; which, by reason of alliance with the *Massilians*, gave unto the *Romans*, at all times when they pleased, a ready and secure harbour. But the town of *Emporiae* was too strong to be won in haste; it had long defended it self against the *Barbarians*, having not above four hundred paces of wall to the main land, and exceedingly well fortified, a great *Spanish* town of the same name, lying without it, that was three miles in compass, very strong likewise, and friend unto the *Grecians*, though not over-much trusted. Wherefore to force this town of *Emporiae*, that was, besides the proper strength, like to be so well assisted by the *Massilians*, *Romans*, and some *Spaniards*, would have been a work of little less difficulty, than was the *Roman* war (in appearance) after the battel at *Cannæ*; yea, it had been in effect none other, than to alter the seat of the war, which *Hannibal* had already fixed, with better judgment, near unto the gates of *Rome*. The difficulty of this attempt being such, as caused it altogether to be for-born, great folly it was to be much troubled about expelling the *Romans* utterly out of *Spain*, whom they might more easily have diverted thence, and drawn home to their own doors, by making strong war upon their city. For even so the *Romans* afterwards removed *Hannibal* into *Afric*, by sending an army to *Carthage*; and by taking the like course, they now endeavour'd to change the seat of the war, transferring it out of *Italy* into *Spain*. But the private affections of men regarding the common good no otherwise, than as it is necessary to their own purposes, did make them easily wink at opportunities, and hope that somewhat would fall out well of it self, though they set not to their helping hands. *Hanno* was a malicious wretch; yet they that thought him so, were well enough contented to hearken unto his discourses, as long as they were plausible, and tended to keep the purse full. In the mean while they suffered *Hannibal*,

and all the noble house of *Amilcar*, to weary themselves in travel for the commonwealth, which all *Carthage* in general highly commended, but weakly assisted; as if the industry of these *Barchines* had been somewhat more than needful. Surely the *Carthaginians*, in general, were far less honourable than the people of *Rome*, not only in government of their subject provinces, but in administration of their own estate; few of them preferring the respect of the weal-publick above their private interest. But as they thrived little in the end, by their parsimony used toward their own mercenaries, when the former *Roman* war was finished; so the conclusion of this war present, will make them complain, with feeling sighs, of their negligence in supplying *Hannibal* after the victory at *Cannæ*; when gladly they would give all their treasures to redeem the opportunity, that now they let pass, as if it were cost enough to send a few handfuls into *Spain*.

That both the *Spanish* business, and the state of *Afric* it self, depended wholly, or for the most part, upon success of things in *Italy*, the course of actions following will make manifest. Particularly, how matters were ordered in *Spain* by the *Carthaginian* governors, it is very hard, and almost impossible, to set down. For though we must not reprehend, in that worthy historian *Livy*, the tender love of his own country, which made him give credit unto *Fabius* and others; yet must we not, for his sake, believe those lies, which the impartial judgment of *Polybius* hath condemned in the writers that gave them original. It were needless to rehearse all that may be found in *Polybius*, concerning the truth of that *Roman* historian *Fabius*: one example may suffice. He saith of *Amilcar* and his men at *Eryx*, in the former war, that having clean spent their strength, and being even broken with many miseries, they were glad to submit themselves unto the *Romans*. Contrary hereunto, we find in the life of *Amilcar*, set down by *Æmilius Probus*, that *Eryx* was in such sort held by the *Carthaginians*, that it seemed to be in as good condition, as if in those parts there had not been any war. These words, being referred to the brave resolution of the *Carthaginian* soldiers, and the singular virtue of their general infusing such spirit into them, may be taken as not over-liberal. For in the treaty of peace between *Amilcar* and *Catulus*, when the *Roman* first of all required that this garrison of *Eryx* should lay down their arms, and forsake *Sicily*, threatening, that otherwise he would not talk of any composition; *Amilcar* boldly bad him chuse, whether he would talk of it, or no; for that the arms which his country had put into his hands to use against her enemies, it was not his purpose to yield up unto them. Now since the *Romans*, contrary to their custom upon like advantages, were content to let *Amilcar* have his will, and not to stand with him upon point of honour, whilst otherwise they might quietly rid their hands of him; plain enough it is, that they were far from thinking him a man consumed with miseries, as *Fabius* would have him seem. Hereunto agrees the relation of *Polybius*, who flatly, and by name, chargeth *Fabius* with untruth; saying, that howsoever *Amilcar*, and his soldiers, had endured all extremity; yet they behaved themselves as men that had no sense thereof, and were as far from being either vanquished, or tired, as were their enemies. Such being the difference between *Fabius* (as also perhaps between other old writers of the *Roman* story) and those that had more regard of truth,

^a Of such ambition *Hanno* directly accused *Hannibal*, saying, that he made war upon war, that so he might be compassed with it grow — at knowing no other way to make himself a king. Liv. l. 21. ^b Pol. l. 1.

than of flattering the mighty city of *Rome*; we must take it in good part, that howsoever *Livy* introduceth *Hanno*, in one place, joining very foolishly his own shameful overthrow at the islands ^a *Ægætes*, with the great services of *Amilcar* at *Eryx*, as if both of them had had a like event; yet ^b elsewhere he forbeareth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his own unhappy conduct) into the same *Hanno's* mouth, making him say, that the affairs of *Carthage* went never better, than a little before the loss of their fleet in that battel at sea, wherein himself was general. Now concerning the doings of the *Scipio's* in *Spain*, there is cause to wish that this *Fabius*, with *Val. Antias*, and others of the like stamp, had either written (if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the tender affection of *Livy* to his *Rome*, had not caused him to think too well of their relations: which are such as follow.

SECT. XI.

Strange reports of the Roman victories in Spain, before Asdrubal, the son of Amilcar, followed thence his brother Hannibal into Italy.

IT hath been shewed already, how *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the consul, returning from *Gaul* into *Italy*, to encounter with *Hannibal* at his descent from the *Alps*, sent before him his brother *Cneus*, with part of his fleet and army, into *Spain*. Two *Roman* legions, with fourteen thousand foot of the confederates, and twelve hundred horse, had been allotted unto the consul, therewith to make war in *Spain* against *Hannibal*; who since he was marching into *Italy* with the strength of his army, *P. Scipio* believed, that a good part of these his own forces might well be spared from the *Spanish* expedition; and therefore made bold to carry some of the number back with him, sending on his brother with the rest, as his lieutenant. *Publius* himself remained in *Italy* all the time of his consulship; which being expired, he was sent proconsul into *Spain*, by the senate, with an army of eight thousand men, and a fleet of thirty galleys.

The acts of these two brethren, in their province, were very great; and, as they are reported, somewhat marvellous. For they continually prevailed in *Spain* against the *Carthaginians*, whom they vanquished in so many battels, and withdrew from their alliance so many of the *Spaniards*, their confederates, that we have cause to wonder how the enemy could so often find means to repair his forces, and return strong into the field. But as the *Romans*, by pretending to deliver the country from the tyranny of *Carthage*, might easily win unto their confederacy, as many as were galled with the *African* yoke, and durst adventure to break it; so the ancient reputation of the first conquerors might serve to arm the naturals against these invaders; and to reclaim those that had revolted unto the *Romans*, were it only by the memory of such ill success, as the like rebellion in former times had found. Here-to may be added the *Carthaginian* treasure, which easily raised soldiers among those valiant, but (in that age) poor, and gold-thirsty nations. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the *Spaniards* had their children, kinsmen and friends, abroad with *Hannibal* in his *Italian* wars, or serving the *Carthaginians* in *Africa*. And peradventure, if we durst be bold to say it, the victories of the *Scipio's* were neither so many, nor so great, as they are set out by *Livy*. This we may be bold to say, that the

great captain *Fabius*, or *Livy* in his person, maketh an objection unto *Scipio*, which neither *Scipio*, nor *Livy* for him, doth answer, that if *Asdrubal* were vanquished, as *Scipio* would say, by him in *Spain*: strange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had been extremely dangerous to *Rome*, that the same vanquished man should invade *Italy*. And it is indeed an incredible narration, that *Asdrubal* being enclosed on all sides, and not knowing how to escape out of a battel, save only by the steep descent of rocks, over a great river that lay at his back, ran away with all his money, elephants, and broken troops, over *Tagus*, directly toward the *Pyrenees*, and so toward *Italy*; upon which he fell with more than three-score thousand armed soldiers. Neither do I see, how it hangs well together, that he chose a piece of ground very defensible, but most incommodious for his retreat, if he should happen to be vanquished; and yet, that he sent all his money and elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the enemy: or how it could be true, that these his elephants, being so sent before, could hinder the *Romans* (for so are they said to have done in the last battel between him and *Scipio*) from breaking into his camp. Wherefore we can no more than be sorry, that all *Carthaginian* records of this war, and *Spanish* (if there were any) being utterly lost, we can know no more thereof, than what it hath pleased the *Romans* to tell us: unto whom it were no wisdom to give too much credit. In this regard, I will summarily run over the doings of the *Scipio's* in *Spain*; not greatly insisting on particulars, whereof there is no great certainty.

Cn. Cornelius landed at *Emporie*, an haven-town not far within the *Pyrenees*, retaining still the same name with little inflexion. That by the fame of his clemency he allured many nations to become subject unto *Rome*, as the story begins of him, I could easily believe, if I understood by what occasion they had need to use his clemency, or he to give such famous example thereof, being a mere stranger, and having no jurisdiction in the country. Yet is it certain, that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well insinuate himself into the love of the *Barbarians*; among whom, his dexterity in practice had the better success, for that he seemed to have none other errand, than setting them at liberty. This pretext availed with some: others were to be hired with money; and some he compelled to yield by force or fear; especially, when he had won a battel against *Hanno*. Into all treaties of accord made with these people, likely it is that he remembered to insert this article, which the *Romans* in their alliances never forgot, unless in long times past, and when they dealt with the *Carthaginians*, or their superiors; *Majestatem Pop. Rom. comiter conservent*, which is, as *Tully* interprets it, that they should gently (or kindly) uphold the majesty of the people of *Rome*. This was in appearance nothing troublesome: yet implied it indeed an obscure covenant of subjection. And in this respect it may be true, that the *Spaniards* became *aditionis Romanæ*, of the *Roman Jurisdiction*: though hereafter they will say, they had no such meaning. That part of the country wherein *Scipio* landed, was newly subdued by *Hannibal* in his passage toward *Italy*; and therefore the more easily shaken out of obedience. Particularly in the *Bargutians*; *Hannibal* had found, at his coming among them, such an apprehension of the *Roman* greatness, as made him suspect, that any light occasion would make

^a *Ægætes Insulas, Erycemque ante oculos proponite*, &c. *Liv.* l. 21. ^b *Liv.* l. 23. ^c *Orat. pro Corn. Balbo.* ^d *Liv.* l. 21.

them start from the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore he not only appointed *Hanno* governour over them, as over the rest of the province between *Iberus* and the *Pyrenees*, but made him also their Lord; that is (as I conceive it; for I do not think he gave the principality of their country unto *Hanno* and his heirs) he made him not only lieutenant-general over them, in matters of war, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to *Carthage*; but took from them all inferior Officers of their own, leaving them to be governed by *Hanno*, at his discretion. These therefore had good cause to rejoice at the coming of *Scipio*; with whom, others also (no doubt) found reasons to join; it being the custom of all conquered nations, in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselves indifferently into the protection of others, that many times prove worse than the former. So were the *Neapolitans* and *Milanois*, in the age of our grandfathers, weary by turns of the *Spaniards* and *French*; as more sensible still of the present evil which they felt, than regardful of the greater mischief, whereinto they ran by seeking to avoid it. This bad affection of his province, would not suffer *Hanno* to temporize. Ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, *Hannibal* had left unto him: besides which, it is like, that some forces he was able to raise out of his province. Therefore he adventured a battel with *Scipio*; wherein he was overthrown and taken. Following this victory, *Scipio* besieged *Stiffum*, a town hard by, and won it. But *Asdrubal*, having passed *Iberus*, and coming too late to the relief of *Hanno*, with eight thousand foot and a thousand horse, fell upon the Roman sea-forces, that lay not far about *Tarracon*, whom he found careless, as after a victory, roving abroad in the country; and with great slaughter drove them aboard their ships. This done, he ran up into the country, where he withdrew the *Illergetes* from the Roman party, though they had given hostages to *Scipio*. *Scipio* in the mean season was gone to visit and aid his fleet: where having set things in order, he returned back, and made toward *Asdrubal*; who durst not abide his coming, but withdrew himself again over *Iberus*. So the *Illergetes*, were compelled by force, having lost *Athanagia*, their chief city, to pay a fine to the Romans, and increase the number of their hostages. The *Ausetani* likewise, confederates of the *Carthaginians*, were besieged in their chief town; which they defended thirty days; hoping in vain, that the sharp winter, and great abundance of snow that fell, would have made the Romans to dislodge. But they were fain at length to yield: and for this their obstinacy, they were amerced twenty talents of silver. During the siege, the *Lacetani* came to help their distressed neighbours; and were beaten home by *Scipio*, leaving twelve thousand of their company dead behind them. I cannot but wonder, how these *Lacetani*, that are said to be the first which embraced the friendship of *Scipio*, should, without any cause remembered, become *Carthaginian* on a sudden, in the next news that we hear of them. As also it is strange, that all the sea-coast northward of *Iberus*, having lately become voluntarily *ditionis Romane*, subject unto Rome, should, in continuance of the story, after a few lines, hold war against *Scipio*, without any assistance of the *Carthaginians*. Neither can I believe, that *Asdrubal*, as it were by a charm, stirred up the *Illergetes*, making them lay aside all care of their hostages, and take arms in his quarrel; whilst himself

had not the daring to stand against *Scipio*, but ran away, and saved himself beyond *Iberus*. *Philinus* perhaps, or some *Carthaginian* writer, would have told it thus: That *Scipio*, adventuring too far into the country, was beaten by *Asdrubal* back to his ships, whence he durst not stir, until winter came on: at what time this *Carthaginian* returned into the heart of his province, leaving some few garrisons to defend those places, that after *Scipio* won, by returning upon them, unlooked for, through a deep snow. As for the *Lacetani*, *Illergetes*, and the rest, we may reasonably think, that they sought their own benefit: helping themselves one while by the Romans against the *Carthaginians*; and contrariwise, upon sense of injuries received, or apprehension of more grievous tyranny, under which they feared to be brought by these new masters, hearkening again unto the comfortable promises of those, that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to live under their own country laws, and not under governors sent from *Rome* or *Carthage*, their demeanour in all ages following may testify: even from henceforth unto the days of *Augustus Cesar*; till when they were never thoroughly conquered.

The year following this, *Cn. Scipio* had a victory against the *Carthaginians*, in fight at sea; or rather came unto them, unlooked for, while they rode at anchor, most of their men being on shore. All their ships, that ran not too far on ground, he took, and thereby grew master of the whole coast; landing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defended. After this victory, above one hundred and twenty nations, or petty estates in *Spain*, are said to have submitted themselves unto the Romans, and given hostages: whereby *Asdrubal* was compelled to fly into the utmost corners of the land, and hide himself in *Lusitania*. Yet it follows; that the *Illergetes* did again rebel; that *Asdrubal* hereupon came over *Iberus*; and that *Scipio* (though having easily vanquished the *Illergetes*) went not forth to meet him, but stirred up against him the *Celtiberians*, that lately was become his subjects and had given him hostages. These took from the *Carthaginian* three towns, and vanquished him in two battels, wherein they slew fifteen thousand of his men, and took four thousand prisoners. Then arrived *P. Scipio*, with the supply before-mentioned: and henceforward the two brethren jointly administered the business in *Spain*.

The *Carthaginians* being occupied in the *Celtiberian* war, the two *Scipios* did, *haud cunctanter*, without fear or doubt, pass over *Iberus*, and besiege *Saguntum*. Little cause of doubt had they, if *Cn.* had already subdued many nations beyond it; and among many others, the same *Celtiberians*, that with their proper forces were able to vanquish *Asdrubal*. *Bostar*, the governour of *Saguntum*, a simple man, suffered himself to be persuaded by one *Acedux*, a *Spaniard*, that the only way to get the favour and hearty good-will of the country, was by freely restoring unto them their hostages; as resting, without any pledge, assured of their faith. But the crafty *Spaniard*, being trusted with this message and restitution of the hostages, carried them all to the Roman generals: persuading them, as he had done *Bostar*, to make the liberality their own. Hereby the Romans purchased much love: if the tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterwards, and ere this we find, that all the *Spanish* hostages were left in new *Carthage*.

^a Polyb. l. 3.

^b Liv. l. 21.

I am weary of rehearsing so many particularities, whereof I can believe so few. But since we find no better certainties, we must content our selves with these.

The year following was like unto this: *Asdrubal* must be beaten again. The two *Scipio's* divide their forces: *Cn.* makes war by land; *P.* by sea. *Asdrubal*, with much labour and entreaty, hath gotten four thousand foot, and five hundred horse out of *Afric*: he repairs his fleet, and provides every way to make resistance. But all his chief sea-men, and masters of his ships, revolt unto the *Romans*, because they had been chidden the last year for their negligence, which had betrayed the navy. The revolt of these ship-masters animates to rebellion the *Carpesians*, or *Carpetani*, an inland-people about *Toledo*, in the very center of *Spain*. These do much mischief, so that *Asdrubal* is fain to make a journey to them. His sudden coming cuts off some of them that were found scattered abroad in the fields. But they making head, so valiantly assault him, that they drive him, for fear, to incamp himself strongly on an high piece of ground, whence he dares not come forth to give them battel. So they take a town by force, wherein he had laid up all his provisions; and shortly make themselves masters of the country round about. This good success breeds negligence, for which they dearly pay. *Asdrubal* comes upon them, takes them unprepared, beats them, kills the most of them, and disperseth the rest, so that the whole nation yieldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from *Carthage*, that *Asdrubal* should lead his army forth-into *Italy*: which we may wonder, why the *Carthaginians* would appoint him to do, if they had been informed by his letters in what hard case he was, and had so weakly supplied him, as is shewed before. But thus we find it reported; and that upon the very rumour of this his journey, almost all *Spain* was already to fall to the *Romans*. *Asdrubal* therefore sends word presently to *Carthage*, that this must not be so: or if they will needs have it so, that then they must send him a successor, and well attended with a strong army, which to employ, they should find work more than enough; such notable men were the *Roman* generals. But the senate of *Carthage* is not much moved with this excuse: *Asdrubal* must needs be gone; and *Himilco*, with such forces as are thought expedient for that service, both by land and sea, is sent to take the charge of *Spain*. Wherefore *Asdrubal* hath now no more to do, than to furnish himself with store of money, that he might have wherewithal to win the friendship of the *Gauls*; through whose countries he must pass, as *Hannibal* had done before him. The *Carthaginians* were greatly to blame, for not remembering to ease him of his care. But since it can be no better, he lays great impositions upon all the *Spaniards* his subjects: and having gotten together as much treasure as he could, onward he marched toward *Iberus*. The *Scipio's* hearing these news, are careful how to arrest him on the way. They besiege *Ibera* (so called of the river's name running by it) the richest town in all those quarters, that was confederate with *Asdrubal*: who thereupon steps aside to relieve it. The *Romans* meet him, and fight a battel with him: which they win the more easily, for that the *Spaniards*, his followers, had rather be vanquished at home, than get the victory, and afterwards be haled into *Italy*. Great numbers are slain, and few should have escaped, but that the *Spaniards* ran

away, ere the battels were thoroughly joined. Their camps the *Romans* take and spoil: whereby (questionless) they are marvellously enriched; all the money that could be raked together in *Spain*, being carried along in this *Italian* expedition. This day's event joins all *Spain* to the *Romans*; if any part of the country stood in doubt before; and puts *Asdrubal* so far from all thought of travelling into *Italy*, that it leaves him small hope of keeping himself safe in *Spain*. Of these exploits advertisement is sent to *Rome*; and letters to the senate from *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, whereof the contents are, ^a That they have neither money, apparel, nor bread, wherewith to sustain their army and fleet; that all is wanting, so as unless they may be supplied from *Rome*, they can neither hold their forces together, nor tarry any longer in the province. These letters come to *Rome* in an evil season, the senate being scarcely able, after the loss at *Cannæ*, to help it self at home. Yet relief is sent, how hardly, and how much to the commendations of that love and care, which the private citizens of *Rome* bare unto the commonwealth, shall be inserted elsewhere, into the relation of things whereof the truth is less questionable. At the coming of this supply, the two *Scipio's* pursue *Asdrubal*, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What else can we think, that remember the last news of him, and how fearfully he mistrusted his own safety? They find him, and *Mago*, and *Amilcar*, the son of *Bomilcar*, with an army of sixty thousand men besieging *Illiturgi* (which the learned *Ortelius*, and others, probably conjecture to have stood where *Carinena* is now, in the kingdom of *Arragon*; for there was *Illiturgis*, afterwards called *Forum Julii*, quite another way) a town of the *Illergetes*, their nearest neighbours, for having revolted unto the *Romans*. The town is greatly distressed, but most of all, for want of victuals. The *Romans* therefore break through between the enemy's camps, with terrible slaughter of all that resist them; and having victualled the place, encourage the townsmen to defend their walls as stoutly, as they should anon behold them fighting manfully with the besiegers in their behalf. ^b So they issue forth, about sixteen thousand against sixty thousand; and, killing more of the enemies, than themselves were in number, drove all the *Carthaginian* commanders, every one, out of his quarter; and took that day, besides prisoners and other booty, fifty-eight ensigns. The *Carthaginian* army, being thus beaten from *Illiturgi*, fall upon *Incibili*, that stood a little southward from the mouth of *Iberus*. The *Spaniards* are blamed, as too greedy of earning money by war, for thus re-inforcing the broken *Carthaginians*. But it may be wondered whence the *Carthaginians* had money to pay them, since *Asdrubal* was lately driven to poll the country, wanting money of his own; and being beaten in this journey, had lost his wealthy carriages, when his camp was taken after the battel by *Ibera*. Howsoever it happens, the *Carthaginians* (according to their custom) are beaten again at *Incibili*, where there were of them about ^c thirteen thousand slain, and above three thousand taken, besides forty-two ensigns, and nine elephants. After this (in a manner) all the people of *Spain* fell from them unto the *Romans*. Thus could *Fabius*, *Valerius Antias*, or some other historian, to whom *Livy* gave credit, conquer all *Spain* twice in one year, by winning famous victories, whereof these good captains, *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, perhaps were not aware.

^a Liv. l. 23.

^b Liv. l. 23.

^c Liv. l. 23.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this large access of dominion, winter on their own side of *Iberus*. In the beginning of the next year, great armies of the *Spaniards* rise against *Asdrubal*, and are overthrown by him. *P. Scipio*, to help these his friends, is forced to make great haste over the river. At *Castrum altum*, a place in the mid-way between *New Carthage* and *Saguntum*, famous by the death of the great *Amilcar*, *P. Scipio* encampeth; and stores the place with victuals, being strong and defensible; as intending to make it his seat for a while. But the country round about is too full of enemies: the *Carthaginian* horse have charged the *Romans* in their march, and are gone off clear; falling also upon some stragglers, or such as lagged behind their fellows in march, they have cut off two thousand of them. Hereupon it is thought behoveful, to retire unto some place more assured. So *Publius* withdraws himself unto *Mons Victoriae*; that rising somewhat eastward from *Incibili*, overlooks the southern out-let of *Iberus*. Thither the *Carthaginians* pursue him: his brother *Cn.* repairs unto him; and *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gesco*, with a full army, arrives to help his companions. As they lie thus near encamped together, *P. Scipio*, with some light-armed, going closely to view the places thereabouts, is discovered by the enemies, who are like to take him, but that he withdraws himself to an high piece of ground; where they besiege him, till his brother *Cn.* fetch him off. After this (but I know not why) *Castulo*, a great city of *Spain*, whence *Hannibal* had taken him a wife, joineth with the *Romans*; though being far distant from them, and seated on the head of the river *Bætis*. Nevertheless, the *Carthaginians* pass over *Iberus*, to besiege *Illiturgi* again, wherein lodgeth a *Roman* garrison, hoping to win it by famine. We may justly wonder, what should move them to neglect the rebellion of *Castulo*, yea, and the *Roman* army lying so close by them, and to seek adventures further off, in that very place wherein they had been so grievously beaten the year before. But thither they go; and thither follows them *Cn. Scipio* with one legion, who enters the town by force, breaks out upon them the next day, and in two battels kills above twelve thousand, and takes more than a thousand of them prisoners, with thirty-six ensigns. This victory (doubtless) is remarkable, considering that the greatest *Roman* legion at this time consisted of no more than five thousand men. The vanquished *Carthaginians* besiege *Bigarra*; but that siege is also raised by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the *Carthaginians* remove to *Munda*, where the *Romans* are soon at their heels. There is a great battel fought, that lasteth four hours, wherein the *Romans* get a notable victory; and a more notable would have gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio* been wounded. Thirty-nine elephants are killed, and twelve thousand men; three thousand prisoners taken, and fifty-seven ensigns. The *Carthaginians* fly to *Auringos*, and the *Romans* pursue them. *Cn. Scipio*, in a litter, is carried into the field, and vanquisheth the *Carthaginians* again; but kills not half so many of them as before; good cause why, for there are fewer of them left to fight. * Notwithstanding all these overthrows, the *Spaniards*, a people framed even by nature to set war on foot, quickly fill up the broken troops of *Asdrubal*; who having also hired some of the *Gauls*, adventures once more to try his fortune with the *Romans*. But he is beaten again, and loseth eight thousand of his men, besides prisoners, elephants, ensigns, and other appurtenances. After

so many victories, the *Romans* are even ashamed to leave *Saguntum* enthralled unto the *Carthaginians*; since, in behalf of that city, they had first entered into this war. And well may we think it strange, that they had not recovered it long before, since we may remember, that long before this they had won all the country once and again. But it must not be forgotten, that they had ere now besieged *Saguntum*; and were fain (as appears) to go their way without it; so as they need not to blush for having so long forbore to do that, which ere now they had attempted, but were unable to perform. At the present they win *Saguntum*, and restore the possession thereof unto such of the poor dispersed citizens as they can find out. They also waste and destroy the country of the *Turdetani*, that had ministered unto *Hannibal* matter of quarrel against the *Saguntines*. This last action (questionless) was much to their honour, and wherein we may be assured, that the *Carthaginians* would have disturbed them, if they had been able.

But overlooking now this long continuance of great victories which the *Romans* have gotten in *Spain*, other print or token of all their brave exploits we can perceive none, than this recovery of *Saguntum*, excepting the stopping of *Asdrubal's* journey; which was indeed of greatest importance, but appertaining to their own defence. For they have landed at *Emporie*, an haven-town, built and peopled by a colony of the *Phoceans*, kin to the *Messians*, friends to the *Romans*. They have easily won to their party, lost, recovered, and lost again, some petty bordering nations of the *Spaniards*, that are carried one while by perswasion, other whiles by force, and sometimes by their own unsettled passions; and now finally, they have won a town, whereof the *Carthaginians* held entire possession, who had rooted out the old inhabitants. Wherefore we may easily believe, that when they took *Saguntum* (if they took it not by surprize, which is to be suspected, since in this action we find no particulars remembered, as when the same place was taken by *Hannibal*) they had gotten the better of their enemies in some notable fight. In like sort also must we think that all those battels lately remembered, after every one of which *Asdrubal* set down before some place that had rebelled, or seemed ready to rebel, were prosperous unto the *Carthaginians*. For it is not the custom of armies vanquished, to carry the war from town to town, and beleaguer cities of their enemies; but to fortify themselves within their own places of strength, and therein to attend the levy and arrival of new supplies. And surely, if the *Romans* had been absolute masters of the field, when they won *Saguntum*, they would not have consumed a whole year following, in practising only with the *Celtiberians*, the next adjoining people. Yet made they this, little less than two years before. Of these *Celtiberians* we hear before, that they have yielded up themselves unto the *Romans*; for security of their faith, given hostages to *Scipio*; and, at his appointment made war against the *Carthaginians*, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is strange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and, not without express condition of a great sum, hired to serve in the *Roman* camp. How this may hold together, I cannot perceive; unless perhaps in those days it were the *Roman* custom, or rather the custom of some bad author whom *Livy* follows, to call every messenger, or straggler, that entered their camp, an hostage of that people from whom he came.

* Liv. l. 24.

The *Celtiberians* at length, hired with great rewards, send an army of thirty thousand to help the *Romans*; out of which, three hundred the fittest men are chosen, and carried into *Italy*, there to deal with their countrymen that follow *Hannibal* in his wars. But if any of these three hundred return back into *Spain*, it is to be feared, that he brings with him such news of the riches and welfare of *Hannibal's* men, that all his fellows at home are the less unwilling to follow *Asdrubal*, when he shall next have a desire to lead them into *Italy*. Hereof we find more than probability, when these mercenary *Celtiberians* meet the *Carthaginian* army in the field. The two *Scipio's*, presuming on this access of strength, divide their forces, and seek out the enemies, who lie not far off with three armies. *Asdrubal*, the son of *Amilcar*, is nearest at hand: even among the *Celtiberians*, at *Anitorgis*. With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good order: but the fear is, that this one part of the *Carthaginian* forces being destroyed, *Mago*, and *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gesco*, hearing the news, will make use of their distance, which is five days march, and, by running into the furthest parts of the country, save themselves from being overtaken. *Publius* therefore must make the more haste, and take with him the better soldiers, that is, two parts of the old *Roman* army; leaving the third part, and all the *Celtiberians*, to his brother. He that hath the longer journey to make, comes somewhat the sooner to his life's end. *Mago*, and *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gesco*, are not studying how to run away: they find no such necessity. They join their forces together; meet with *P. Scipio*; and lay at him so hardly, that he is driven to keep himself close within his trenches: wherein he thinks himself not well assured. Especially he is vexed by *Masaniissa*, prince of the *Masseyli*, *Numidians* bordering upon *Mauritania*, in the region called now *Tremizen*: to whom the chief honour of this service is ascribed, for that he becomes afterwards confederate with the *Romans*. In this dangerous case *P. Scipio* gets intelligence, that *Indibilis*, a *Spanish* prince, is coming with seven thousand and five hundred of the *Suffetani*, to join with his enemies. Fearing therefore to be straight shut up, and besieged, he issues forth by night, to meet with *Indibilis* upon the way; leaving *T. Fonteius*, his lieutenant, with a small company, to defend the camp. He meets with *Indibilis*; but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the first encounter. The fight continues so long, that the *Numidian* horse appear (whom he thought to have been ignorant of his departure) and fall upon the *Romans* on all sides: neither are the *Carthaginians* far behind; but come so fast upon him in rear, that *P. Scipio*, uncertain which way to turn, yet fighting, and animating his men, where need most requireth, is struck through with a lance, and slain: very few of his army escaping the same destiny, through benefit of the dark night. The like end hath *Cn. Scipio*, within nine and twenty days after. At his meeting with *Asdrubal*, the *Celtiberian* mercenaries all forsake him; pretending that they had war in their own country. If *Anitorgis*, where *Asdrubal* then lay, were, as *Ortelius* following *Bouterus* takes it, a *Celtiberian* town; this was no vain pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may justly believe, that they were won by *Asdrubal*, and easily persuaded to take as much money for not fighting, as they should have had for hazarding their lives. *Cn. Scipio* therefore being unable to stay them; and no less unable, without their help, either to resist the enemy, or to join

with his brother; makes a very violent retreat; herein only differing from plain flight, that he keeps his men together. *Asdrubal* presseth hard upon him: and *Mago*, with *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gesco*, having made an end of *Publius*, hasten to dispatch his brother after him. *Scipio* steals from them all, by night; but is overtaken the next day by their horse, and arrested, in an open place of hard stony ground, where grows not so much as a shrub, unfit for defence of his legions against such enemies. Yet a little hill he finds, of easy ascent on every side, which he takes for want of a more commodious place; and fortifies with pack-saddles, and other luggage, for default of a better pallisado. These weak defences the *Carthaginians* soon tear in sunder: and, breaking in on all hands, leave very few of them alive; that saving themselves, I know not how, within some woods adjoining, escape unto *T. Fonteius*, whom *Publius* had left in his camp, as is before said. It is a terrible overthrow, they say, out of which no man escapes. Yet, how they that were thus hemmed in on every side, in so bare a ground as afforded not a shrub to cover them, could break out, and throwd themselves within woods adjoining, I should much wonder; did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. *T. Fonteius* is in *P. Scipio's* camp, on the north-side of *Iberus*, fearful (as may be supposed) of his own life; since his general, with two parts of the *Roman* army, had little hope to remain long safe within it. Thither comes *L. Martius*, a young *Roman* gentleman, of a notable spirit: who having gathered together the scattered soldiers, and drawn some companies out of their garrisons, makes a pretty army. The soldiers, being to choose a general by most voices, prefer this *L. Martius* before *Fonteius*, the lieutenant; as well they may. For *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gesco*, coming upon them; this *L. Martius* so encourageth his men (fondly weeping when he led them forth, upon remembrance of their more honourable generals lately slain) and admonisheth them of their present necessity, that he beats the *Carthaginians* into their trenches. A notable victory perhaps he might have gotten, but that he wisely sounds the retreat; reserving the fury of his soldiers to a greater occasion. The *Carthaginians* are at first amazed, and wonder whence this new boldness grows, in enemies lately vanquished, and now again little better than taken: but when they see, that the *Roman* dares not follow his advantage; they return to their former security; and, utterly despising him, set neither *Corps du guard*, nor sentinel, but rest secure, as if no enemy were near. *Martius* therefore animates his soldiers with lively words, and tells them, that there is no adventure more safe, than that which is furthest from suspicion of being undertaken. They are soon persuaded to follow him, in any desperate piece of service. So he leads them forth by night, and steals upon the camp of *Asdrubal*: where finding no guard, but the enemies fast asleep, or very drowsy, he enters without resistance, fires their cabins, and gives a terrible alarm; so that all affrighted, the *Carthaginians* run head-long one upon another, they know not which way. All passages out of their camp, *Martius* hath pre-possessed, so that there is no way to escape, save by leaping down the rampart: which as many do as can think upon it, and run away toward the camp of *Asdrubal*, son of *Amilcar*, that lay six miles off. But *Martius* hath way-laid them. In a valley between their two camps he hath bestowed a *Roman* cohort, and I know not what number of horse; so that into this

this ambush they fall every one, and are cut in pieces. But lest perchance any should have escaped, and give the alarm before his coming; *Martius* hastens to be there as soon as they. By which diligent speed, he comes early in the morning upon this further camp: which with no great difficulty he enters; and partly by force, partly by apprehension of danger which the enemies conceived, when they beheld the *Roman* shields, foul, and bloodied with their former execution, he drives head-long into flight, all that can save themselves from the fury of the sword. Thirty-seven thousand of the enemies perish in this night's work; besides a thousand eight hundred and thirty, that are taken prisoners. Hereunto *Valerius Antius* adds, that the camp of *Mago* was also taken, and seven thousand slain: and that in another battel with *Asdrubal*, there were slain ten thousand more; besides four thousand three hundred and thirty taken prisoners. Such is the power of some historians. *Livy* therefore hath elsewhere well observed, that there is none so intemperate as *Valerius Antius*, in multiplying the numbers that have fallen in battels. That, whilst *Martius* was making an oration to his soldiers, a flame of fire shone about his head, *Livy* reporteth as a common tale, not giving thereto any credit: and temperately concludeth, that this captain *Martius* got a great name; which he might well do, if with so small forces, and in such distress, he could clearly get off from the enemies, and give them any parting blow, though it were far less than that which is here set down.

Of these occurrences *L. Martius* sent word to *Rome*, not forgetting his own good service, whatsoever it was, but setting it out in such wise, as the senate might judge him worthy to hold the place of their vicegerent in *Spain*: which the better to intimate unto them, he stiled himself propretor. The *Fathers* were no less moved with the tidings, than the case required: and therefore took such careful order, for supplying their forces in *Spain*, that although *Hannibal* came to the gates of *Rome*, ere the companies, levied to serve in that province, could be sent away; yet would they not stay a tide for the defence of the city it self, but shipped them in all haste for *Spain*. As for that title of propretor, which *Martius* had assumed, they thought it too great for him, and were offended at his presumption in usurping it: foreseeing well, that it was a matter of ill consequence, to have the soldiers abroad make choice, among themselves, of those that should command armies and provinces. Therefore *C. Claudius Nero* was dispatched away, with all convenient haste, into *Spain*: carrying with him about six thousand of the *Roman* foot, and as many of the *Latins*, with three hundred *Roman* horse, and of the *Latins* eight hundred.

It happened well, that about these times, the affairs of *Rome* began to prosper in *Italy*, and afforded means of sending abroad such a strong supply: otherwise, the victories of *Martius* would ill have served, either to keep footing in *Spain*, or to stop the *Carthaginian* armies from marching towards the *Alps*. For when *Claudius*, landing with his new forces, took charge of that remainder of the army; which was under *Martius* and *Fonteius*; he found surer tokens of the overthrows received, than of those miraculous victories, whereof *Martius* had made his vaunts unto the senate. The *Roman* party was forsaken by most of the *Spanish* friends: whom how to reclaim, it could not easily be devised. Yet *Claudius* advanced boldly towards

Asdrubal, the brother of *Hannibal*: whom he found among the *Ausetani*, near enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lapides atri*; out of which there was no issue, but only through a streight, whereon the *Roman* seized at his first coming. What should have tempted any man of understanding to incamp in such a place, I do not find: and as little reason can I find in that which followed. For it is said, that *Asdrubal*, seeing himself thus lock'd up, made offer to depart forthwith out of *Spain*, and quit the province to the *Romans*, upon condition, that he and his army might be thence dismissed; that he spent many days in entertaining parley with *Claudius* about this business; that night by night he conveyed his foot-men (a few at a time) through very difficult passages, out of the danger; and that finally taking advantage of a misty day, he stole away with all his horse and elephants, leaving his camp empty. If we consider, that there were at the same time, besides this *Asdrubal*, two other *Carthaginian* generals in *Spain*; we shall find no less cause to wonder at the simplicity of *Claudius*, who hoped to conclude a bargain for so great a country, with one of these three chieftains, than at the strange nature of those passages, through which the foot-men could hardly creep out by night, the horse and elephants easily following them in a dark misty-day. Wherefore, in giving belief to such a tale, it is needful that we suppose, both the danger wherein the *Carthaginians* were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to have been of far less value. Howsoever it was; neither this, nor ought else that the *Romans* could do, served to purchase any new friends in *Spain*; or to recover the old which they had lost. Like enough it is, that the old soldiers, which had chosen *Martius* their propretor, took it not well, that the senate, regardless of their good deserts, had repealed their election, and sent a propretor whom they fancied not so well. Some such occasion may have moved them to desire a proconsul, and (perhaps) young *Scipio* by name: as if a title of greater dignity, were needful to work regard in the *Barbarians*; and the beloved memory of *Cn.* and *Publius*, like to do good, were it revived in one of the same family. Whether upon these, or upon other reasons; *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the province, and *Publius*, the son of *P. Scipio*, sent proconsul into *Spain*.

This is that *P. Scipio*, who afterwards transferred the war into *Afric*: where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his country. He was a man of goodly presence, and singularly well conditioned: especially he excelled in temperance continency, bounty, and other virtues that purchase love; of which qualities what great use he made, shall appear in the tenor of his actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, favouring a little too much of the great *Alexander's* vanity; how he used to walk alone in the *Capitol*, as one that had some secret conference with *Jupiter*; how a dragon (which must have been one of the gods; and, in likelihood, *Jupiter* himself) was thought to have conversed with his mother, entering her chamber often, and vanishing away at the coming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtful answers; I hold them no better than mere fables, devised by historians, who sought thereby to add unto the glory of *Rome*: that this noble city might seem, not only to have surpassed other nations in virtue of the generality, but also in great worth of one single man. To this end nothing is left

left out, that might serve to adorn this *Roman* champion. For it is confidently written, as a matter of unquestionable truth, that when a proconsul was to be chosen for *Spain*, there durst not any captain of the principal citizens offer himself as petitioner, for that honourable, but dangerous charge; that the people of *Rome* were much astonished thereat; that when the day of election came, all the princes of the city stood looking one another in the face, not one of them having the heart to adventure himself in such a desperate service; and finally, that this *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being then about four and twenty years of age, getting up on an high place, where he might be seen of all the multitude, requested, and obtained, that the office might be conferred upon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of *L. Martius* no better than dreams: and either very unreasonable was the fear of all the *Roman* captains, who durst not follow *Claudius Nero*, that not long before was gone into *Spain* propretor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the province, which *Asdrubal*, the *Carthaginian*, as we heard even now, was ready to abandon. But upon these incoherences, which I find in the too partial *Roman* historians, I do not willingly insist.

P. Scipio was sent proconsul into *Spain*; and with him was joined *M. Junius Syllanus*, as propretor, and his coadjutor. They carried with them ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, in thirty *Quinquereme* galleys. With these they landed at *Emporie*; and marched from thence to *Tarracon* along the sea-coast. At the same of *Scipio's* arrival, it is said, that ambassages came to him apace from all quarters of the province: which he entertained with such a majesty, as bred a wonderful opinion of him. As for the enemies, they were greatly afraid of him: and so much the greater was their fear, by how much the less they could give any reason for it. If we must believe this, then must we needs believe, that their fear was even as great as could be: for very little cause there was, to be terrified with the fame of so young a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the winter following (or, as some think, all the next year) he did nothing, but spent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, in treating with the *Spaniards*. His first enterprise was against *New Carthage*: upon which he came unexpected, with five and twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, his sea-forces coasting him, and moderating their course in such wise, that they arrived there together with him. He assailed the town by land and sea; and won it by assault the first day. The *Carthaginians* lost it, by their too much confidence upon the strength of it: which caused them to man it more slenderly than was requisite. Yet it might have been well enough defended, if some fishermen of *Tarracon* had not discovered unto *Scipio*, a secret passage unto the walls; whereof the townsmen themselves were either ignorant, or thought (at least) that their enemies could have no notice. This city of *New Carthage*, resembled the old and great *Carthage* in situation; standing upon a demy-island, between an haven and a great lake. All the western side of the walls, and somewhat of the north, was fenced with this lake, which the fishermen of *Tarracon* had founded; and finding in some part thereof a shell, whereon at low water men might pass knee-deep, or (at most) wading up to the navel, *Scipio* thrust therein some companies of his men; who recovered the top of the walls without resistance: the place being left without guard, as able to defend it self

by the natural strength. These falling suddenly upon the backs of the *Carthaginians* within the city; easily forced a gate, and gave free entrance to the *Roman* army. What booty was found within the town, *Livy* himself cannot certainly affirm; but is fain to say, that some *Roman* historians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that small proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by *Scipio* into the *Roman* treasury, we may easily perceive how great a vanity it was to say, that all the wealth of *Afric* and *Spain*, was heaped up in that one town. But therein were bestowed all the *Spanish* hostages (or at least of the adjoining provinces) whom *Scipio* entreated with singular courtesy; restoring them unto their kindred and friends, in such gracious manner as doubled the thanks due to so great a benefit. Hereupon a prince of the *Celtiberians*, and two petty kings of the *Illergetes* and *Lacetani*, nearest neighbours to *Tarracon*, and dwelling on the north side of *Iberus*, forsook the *Carthaginian* party, and joined with the *Romans*. The speech of *Indibilis*, king of the *Illergetes*, is much commended; for that he did not vaunt himself, as commonly fugitives use, of the pleasure which he did unto the *Romans*, in revolting from their enemies; but rather excused this his changing side, as being thereto compelled by injuries of the *Carthaginians*; and invited by the honourable dealing of *Scipio*. This temperate estimation of his new professed friendship, was indeed no unsure token, that it should be long lasting. But if the *Illergetes* had long ere this (as we have heard before) forsaken the *Carthaginian* party, and stoutly held themselves as friends to *Cn. Scipio*; then could nothing have been devised more vain, than this oration of *Indibilis* their king; excusing, as new, his taking part with the same, when he should have rather craved pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the father and the uncle. Most likely therefore it is, that howsoever the two elder *Scipio's* had gotten some few places among these their neighbours, and held them by strength; yet were the *Romans* never masters of the country, till this worthy commander, by recovering their hostages from the *Carthaginians*, and by his great munificence in sending them home, won unto himself the assured love and assistance of these princes. The *Carthaginian* generals, when they heard of this loss, were very sorry: yet nevertheless they set a good face on the matter; saying, that a young man having stol'n a town by surprise, was too far transported and over-joyed; but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in mind of his father and uncle; which would alter his mood, and bring him to a more convenient temper.

Now if I should here interpose mine own conjecture; I should be bold to say, that the *Carthaginians* were at this time busy in setting forth towards *Italy*; and that *Scipio*, to divert them, undertook *New Carthage*, as his father and uncle, upon the like occasion, sat down before *Ibera*. And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not been much amiss, if the passage over the lake had been undiscovered, and the town held out some longer while. For howsoever that particular action was the more fortunate, in coming to such good issue upon the first day: yet in the generality of the business, between *Rome* and *Carthage*, it was more to be wished, that *Asdrubal* should be stayed from going into *Italy*, than that half of *Spain* should be taken from him. Whereas therefore it had nothing left to do, that should hinder his journey; *Mago*, and *Asdrubal*, the son

of *Gesco*, were thought sufficient to hold *Scipio* work, in that lingering war of taking and re-taking towns, whilst the main of the *Carthaginian* forces, under *Asdrubal*, the son of *Amilcar*, went to a greater enterprise; even to fight in trial of the empire. But the *Roman* historians tell this after another fashion; and say, that *Asdrubal* was beaten into *Italy*: whither he ran for fear, as thinking himself ill assured of the *Spaniards*, as long as they might but hear the name of *Scipio*. *Scipio*, say they, coming upon *Asdrubal*; his vant-coureurs charged so lustily the *Carthaginian* horse, that they drove them into their trenches: and made it apparent, even by that small piece of service, how full of spirit the *Roman* army was, and how dejected the enemy. *Asdrubal* therefore by night retired out of that even ground, and occupied an hill, compassed on three sides with a river, very steep of ascent, and not easy of access on the fore-side; by which himself got up, and was to be followed by the *Romans*. On the top of it there was a plain, whercon he strongly incamped himself: and in the mid-way, between the top and root of the hill, was also another plain; into which he descended, more upon bravery, than he might not seem to hide himself within his trenches, than for that he durst adventure his army to the hazard of a battel, for which this was no equal ground. But such advantage of place could not save him from the *Romans*. They climbed up the hill to him; they recovered even footing with him; drove him out of this lower plain, up into his camp on the hill-top: whither although the ascent were very difficult, and his elephants bestowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approach; yet compassing about, and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found; but much more strongly breaking their way, where the *Carthaginians* had got up before them, they drove both men and elephants headlong, I know not whither: for it is said, that there was no way to fly. Out of such a battel, wherein he lost eight thousand men, *Asdrubal* is said to have escaped; and gathering together his dispersed troops, to have marched towards the *Pyrenees*, having sent away his elephants ere the fight began. Nevertheless *Mago*, and *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gesco*, are reported after this, to have consulted with him about this war; and finally to have concluded, that go he needs must, were it but to carry all the *Spaniards* as far as might be, from the name of *Scipio*. How likely this was to have been true, it shall appear at his coming into *Italy*; whence these incoherent relations of the *Spanish* affairs have too long detained us.

S E C T. XII.

The great troubles that Hannibal raised in all quarters, to the city of Rome. Posthumius, the Roman general, with his whole army, is slain by the Gauls. Philip, king of Macedon, enters into a league with Hannibal, against the Romans. The Romans joining with the Etolians, make war upon Philip in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him, the better to intend their business against the Carthaginians.

WE left *Hannibal* wintering at *Capua*: where he and his new confederates rejoiced (as may be thought) not a little, to hear the good news from *Carthage*, of such mighty aid, as was decreed to be sent thence unto him. In former times he had found work enough, to carry the *Roman* corn into his own barns, and to drive away their cattle to *Geryon*: his victories affording him little other

profit, than sustenance for his army; by making him master of the open field. He might perhaps have forc'd some walled towns, in like sort as he did *Geryon*, and the castle of *Cannæ*: but had he spent much time about the getting of any one place well defended; the hunger, that his army must have endured the winter and spring following, until corn were ripe, would have grievously punished him for such employment of the summer. This may have been the reason, why he forbore to adventure upon *Rome* after his victory at *Cannæ*. For had he failed (as it was a matter of no certainty) to carry the city at his first coming; want of victuals would have compelled him to quit the enterprise. Yea, many of the people that opened so hastily their gates unto him, upon the fresh bruit of his glorious success, would have taken time of deliberation, and waited perhaps the event of another battel: if being, either for want of means to force the city, or of necessities to continue a siege before it, repelled (as might seem) from the walls of *Rome*, he had presented himself unto them with a lessened reputation, somewhat later in the year; when time to force their obedience was wanting, unless they would freely yield it. But this great part of the care and travel was past, when so many states of *Italy* were become his: the year following, the *Samnites*, and other old enemies of *Rome*, were like to receive a notable pleasure of their new alliance with *Carthage*, by helping to lay siege unto that proud city, which so long had held them in subjection. Thus the winter was passed over joyfully, saving that there came not any tidings of the preparations, to second the welcome report of those mighty forces, that were decreed and expected. The spring drew on: and of the promised supply, there arrived no more, than only the elephants. How late it was ere these came, I find not: only we find, that after this he had above thirty of them; whereas all, save one, that he brought over the *Alps*, had been lost in his journey through the marshes of *Hetruria*. Very bad excuse of this exceeding negligence, they that brought the elephants could make unto *Hannibal*. If they were his friends, they told him truly, what mischiefs the perswasion of *Hanno* wrought among the too niggardly *Carthaginians*. Otherwise, they might perhaps inform him, that it was thought a safer, though a farther way about, to pass along through *Spain* and *Gaul*, as he himself had done; and increase the army, by hiring the *Barbarians* in the journey; than to commit the main strength of their city, to the hazard of the seas: especially wanting a commodious haven, to receive the fleet that should carry such a number of men, horses, and elephants, with all needful provisions. With these allegations *Hannibal* must rest content; and seek, as well as he can, to satisfy his *Italian* confederates. Therefore, when time of the year served, he took the field: and having finished what rested to be done at *Casilinum*, sought to make himself master of some good haven-town thereabout, that might serve to entertain the *Carthaginian* fleet; or take from his enemies at home all excuse, which they might pretend by want thereof. To the same purpose, and to do what else was needful, he sent *Himilco* unto the *Locrians*, and *Hanno* to the *Lucans*: not forgetting at once to assuage all quarters of *Italy*; yea, the isles of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; since the siege of *Rome* must needs be deferred unto another year. *Hanno* made an ill journey of it, being met, or overtaken, by *T. Sempronius Longus*: who slew about two thousand of his men, with the loss of fewer than three hundred *Romans*.

mans. But *Himilco* sped far better. By help of the *Brutians*, his good friends, he won *Petellia*, or *Petilia*, by force, after it had held out some months. He won likewise *Consentia*, and *Croton*, that was forsaken by the inhabitants. Also the city of *Locri*, which was of great importance, yielded unto him; as did all other places thereabout, except only the town of *Rhegium*, over-against *Sicily*.

The great faith of the *Petilians* is worthy to be recorded, as a notable testimony of the good government under which the *Roman* subjects lived. As for the *Samnites*, *Campans*, and others, whose earnestness in rebellion may seem to prove the contrary, we are to consider, that they had lately contended with *Rome* for sovereignty, and were now transported with ambition; which reason can hardly moderate, or benefits allay. The *Petilians*, in the very beginning of their danger, did send to *Rome* for help, where their messengers received answer from the senate, that the publick misfortunes had not left means to relieve their associates that were so far distant. The *Petilian* messengers (ambassadors they are termed, as were all others, publickly sent from cities of the *Roman* subjection, that had a private jurisdiction within themselves) fell down to the ground, and humbly besought the fathers not to give them away, promising to do and suffer whatsoever was possible in defence of their town against the *Carthaginians*. Hereupon the senate fell to consultation again, and having thoroughly considered all their forces remaining, plainly confessed, that it was not in their power to give any relief. Wherefore these ambassadors were willed to return home, and to bid their citizens provide hereafter for their own safety, as having already discharged their faith to the utmost. All this notwithstanding, the *Petilians* (as was said) held out some months; and having striven in vain to defend themselves, when there was no apparent possibility, gave to the *Carthaginians* a bloody victory over them, being vanquished as much by famine, as by any violence of the assailants.

The *Romans* at this time were indeed in such ill case, that *Hannibal*, with a little help from *Carthage*, might have reduced them into terms of great extremity. For whereas, in a great bravery, before their loss at *Cannæ*, they had shewed their high minds, by entertaining the care of things far off, notwithstanding the great war that lay upon them so near at hand; it now fell out miserably all at once, that their fortune abroad was no whit better than at home. *L. Posthumius Albinus*, their pretor, they had sent with an army of twenty-five thousand into *Gaul*; to the *Illyrian* king *Pineus*, they had sent for their tribute due, whereof the pay-day was past, willing him, if he desired forbearance, to deliver hostages for his performance of what was due; and to *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, they had sent to require, that he should deliver up unto them *Demetrius Pharius*, their subject and rebel, whom he had received. But now from all quarters they hear tidings little suitable to their former glorious conceits. *Posthumius*, with all his army, was cut in pieces by the *Gauls*, in such sort, that scarce ten men escaped. The manner of his overthrow was very strange. There was a great wood, call'd by the *Gauls* *Litana*, through which he was to pass. Against his coming, the enemies had sawed the trees so far, that a little force would serve to cast them down. When therefore *Posthumius*, with his whole army, was entered into this dangerous passage, the *Gauls*, that lay about the wood, began to cast down the trees; which falling one against another, bore all down so fast, that the *Romans* were over-whelmed, men and horses, in such wise,

that no more escaped than is said before. How this tedious work of sawing so many trees, could take desired effect, and neither be perceived, nor made frustrate, either by some wind, that might have blown all down before the *Romans* entered, or by some other of those many accidents whereto the device was subject, I do not well conceive. Yet some such thing may have been done, and what failed in the stratagem, supplied with the enemy's sword. It is not perhaps worthy to be omitted, as a monument of the savage condition wherewith *Lombardy*, a country now so civil, was infected in elder times, that of *Posthumius's* skull being cleansed, and trimmed up with gold, a drinking cup was made, and consecrated in their principal temple, as an holy vessel for the use of the priest in their solemnities. Of this great overthrow, when word was brought to *Rome*, the amazement was no less than the calamity. But sorrow could give no remedy to the mischief; and anger was vain, where they wanted forces to revenge. Tribute from the *Illyrians* there came none, neither do I find that any was a second time demanded: this we find, that with *Pleuratus* and *Scerdiletus*, *Illyrian* kings, as also with *Gentius*, who reigned within a few years following, the *Romans* dealt upon even terms, intreating their assistance against *Philip* and *Perseus*, not commanding their duty as vassals. The *Macedonian* troubled them yet a little further; for having assured his affairs in *Greece*, and enjoying leisure to look into the doings abroad, he sent ambassadors to *Hannibal*, with whom he made a league upon these conditions; that the king in person should come into *Italy*, and with all his forces by land and sea assist the *Carthaginians* in the *Roman* war, until it were finished; that *Rome* and all *Italy*, together with all the spoil therein to be gotten, should be left entire unto the state of *Carthage*; and that afterwards *Hannibal*, with his army, should pass into *Greece*, and there assist *Philip* until he had subdued all his enemies (which were the *Etolians*, *Thracians*, king *Antiochus*, and others) leaving probably unto him the full possession of that country, and the isles adjoining. But such pre-disposition of kingdoms and provinces, is lightly controlled by the divine providence, which therein shews it self not (as *Herodotus* falsely terms it, and like an atheist) envious or malicious, but very just and majestic, in upholding that unspeakable greatness of sovereignty, by which it rules the whole world, and all that therein is.

The first ambassadors that *Philip* sent, fell into the *Romans* hands, in their journey towards *Hannibal*; and being examined what they were, adventured upon a bold lie, saying, that they were sent from the king of *Macedon* to *Rome*, there to make a league with the senate and people, and offer his help in this time of great necessity. These news were so welcome, that the joy thereof took away all care of making better enquiry. So they were lovingly feasted, and friendly dismissed, with guides that should lead them the way, and shew them how to avoid the *Carthaginians*. But they being thus instructed concerning their journey, fell willfully into the camp of *Hannibal*, who entertained them after a better fashion, and concluded the business about which they came upon the points before remembered. In their return homeward, they happened again unluckily to be deserted by the *Roman* fleet, which, mistaking them to be of the *Carthaginian* party, gave them chase. They did their best to have escaped, but being overtaken, they suffered the *Romans* to come aboard, and trusting to the lie that once had served them, said it again, that having been sent from king *Philip* to make a league with the people of

of *Rome*, they were not able, by reason of the *Carthaginians* lying between, to get any farther than to *M. Valerius*, the pretor, unto whom they had signified the good affection of the king their master. The tale was now less credible than before, and (which marred all) *Gesco*, *Bostar*, and *Mago*, with their followers, *Carthaginians* that were sent with them from *Hannibal* to ratify the agreement, being presently detected, made the matter apparent. Wherefore a little inquisition served to find all out; so that at length *Hannibal's* own letters to king *Philip* were delivered up, and the whole business confessed. The ambassadors and their followers were sent close prisoners to *Rome*, where the chief of them were cast into prison, and the rest sold for bond-slaves. Yet one of their ships that escaped, carried word into *Macedon* of all that had happened. Whereupon a new ambassage was sent, that went and returned with better speed; concluding as was agreed before, only with some loss of time.

The *Romans* were exceedingly perplexed, thinking with what heavy weight this *Macedonian* war, in an evil hour, was likely to fall upon them, when their shoulders were over-burdened with the load of the *Carthaginian*. Yet they took a noble resolution, and suitable unto that whereby they kept off the storm, that else would have beaten upon them from *Spain*. They judged it more easy with small forces to detain *Philip* in *Greece*, than with all their strength to resist him in *Italy*. And herein they were in the right. For that the very reputation of a king of *Macedon*, joining with *Hannibal* in such a time, would have sufficed to shake the allegiance not only of the *Latins*, and other their most faithful subjects, but even of the *Roman* colonies that held all privileges of the city, it will appear by the following success of things. *M. Valerius*, the pretor, with twenty *Quinquereme* galleys, was appointed to attend upon the *Macedonian*, and to set on foot some commotion in *Greece*, or to nourish the troubles already therein begun. *Philip* was busy about the sea-towns that looked towards *Italy*, setting upon *Apollonia*; and thence falling upon *Oricum*, which he won, and so returned to *Apollonia* again. The *Epirots* craved help of *M. Valerius*, or rather accepted his kind offers, who had none other business to do. The garrison that *Philip* had left in *Oricum*, was strong enough to hold the townsmen in good order; but not to keep out the *Romans*, of whose daring to attempt any thing against him on that side the sea, *Philip* as then had no suspicion. *Valerius* therefore easily re-gained the town, and sent thence a thousand men, under *Nevius Crispus*, an undertaking and expert captain, which got by night into *Apollonia*. These made a notable fall, and brake into *Philip's* trenches with so great slaughter, that they forced him to forsake his camp, and raise the siege. The king purposed (as it is said) to have departed thence by sea; but *Valerius*, coming with his fleet from *Oricum*, stopped up the mouth of the river; so that he was fain to burn his ships (which belike were no better than long-boats) and depart ill furnished of carriages by land. After this, *Valerius* dealt with the *Etolians*, a nation always enemy to the crown of *Macedon*, and easily persuaded them (being so affected, as hath elsewhere been shewed) to make strong war on *Philip*, wherein he promised them great assistance from the *Romans*. That which most moved the troublesome spirits of the *Etolians*, was the hope of getting *Acarnania*, after which they had gaped long; and whereof the *Roman* was as liberal in making promise, as if already it had been his own. So a league was made between them, and afterwards solemnly published at *Olympia* by the *Eto-*

lians, and by the *Romans* in their capitol. The conditions were, that from *Etolia* to *Corcyra*, in which space *Acarnania* was contained, all the country should be subdued, and left unto the *Etolians*; the pillage only to be given to the *Romans*. And that if the *Etolians* made peace with *Philip*, it should be with provision to hold no longer, than whilst he abstained from doing injury to the *Romans*, or their associates. This was indeed the only point whereat *Valerius* aimed, who promised as much on the *Romans* behalf, that they should not make peace with the *Macedonian*, unless it were with like condition of including the *Etolians*. Into this league was place reserved for the *Lacedemonians* and *Eleans*, as to those that had made or favoured the side of *Cleomenes* against the *Macedonian*, to enter at their pleasure. The like regard was had of *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus*; the first of which reigned at *Pergamus*, in *Asia* the less, a prince hereafter much to be spoken of; the other two held some part of *Illyria*, about which the *Romans* were so far from contending with them, that gladly they sought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of these associates are thrust into the treaty, rather to give it countenance, than for any readiness which they disclose to enter thereinto. The *Etolians* alone, and chiefly *Scopas*, their pretor, with *Dorymachus*, and others, are yet-a-while the only men of whom the *Roman* generals must make much; as the late *French* king *Henry* the fourth, when he had only the title of *Navarre*, was said to court the majors of *Rochele*. *Philip* was not idle, when he heard whereunto the *Etolians* tended. He repaired his army, made a countenance of war upon the *Illyrians*, and other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger to infest the kingdom of *Macedon*; wasted the country about *Oricum* and *Apollonia*, and over-running the *Pelagonians*, *Dardanians*, and others, whom he held suspected, came down into *Thessaly*, whence he made shew as if he would invade *Etolia*. By the same of this expedition, he thought to stir up all the *Greeks* adjoining against the *Etolians*, whom they generally detested as a nest of robbers, troublesome to all the country. To which purpose, and to hinder the *Etolians* from breaking into *Greece*, he left *Perseus*, his son and heir, with four thousand men, upon their borders: with the rest of his army, before greater business should overtake and entangle him, he made a long journey into *Thrace*, against a people called the *Medes*, that were wont to fall upon *Macedon*, whensoever the king was absent. The *Etolians*, hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could against the *Acarnanians*, in hope to subdue those their daily enemies, and win their little country, ere he should be able to return. Here-to it much availed, that the *Romans* had already taken *Oeniade* and *Naxos*, *Acarnanian* towns, conveniently situated to let in an army, and consigned them unto the *Etolians*, according to the tenor of the contract lately made with them. But the stout resolution of the *Acarnanians*, to die (as we say) every mother's son of them, in defence of their country; together with the great haste of the *Macedonian* (who laid aside all other business) to succour these his friends, caused the *Etolians* to forsake their enterprise. When this expedition was given over, the *Romans* and *Etolians* fell upon *Ancyra*, which they took; the *Romans* assailing it by sea, the *Etolians* by land. The *Etolians* had the town, and the *Romans* the spoil.

For these good services *M. Valerius* was chosen consul at *Rome*; and *P. Sulpicius* sent in his stead, to keep the war on foot in *Greece*. But besides the *Roman* help, *Attalus*, out of *Asia*, came over to assist

assist the *Etolians*. He was chiefly moved, by his own jealousy of *Philip's* greatness: though somewhat also tickled with the vanity, of being chosen by the *Etolians* their principal magistrate; which honour, though no better than titular, he took in very loving part. Against the forces which *Attalus* and the *Romans* had sent, being joined with the main power of *Etolia*, *Philip* tried the fortune of two battels: and was victorious in each of them. Hereupon these his troublesome neighbours desired peace of him; and used their best means to get it. But when the day, appointed for the conclusion thereof, was come; their ambassadors, instead of making submission, proposed unto him such intolerable conditions, as ill beseemed vanquished men to offer; and might therefore well testify, that their minds were altered. It was not any love of peace, but fear of being besieged in their own towns, that had made them desirous of composition. This fear being taken away, by the encouragements of *Attalus* and the *Romans*, they were as fierce as ever: and thrust a garrison of their own, and some *Roman* friends, into *Elis*; which threatened *Achaia*, wherein *Philip* then lay. The *Romans*, making a cut over the streight from *Naupactus*, wasted the country in a terrible bravery: wherein *Philip* requited them; coming upon them in haste from the *Nemean* games (which he was then celebrating) and sending them faster away, but nothing richer than they came.

In the heat of this contention, *Prusias*, king of *Bithynia*, fearing the growth of *Attalus*, no less than *Attalus* held suspected the power of *Philip*; sent a navy into *Greece*, to assist the *Macedonian* party. The like did the *Carthaginians*: and upon greater reason; as being more interested in the success of his affairs. *Philip* was too weak by sea: and though he could man some two hundred ships; yet the vessels were such, as could not hold out against the *Roman Quinqueremes*. Wherefore it behoved him, to use the help of his good friends the *Carthaginians*. But their aid came somewhat too late: which might better at first have kept those enemies from fastning upon any part of *Greece*; than afterwards it could serve to drive them out, when they had pierced into the bowels of that country. Ere *Philip* could attempt any thing by sea; it was needful that he should correct the *Eleans*, bad neighbours to the *Achaians* his principal confederates. But in assailing their town, he was encountred by the *Etolian* and *Roman* garrison; which drove him back with some loss. In such cases, especially where God intends a great conversion of empire, fame is very powerful in working. The king had received no great detriment, in his retreat from *Elis*: rather he had given testimony of his personal valour, in fighting well on foot, when his horse was slain under him. He had also soon after taken a great multitude of the *Eleans*, to the number of four thousand; with some twenty thousand head of cattel, which they had brought together into a place of safety, as they thought, when their country was invaded. But it had happened, that in his pursuit of the *Roman* foragers about *Sicyon*, his horse running hastily under a low tree, had torn off one of the horns, which (after the fashion of those times) the king wore in his crest. This was gathered up by an *Etolian*; who carried it home, and shewed it as a token of *Philip's* death. The horn was well known, and the tale believed. All *Macedon* therefore was in an uproar: and not only the borderers ready to fall upon the country, but some captains of *Philip* easily corrupted; who thinking to make themselves a fortune in that

change of things, ran into such treason; as they might better hope to make good, than to excuse. Hereupon the king returned home; leaving not three thousand men to assist his friends the *Acheans*. He also took order, to have beacons erected, that might give him notice of the enemies doings; upon whom he meant shortly to return. The affairs of *Macedon*, his presence quickly established. But in *Greece* all went ill-favouredly; especially in the isle of *Eubœa*, where one *Plator* betrayed to *Attalus*, and the *Romans*, the town of *Oreum*, ere *Philip* could arrive to help it; where also the strong city of *Chalcis* was likely to have been lost, if he had not come the sooner. He made such hasty marches, that he had almost taken *Attalus* in the city of *Opus*. This city, lying over-against *Eubœa*, *Attalus* had won, more through the cowardize of the people, than any great force that he had used. Now because the *Roman* soldiers had defrauded him in the sack of *Oreum*, and taken all to themselves: it was agreed, that *Attalus* should make his best profit of the *Opuntians*; without admitting the *Romans* to be his sharers. But whilst he was busy, in drawing as much money as he could out of the citizens: the sudden tidings of *Philip's* arrival, made him leave all behind him, and run away to the seaside, where he got aboard his ships; finding the *Romans* gone before, upon the like fear. Either the indignity of this misadventure; or tidings of *Prusias* the *Bithynian* his invasion upon the kingdom of *Pergamus*; made *Attalus* return home, without staying to take leave of his friends. So *Philip* recovered *Opus*; won *Torone*, *Tritonos*, *Drymus*, and many small towns in those parts; performing likewise some actions, of more bravery than importance, against the *Etolians*. In the mean season, *Machanidas*, the tyrant of *Lacedemon*, had been busy in *Peloponnesus*; but hearing of *Philip's* arrival, was returned home.

The *Lacedemonians*, hearing certain report of *Cleomenes's* death in *Egypt*, went about to choose two new kings; and to conform themselves to their old manner of government. But their estate was so far out of tune, that their hope of redressing things within the city, proved no less unfortunate, than had been their attempts of recovering a large dominion abroad. *Lycurgus*, a tyrant, rose up among them: unto whom succeeded this *Machanidas*; and shortly after came *Nabis*, that was worse than both of them. They held on the *Etolian* and *Roman* side, for fear of the *Acheans*, that were the chief confederates of *Philip*, and hated extremely the name both of *Tyrant*, and of *Lacedemonian*. But of these we shall speak more hereafter.

Philip entring into *Achaia*, and seeing his presence had brought the contentment of assurance to that country, spake brave words to the assembly of their states, saying, that he had to do with an enemy, that was very nimble, and made war by running away. He told how he had followed them to *Chalcis*, to *Oreum*, to *Opus*, and now into *Achaia*: but could no where find them; such haste they made, for fear of being overtaken. But flight, he said, was not always prosperous: he should one day light upon them; as ere this he sundry times had done, and still to their loss. The *Achaians* were glad to hear these words; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deeds accompanying them. For he restored unto their nation some towns, that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewise to the *Megalopolitans* their confederates, he rendred *Aliphera*. The *Dymeans*, that had been taken by the *Romans*, and sold for slaves, he sought out, ransomed, and put in quiet possession of their own city.

city. Further, passing over the *Corinthian* gulf, he fell upon the *Etolians* : whom he drove into the mountains and woods, or other their strongest holds ; and wasted their country. This done, he took leave of the *Acheans* : and returning home by sea, visited the people that were his subjects, or dependants ; and animated them so well, that they rested fearless of any threatening danger. Then had he leisure to make war upon the *Dardani*ans, ill neighbours to *Macedon* : with whom nevertheless he was not so far occupied, but that he could go in hand with preparing a fleet of an hundred gallies, whereby to make himself master of the sea ; the *Romans* (since the departure of *Attalus*) having not dared to meet or pursue him, when he lately ran along the coast of *Greece*, fast by them where they lay.

This good success added much reputation to the *Macedonian* ; and emboldened him to make strong war upon the *Etolians*, at their own doors. As for the *Romans* ; either some displeasure, conceived against their confederates, or some fear of danger at home, when *Asdrubal* was ready to fall upon *Italy*, caused them to give over the care of things in *Greece*, and leave their friends there to their own fortunes. The *Etolians* therefore, being driven to great extremity, were fain to sue for peace unto *Philip*, and accept it, upon whatever conditions it best pleased him. The agreement was no sooner made, than *P. Sempronius*, with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirty five gallies, came over in great haste (though somewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in *Etolia*, he turned aside to *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia* ; making a great noise, as if with these his own forces he would work wonders. But it was not long, ere *Philip* came to visit him ; and found him tame enough. The king presented him battel : but he refused it ; and suffering the *Macedonians* to waste the country round about, before his eyes, kept himself close within the walls of *Apollonia* ; making some overtures of peace : which caused *Philip* to return home quietly. The *Romans* had not so great cause to be displeased with the *Etolians*, as had *Philip*, to take in evil part the demeanor of the *Carthaginians*. For notwithstanding the royal offer that he made them, to serve their turn in *Italy*, and assist them in getting their hearts desire, before he would expect any requital : they had not sent any fleet, as in reason they ought, and as (considering his want of sufficient ability by sea) it is likely they were bound, either to secure the transportation of his army, or to free his coast from the *Roman* and *Etolian* Pyracies. Only once they came to his help, which was, at his last journey into *Achaia*. But they were gone again before his arrival : having done nothing ; and pretending fear of being taken by the *Romans*, even at such time as *Philip*, with his own navy, durst boldly pass by sea, and found none that durst oppose him. This wretched dealing of the *Carthaginians*, may therefore seem to have been one of *Hanno's* tricks ; whereof *Hannibal* so bitterly complained. For it could not but grieve this malicious man exceedingly, to hear, that so great a king made offer to serve in person under *Hannibal*, and required the assistance of the same *Hannibal*, as of a man likely to make monarchs, and alter the affairs of the world at pleasure. Therefore he had reason, such as envy could suggest, to persuade the *Carthaginians* unto a false and thrifty course : which was, not to admit into the fellowship of their *Italian* wars so mighty a prince, whom change of affection might make dangerous to their empire ; or his much affection unto *Hannibal*, more dan-

gerous to their liberty. Rather they should do well to save charges, and feed the *Macedonian* with hopes, by making many promises of sending a fleet, and some other succours. This would cost nothing : yet would it serve to terrify the *Romans*, and compel them to send part of their forces from home ; that might find this enemy work abroad. So should the *Roman* armies be lessened in *Italy* ; and *Philip*, when once he was engaged in the war, be urged unto the prosecution by his own necessity, putting the *Carthaginians* to little or no charges ; yea, scarce to the labour of giving him thanks. Now if it might come to pass, as *Hannibal* every day did promise, that *Rome*, and all *Italy*, should within a while be at the devotion of *Carthage* ; better it were that the city should be free, so as the troublesome *Greeks* might address their complaints unto the *Carthaginians*, as competent judges between them and the *Macedonian*, than that *Hannibal*, with the power of *Afric*, should wait upon *Philip*, as his executioner, to fulfill his will and pleasure, in doing such injuries, as would both make the name of a *Carthaginian* hateful in *Greece*, and oblige *Philip* to be no less impudent, in fulfilling all requests of *Hannibal*. Whether the counsel of *Hanno*, and his fellows, were such as this ; or whether the *Carthaginians*, of their own disposition without his advice, were too sparing, and careless, the matter (as far as concerned *Philip*) came to one reckoning. For they did him no manner of good : but rather dodged with him ; even in their little courtesie which they most pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reason, why he began the building of an hundred gallies, as if he would let them and others know, whereto his proper strength would have reached, had he not vainly given credit to faithless promises. When therefore the *Etolians* had submitted themselves already : and when the *Romans* desired his friendship, as might be thought, for very fear of him ; with reputation enough, and not as a forsaken client of the *Carthaginians*, but a prince able to have succoured them in their necessity, he might give over the war, and, without reprehension, leave them to themselves. For he had wilfully entered into trouble for their sakes : but they despised him, as if the quarrel were merely his own, and he unable to manage it. The vanity of which their conceits would appear unto them, when they should see, that with his proper strength he had finished the war, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the year following it was agreed, by mediation of the *Epirots*, *Acar*nians, and others, that the *Romans* should retain three or four towns of *Illyria*, which they had recovered in this war, being part of their old *Illyrian* conquest : places no way belonging to the *Macedonian* ; and therefore perhaps inserted into the covenants, that somewhat might seem to have been gotten. On the other side, the *Atintanes* were appointed to return under the obedience of *Philip* : who, if they were (as *Ortelius* probably conjectures) the people of the country about *Apollonia*, then did the *Romans* abandon part of their gettings ; whereby it appears, that they did not give peace, as they would seem to have done, but accepted it, upon conditions somewhat to their loss.

The confederates and dependants of the *Macedonian*, comprehended in this peace, were *Prusias*, king of *Bythia*, the *Acheans*, *Baetians*, *Thes*salians, *Acar*nians, and *Epirots*. On the *Roman* side were named, first, the people of *Ilium*, as an honourable remembrance of the *Romans* descent from *Troy* ; then, *Attalus*, king of *Pergamus* ; *Pleuratus*, an *Illyrian* prince ; and *Nabis*, the tyrant

rant of *Lacedemon*, together with the *Eleans*; *Messenians*, and *Athenians*. The *Etolians* were omitted, belike, as having agreed for themselves before. But the *Eleans* and *Messenians*, followers of the *Etolians*, (and by them, as is most likely, comprised in their league with *Philip*) were also inserted by the *Romans*, that were never slow in offering their friendship to small and feeble nations. As for the *Athenians*, they stood much upon their old honour; and loved to bear a part, though they did nothing in all great actions. Yet the setting down of their names in this treaty, served the *Romans* to good purpose; forasmuch as they were a busy people, and ministered occasion to renew the war, when means did better serve to follow it.

S E C T. XIII.

How the Romans began to recover their strength by degrees. The noble affection of the Romans, in relieving the publick necessities of their commonweal.

IT was a great fault in the *Carthaginians*, that, embracing so many enterprizes at once, they followed all by the halves; and wasted more men and money to no purpose, than would have served (if good order had been taken) to finish the whole war in far shorter space, and make themselves lords of all that the *Romans* held. This error had become the less harmful, if their care of *Italy* had been such as it ought. But they suffered *Hannibal* to weary himself with expectation of their promised supplies; which being still deferred from year to year, caused as great opportunities to be lost, as a conqueror could have desired. The death of *Posthumius*, and destruction of his whole army in *Gaul*; the begun rebellion of the *Sardinians*; the death of *Hiero* their friend in *Syracuse*; with great alterations, much to their prejudice, in the whole isle of *Sicily*; as also that war, of which we last spake, threatened from *Macedon*, happening all at one time, and that so nearly after their terrible overthrow at *Cannæ*, among so many revolts of their *Italian* confederates, would utterly have sunk the *Roman* state, had the *Carthaginians*, if not the first year, yet at the least the second, sent over to *Hannibal* the forces that were decreed. It is not to be doubted, that even this diversity of great hopes, appearing from all parts, administered matter unto *Hanno*, or such as *Hanno* was, whereupon to work. For though it were in the power of *Carthage* to perform all that was decreed for *Italy*, yet could not that proportion hold, when so many new occurrences brought each along with them their new care, and required their several armies. This had not been a very bad excuse, if any one of the many occasions offered had been thoroughly prosecuted; though it stood with best reason, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the prosperity of *Hannibal* in his *Italian* war, should have been strengthened, whatsoever had become of the rest. But the slender troops wherewith the *Carthaginians* fed the war in *Spain*; the lingering aid which they sent to uphold the *Sardinian* rebellion, when it was already well-near beaten down; their trifling with *Philip*; and (amongst all these their attempts) their hasty catching at *Sicily*, little deserved to be thought good reasons of neglecting the main point, whereto all the rest had reference. Rather every one of these actions, considered apart by it self, was no otherwise to be allowed as discreetly undertaken, or substantially followed, than by making supposition, that the care of *Italy* made the *Carthaginians* more negligent in all things else. Yet if these allegations would not serve to content

Hannibal, then must he patiently endure to know, that his own citizens were jealous of his greatness, and durst not trust him with so much power, as should enable him to wrong the state at home.

Whatsoever he heard or thought, *Hannibal* was glad to apply himself to necessity; to feed his *Italian* friends with hopes, and to trifle away the time about *Nola*, *Naples*, *Cumæ*, and other places; being loth to spend his army in an hard siege, that was to be reserved for a work of more importance. Many offers be made upon *Nola*, but always with bad success. Once *Marcellus* fought a battel with him there, yet under the very walls of the town, having the assistance of the citizens, that were grown better affected to the *Roman* side, since the heads that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off. About a thousand men *Hannibal* in that fight lost, which was no great marvel, his forces being then divided, and employed in sundry parts of *Italy* at once. *Naples* was, even in those days, a strong city, and required a year's work to have taken it by force. Wherefore the earnest desire of *Hannibal* to get it, was always frustrate. Upon the town of *Cumæ* they of *Capua* had their plot, and were in hope to take it by cunning. They sent to the chief magistrates of the *Cumans*, desiring them (as being also *Campans*) to be present at a solemn sacrifice of the nation, where they would consult about their general good, promising to bring thither a sufficient guard, to assure the whole assembly from any danger that might come by the *Romans*. This motion the *Cumans* made shew to entertain, but privily sent word of all to *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, the *Roman* consul.

Gracchus was a very good man of war, and happily chosen consul in so dangerous a time. His colleague should have been *Posthumius Albinus*, that was lately slain by the *Gauls*; after whose death *Marcellus* was chosen, as being judged the fittest man to encounter with *Hannibal*. But the *Roman Augures* either found some religious impediment that nullified the election of *Marcellus*, or at least they fained so to have done, because this was the first time that ever two *Plebeian* consuls were chosen together. *Marcellus* therefore gave over the place, and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the late famous dictator, was substituted in his room. But *Fabius* was detained in the city about matters of religion, or superstition, wherewith *Rome* was commonly, especially in times of danger, very much troubled. So *Gracchus* alone, with a consular army, waited upon *Hannibal* among the *Campans*, not able to meet the enemy in field; yet intente to all occasions that should be presented. The *Velones*, or slaves, that lately had been armed, were no small part of his followers. These, and the rest of his men, he continually trained; and had not a greater care to make his army skillful in the exercises of war, than to keep it from quarrels, that might arise by their upbraiding one another with their base conditions.

Whilst the consul was thus busied at *Linternum*, the senators of *Cumæ* sent him word of all that had passed between them and the *Capuans*. It was a good occasion to flesh his men, and make them confident against the enemy, of whom hitherto they had had experience. *Gracchus* therefore put himself into *Cumæ*, whence he issued at such time as the magistrates of that city were expected by the *Campans*. The sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called *Home*, three miles from *Cumæ*. There lay *Marcius Alfius*, the chief magistrate of *Capua*, with fourteen thousand men, not wholly intent either to the sacrifice, or to any danger that might interrupt it; but rather devising how

to surprize others, than fearing himself to be assailed. The consul therefore suffering none to go forth of *Cumæ*, that might bear word of him to the enemies, issued out of the town when it grew dark, his men being well refreshed with meat and sleep the day before, that they might hold out the better in this night's service. So he came upon the *Capuans* unawares, and slew more than two thousand of them, together with their commander, losing not above an hundred of his own men. Their camp he took, but tarried not long to rifle it, for fear of *Hannibal*, who lay not far off. By this his providence, he escaped a greater loss than he had brought upon the enemies. For when *Hannibal* was informed how things went at *Hæmæ*, forthwith he marched thither, hoping to find those young soldiers and slaves busied in making spoil, and loading themselves with the booty. But they were all gotten safe within *Cumæ*, which, partly for anger, partly for desire of gaining it, and partly at the urgent entreaty of the *Capuans*, *Hannibal* assailed the next day. Much labour, and with ill success, the *Carthaginians* and their fellows spent about this town. They raised a wooden tower against it, which they brought close unto the walls, thinking thereby to force an entry. But the defendants on the inside of the wall, raised against this an high tower, whence they made resistance, and found means at length to consume with fire the work of their enemies. While the *Carthaginians* were busy in quenching the fire, the *Romans*, sallying out of the town at two gates, charged them valiantly, and drove them to their trenches, with the slaughter of about fourteen hundred. The consul wisely sounded the retreat, ere his men were too far engaged, and *Hannibal* in a readiness to requite their service. Neither would he, in the pride of this good success, adventure forth against the enemy, who presented him battel the day following, near unto the walls. *Hannibal* therefore, seeing no likelihood to prevail in that which he had taken in hand, broke up the siege, and returned to his old camp at *Tifata*. About these times, and shortly after, when *Fabius* the other consul had taken the field, some small towns were recovered by the *Romans*, and the people severely punished for their revolt.

The *Carthaginian* army was too small to fill with garrisons all places that had yielded, and withal to abide (as it must do) strong in the field. Wherefore *Hannibal*, attending the supply from home, that should enable him to strike at *Rome* it self, was driven in the mean time to alter his course of war; and, instead of making (as formerly he had done) a general invasion upon the whole country, to pass from place to place, and wait upon occasions, that grew daily more commodious to the enemy than to him. The country of the *Hirpines* and *Samnites* was grievously wasted by *Marcellus*, in the absence of *Hannibal*; as also was *Campania*, by *Fabius* the consul, when *Hannibal*, having followed *Marcellus* to *Nola*, and received there the loss before-mentioned, was gone to winter in *Apulia*. These people shewed not the like spirit in defending their lands, and fighting for the *Carthaginian* empire, as in former times they had done, when they contended with the *Romans* in their own behalf to get the sovereignty. They held it reason, that they should be protected by such as thought to have dominion over them, whereby at once they over-burdened their new lords, and gave unto their old the more easy means to take revenge of their defection.

The people of *Rome* were very intentive, as necessity constrained them, to the work that they had in hand. They continued *Fabius* in his consulship,

and joined with him *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*, whom they had appointed unto that honour the year before. Of these two, *Fabius* was called the shield, and *Marcellus*, the *Roman sword*. In *Fabius* it was highly, and upon just reason, commended, that being himself consul, and holding the election, he did not stand upon nice points of formality, or regard what men might think of his ambition, but caused himself to be chosen with *Marcellus*, knowing in what need the city stood of able commanders. The great name of these consuls, and the great preparations which the *Romans* made, served to put the *Campanians* in fear that *Capua* it self should be besieged. To prevent this, *Hannibal*, at their earnest entreaty, came from *Arpi* (where he lay hearkening after news from *Tarentum*) and, having with his presence comforted these his friends, fell on the sudden upon *Puteoli*, a sea-town of *Campania*, about which he spent three days in vain, hoping to have won it. The garrison in *Puteoli* was six thousand strong, and did their duty so well, that the *Carthaginian*, finding no hope of good success, could only shew his anger upon the fields there, and about *Naples*; which having done, and once more (with as ill success as before) assayed *Nola*, he bent his course to *Tarentum*, wherein he had very great intelligence. Whilst he was in his progress thither, *Hanno* made a journey against *Beneventum*; and *T. Gracchus*, the last year's consul, hasting from *Nuceria*, met him there, and fought with him a battel: *Hanno* had with him about seventeen thousand foot, *Brutians* and *Lucans* for the most part, besides twelve hundred horse, very few of which were *Italians*, all the rest *Numidians* and *Moors*. He held the *Roman* work four hours, ere it could be perceived to which side the victory would incline. But *Gracchus*'s soldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late armed slaves, had received from their general a peremptory denuntiation, that this day, or never, they must purchase their liberty, bringing every man, for price thereof, an enemy's head. The sweet reward of liberty was so greatly desired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it; howbeit that vain labour, imposed by their general, of cutting off the slain enemy's heads, troubled them exceedingly, and hindered the service, by employing of so many hands, in a work so little concerning the victory. *Gracchus* therefore finding his own error, wisely corrected it, proclaiming aloud, that they should cast away the heads, and spare the trouble of cutting off any more; for that all should have liberty immediately after the battel, if they won the day. This encouragement made them run headlong upon the enemy, whom their desperate fury had soon overthrown, if the *Roman* horse could have made their part good against the *Numidian*. But though *Hanno* did what he could, and pressed so hard upon the *Romans* battel, that four thousand of the slaves (for fear either of him, or of the punishment which *Gracchus* had threatened before the battel, unto those that should not valiantly behave themselves) retired unto a ground of strength; yet was he glad at length to save himself by flight, when the gross of his army was broken, being unable to remedy the loss. Leaving the field, he was accompanied by no more than two thousand, most of which were horse, all the rest were either slain or taken. The *Roman* general gave unto all his soldiers that reward of liberty which he had promised; but unto those four thousand which had recoiled unto the hill, he added this light punishment, that as long as they served in the wars, they should neither eat nor drink otherwise than standing, unless sickness forced them to break his order. So the victorious army returned to *Bene-*

ventum,

tum : where the newly enfranchised soldiers were feasted in publick by the townsmen ; some sitting, some standing, and all of them having their heads covered (as was the custom of slaves manumised) with caps of white wool. The picture of this feast (as a thing worthy of remembrance) was afterwards hung up in a table by *Gracchus*, in the temple of *Liberty* ; which his father had built and dedicated. This was indeed the first battel, worthy of great note, which the *Carthaginians* had lost since the coming of *Hannibal* into *Italy* : the victories of *Marcellus* at *Nola*, and of this *Gracchus* before at *Hame*, being things of small importance.

Thus the *Romans* through industry, by little and little, repaired that great breach in their estate, which *Hannibal* had made at *Cannæ*. But all this while, and long after this, their treasury was so poor, that no industry nor art could serve to help it. The fruits of their grounds did only (and perhaps hardly) serve, to feed their towns and armies, without any surpluse, that might be exchanged for other needful commodities. Few they were in *Italy*, that continued to pay them tribute : which also they could worse do than before ; as living upon the same trade, and subject to the same inconveniencies, which enfeebled *Rome* it self. *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, that were wont to yield great profit, hardly now maintained the *Roman* armies that lay in those provinces, to hold them safe and in good order. As for the citizens of *Rome*, every one of them suffered his part of the detriment, which the commonwealth sustained, and could now do least for his country, when most need was : as also the number of them was much decreased : so as if money should be raised upon them by the *Poll*, yet must it be far less than in former times. The senate therefore, diligently considering the greatness of the war within the bowels of *Italy*, that could not be thence expelled without the exceeding charge of many good armies ; the peril, wherein *Sicily* and *Sardinia* stood, both of the *Carthaginians*, and of many among the naturals declining from the friendship or subjection of *Rome* ; the threats of the *Macedonian*, ready to land in the eastern parts of *Italy*, if they were not at the cost to find him work at home ; the greater threats of *Asdrubal*, to follow his brother over the *Alps*, as soon as he could rid himself of the *Scipio's* in *Spain* ; and the poverty of the common-wealth, which had not money for any one of these mortal dangers, were driven almost even to extreme want of counsel. But being urged by the violence of swift necessity, signified in the letters of the two *Scipio's* from *Spain* ; they resolved upon the only course, without which the city could not have subsisted.

They called the people to assembly : wherein *Q. Fulvius*, the pretor, laid open the publick wants, and plainly said, that in this exigent, there must be no taking of money for victuals, weapons, apparel, or the like things needful to the soldiers : but that such as had stull, or were artificers, must trust the commonwealth with the loan of their commodities, and labours, until the war were ended. Hereunto he so effectually exhorted all men, especially the publicans or customers, and those which in former times had lived upon their dealing in the common revenues, that the charge was undertaken by private men ; and the army in *Spain* as well supplied, as if the treasury had been full. Shortly after this, *M. Atilius Regulus*, and *P. Furius Philus*, the *Roman* censors, taking in hand the redress of disorders within the city, were chiefly intente to the correction of those that had misbehaved themselves in this present war. They began with

L. Cecilius Metellus : who, after the battel at *Cannæ*, had held discourse with some of his companions, about flying beyond the seas ; as if *Rome*, and all *Italy*, had been no better than lost. After him they took in hand those, that having brought to *Rome* the message of their fellows made prisoners at *Cannæ*, returned not back to *Hannibal*, as they were bound by oath ; but thought themselves thereof sufficiently discharged, in that they had stepped once back into his camp ; with pretence of taking better notice of the captives names. All these were now pronounced infamous by the censors : as also were a great many more ; even whosoever had not served in the wars, after the term which the laws appointed. Neither was the note of the censors at this time (as otherwise it used to be) hurtful only in reputation : but greater weight was added thereunto by this decree of the senate following ; *That all such as were noted with infamy by these censors, should be transported into Sicily, there to serve until the end of the war, under the same hard conditions that were imposed upon the remainder of the army beaten at Cannæ.* The office of the censors was, to take the list and account of the citizens ; to choose or displace the senators ; and to set notes of disgrace (without further punishment) upon those, whose dishonest or unseemly behaviour fell not within the compass of the law. They took also an account of the *Roman* gentlemen : among whom they distributed the publick horses of service, unto such as they thought meet ; or took them away for their misbehaviour. Generally, they had the oversight of men's lives and manners : and their censure was much revered and feared ; though it extended no further, than to putting men out of rank ; or making them change their tribe ; or (which was the most that they could do) causing them to pay some duties to the treasury, for which others were exempted. But besides the care of this general tax, and matters of morality, they had the charge of all publick works ; as mending of high-ways, bridges, water-courses ; the reparations of temples, porches, and such other buildings. If any man encroached upon the streets, high-ways, or other places that ought to be common ; the censors compelled him to make amends. They had also the letting out of lands, customs, and other publick revenues, to farm : so that most of the citizens of *Rome* were beholden unto this office, as maintaining themselves by some of the trades thereto belonging. And this was no small help to conserve the dignity of the senate : the commonalty being obnoxious unto the censors ; which were always of that order, and careful to uphold the reputation thereof. But the common-wealth being now impoverished by war, and having small store of lands to let, or of customs that were worth the farming ; *Regulus* and *Philus* troubled not themselves much with perusing the temples, or other decayed places, that needed reparations : or if they took a view of what was requisite to be done in this kind ; yet forbore they to set any thing in hand, because they had not wherewith to pay. Herein again appeared a notable generosity of the *Romans*. They that had been accustomed, in more happy times, to undertake such pieces of work, offered now themselves as willingly to the censors, as if there had been no such want : promising liberally their cost and travel, without expectation of any payment, before the end of the war. In like sort, the masters of those slaves, that lately had been enfranchised by *Gracchus*, were very well contented to forbear the price of them, until the city were in better case to pay. In this general inclination of the multitude,

to relieve, as far forth as every one was able, the common necessity ; all the goods of orphans, and of widows living under patronage, were brought into the treasury ; and there the questor kept a book of all that was laid out for the sustenance of these widows and orphans : whilst the whole stock was used by the city. This good example of those which remained in the town, prevailed with the soldiers abroad : so that (the poorer sort excepted) they refused to take pay ; and called those mercenaries, that did accept it when their country was in so great want.

The twelve hundred talents, wrongfully extorted from the *Carthaginians* ; nor any injuries following, done by the *Romans* in the height of their pride ; yielded half so much commodity, as might be laid in ballance against these miseries, whereunto their estate was now reduced. Nevertheless, if we consider things aright, the calamities of this war did rather enable *Rome* to deal with those enemies, whom she forthwith undertook, than abate or slacken the growth of that large dominion, whereunto she attained, ere the youngest of those men was dead, whose names we have already mentioned. For by this hammering, the *Roman* metal grew the more hard and solid ; and by paring the branches of private fortunes, the root and heart of the commonwealth was corroborated. So grew the city of *Athens*, when *Xerxes* had burnt the town to ashes, and taken from every particular citizen all hope of other felicity, than that which rested in the common happiness of the universality. Certain it is (as Sir *Francis Bacon* hath judiciously observed) that a state, whose dimension or stem is small, may aptly serve to be a foundation of a great monarchy : which chiefly comes to pass, where all regard of domestical prosperity is laid aside ; and every man's care addressed to the benefit of his country. Hereof I might say that our age hath seen a great example, in the united provinces in the *Netherlands* ; whose present riches and strength, grew chiefly from that ill assurance, which each of their towns, or almost of their families, perceived it self to hold, whilst the generality was oppressed by the duke of *Alva* ; were it so, that the people had thereby grown as warlike, as by extreme industry, and straining themselves to fill their publick treasury, they are all grown wealthy, strong at sea, and able to wage great armies for their services by land. Wherefore, if we value at such a rate as we ought, the patient resolution, conformity to good order, obedience to magistrates, with many other virtues, and, above all other, the great love of the common-weal, which was found in *Rome* in these dangerous times ; we may truly say, that the city was never in greater likelihood to prosper. Neither can it be deemed otherwise, than that if the same affection of the people had lasted, when their empire, being grown more large and beautiful, should in all reason have been more dear unto them, if the riches and delicacies of *Asia* had not infected them with sensuality, and carried their appetites mainly to those pleasures, wherein they thought their well-being to consist ; if all the citizens, and subjects of *Rome*, could have believed their own interest to be as great, in those wars which their late emperors made for their defence, as in these which were managed by the consuls : the empire, founded upon so great virtue, could not have been thrown down by the hands of rude *Barbarians*, were they never so many. But unto all dominions God hath set their periods : who, though he hath given unto man the knowledge of those ways, by which kingdoms rise

and fall ; yet hath left him subject unto the affections, which draw on these fatal changes, in their times appointed.

S E C T. XIV.

The Romans win some towns back from Hannibal. Hannibal wins Tarentum. The siege of Capua. Two victories of Hannibal. The journey of Hannibal to the gates of Rome. Capua taken by the Romans.

AS the people of *Rome* strained themselves to the utmost, for maintaining the war : so their generals abroad omitted no part of industry, in seeking to recover what had been lost. The town of *Casiline* *Fabius* besieged. It was well defended by the *Carthaginian* garrison ; and likely to have been relieved by those of *Capua*, if *Marcellus* from *Nola* had not come to the assistance of his colleague. Nevertheless the place held out so obstinately, that *Fabius* was purposed to give it over : saying, that the enterprise was not great ; yet as difficult, as a thing of more importance. But *Marcellus* was of a contrary opinion. He said, that many such things, as were not at first to have been undertaken by great commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, to be prosecuted unto the best effect. So the siege held on : and the town was pressed so hard, that the *Campans* dwelling therein grew fearful, and craved parley ; offering to give it up, so as all might have leave to depart in safety, whither they pleased. Whilst they were thus treating of conditions : or whilst they were issuing forth, according to the composition already made (for it is diversly reported) *Marcellus*, seizing upon a gate, entred with his army, and put all to the sword that came in their way. Fifty of those that were first gotten out, ran to *Fabius* the consul : who saved them, and sent them to *Capua* in safety ; all the rest were either slain, or made prisoners. If *Fabius* deserved commendations, by holding his word good unto these fifty ; I know not how the slaughter of the rest, or imprisonment afterward of such, as escaped the heat of execution, could be excused by *Marcellus*. It may be that he helped himself, after the *Roman* fashion, with some equivocation, but he shall pay for it hereafter. In like sort was *Mount Marsam*, in *Gascogne*, taken by the marshal *Montluc*, when I was a young man in *France*. For whilst he entertained parley about composition, the besieged ran all from their several guards, upon hasty desire of being acquainted with the conditions proposed. The marshal therefore discovering a part of the walls ungarded, entred by *Scalado*, and put all, save the governor, unto the sword. Herein that governor of *Mount Marsam* committed two gross errors ; the one, in that he gave no order for the captains and companies, to hold themselves in their places ; the other, in that he was content to parley, without pledges for assurance given and received. Some such oversight the governor of *Casiline* seemeth to have committed : yet neither the advantage taken by *Marcellus*, or by *Montluc*, was very honourable. When this work was ended, many small towns of the *Sammites*, and some of the *Lucans* and *Apulians*, were recovered : wherein were taken, or slain, about five and twenty thousand of the enemies ; and the country grievously wasted by *Fabius*, *Marcellus* lying sick at *Nola*.

Hannibal in the mean while was about *Tarentum*, waiting to hear from those, that had promised to give up the town. But *M. Valerius*, the *Roman* propretor,

proprietor, had thrust so many men into it, that the traitors durst not stir. Wherefore the *Carthaginian* was fain to depart, having wearied himself in vain with expectation. Yet he wasted not the country; but contented himself with hope, that they would please him better in time following. So he departed thence toward *Salapia*: which he chose for his wintering place; and began to victual it, when summer was but half past. It is said, that he was in love with a young wench in that town: in which regard if he began his winter more timely, than otherwise need required, he did not like the *Romans*; whom necessity enforced, to make their summer last as long, as they were able to travel up and down the country.

About this time began great troubles in *Sicily*, whither *Marcellus* the consul was sent, to take such order for the province, as need should require. Of the doings there, which wore out more time than his consulship, we will speak hereafter.

The new consuls, chosen at *Rome*, were *Q. Fabius*, the son of the present consul, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time. The *Romans* found it needful for the publick service, to imploy oftentimes their best able men: and therefore made it lawful, during the war, to recontinue their officers, and choose such, as had lately held their places before; without regarding any distance of time, which was otherwise required. The old *Fabius* became lieutenant unto his son: which was perhaps the respect, that most commended his son unto the place. It is noted, that when the old man came into the camp, and his son rode forth to meet him: eleven of the twelve lictors, which carried each an axe, with a bundle of rods before the consul, suffered him, in regard of due reverence, to pass by them on horseback; which was against the custom. But the son perceiving this, commanded the last of his lictors to note it: who thereupon bade the old *Fabius* alight, and come to the consul on his feet. The father cheerfully did so, saying, *It was my mind, son, to make trial, whether thou didst understand thy self to be consul.* *Cassius Altinius*, a wealthy citizen of *Arpi*, who, after the battel at *Cannæ*, had holpen the *Carthaginian* into that town, seeing now the fortune of the *Romans* to amend; came privily to this consul *Fabius*, and offered to render it back unto him, if he might be therefore well rewarded. The consul purposed to follow old examples: and to make this *Altinius* a pattern to all traitors; using him, as *Camillus* and *Fabricius* had done those, that offered their unfaithful service against the *Falisci*, and king *Pyrrhus*. But *Q. Fabius*, the father, was of another opinion: and said, it was a matter of dangerous consequence, that it should be thought more safe to revolt from the *Romans*, than to turn unto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that he should be sent to the town of *Gales*, and there kept as prisoner, until they could better resolve what to do with him, or what use to make of him. *Hannibal*, understanding that *Altinius* was gone, and among the *Romans*, took it not sorrowfully; but thought this a good occasion, to seize upon all the man's riches, which were great. Yet, that he might seem rather severe, than covetous, he sent for the wife and children of *Altinius* into his camp: where having examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intention of this fugitive; partly, and more strictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay; he condemned them, as partakers of the treason, to be burnt alive; and took all their goods unto himself. *Fabius*, the consul, shortly after came to *Arpi*: which he won by *Scalado*,

in a stormy and rainy night. Five thousand of *Hannibal's* soldiers lay in the town; and of the *Arpines* themselves, there were about three thousand. These were thrust foremost by the *Carthaginian* garrison, when it was understood, that the *Romans* had gotten over the wall, and broken open the gate. For the soldiers held the townsmen suspected; and therefore thought it no wisdom, to trust them at their backs. But after some little resistance, the *Arpines* gave over fight, and entertained parley with the *Romans*: protesting, that they had been betrayed by their princes; and were become subject to the *Carthaginians*, against their wills. In process of this discourse, the *Arpine* pretor went unto the *Roman* consul: and receiving his faith for the security of the town, presently made head against the garrison. This notwithstanding, like it is, that *Hannibal's* men continued to make good resistance. For when almost a thousand of them, that were *Spaniards*, offered to leave their companions, and serve on the *Roman* side, it was yet covenanted, that the *Carthaginians* should be suffered to pass forth quietly, and return to *Hannibal*. This was performed: and so *Arpi* became *Roman* again, with little other loss, than of him that had betrayed it. About the same time, *Cliternum* was taken by *Sempronius Tuditanus*, one of the pretors: and unto *Cneius Fulvius*, another of the pretors, an hundred and twelve gentlemen of *Capua* offered their service; upon no other condition, than to have their goods restored unto them, when their city should be recovered by the *Romans*. This was a thing of small importance: but, considering the general hatred of the *Campans* toward *Rome*, it served to discover the inclination of the *Italians* in those times; and how their affections recoiled from *Hannibal*, when there was no appearance of those mighty succours, that had been promised from *Carthage*. The *Consentines* also, and the *Thurines*, people of the *Brutians*, that had yielded themselves to *Hannibal*, returned again to their old allegiance. Others would have followed their example, but that one *L. Pomponius*, who of a *Publican* had made himself a captain, and gotten reputation by petty exploits in foraging the country, was slain by *Hanno*, with a great multitude of those that followed him. *Hannibal* in the mean while had all his care bent upon *Tarentum*; which if he could take, it seemed that it would stand him in good stead, for drawing over that help out of *Macedon*, which his *Carthaginians* failed to send. Long he waited, ere he could bring his desire to pass: and being loth to hazard his forces, where he hoped to prevail by intelligence, he contented himself, with taking in some poor towns of the *Salentines*. At length, his agents within *Tarentum* found means to accomplish their purpose, and his wish. One *Phileas*, that was of their conspiracy, who lay at *Rome*, as ambassador, practising with the hostages of the *Tarentines*, and such as had the keeping of them, conveyed them by night out of the city. But he and his company were the next day so closely pursued, that all of them were taken, and brought back to *Rome*; where they suffered death, as traitors. By reason of this cruelty, or severity, the people of *Tarentum* grew to hate the *Romans*, more generally and earnestly than before. As for the conspirators, they followed their business the more diligently; as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention should happen to be discovered. Wherefore they sent again to *Hannibal*: and acquainting him with the manner of their plot, made the same composition with him for the *Tarentines*, which they

they of *Capua* had made before. *Nico* and *Philomenes*, two the chief among them, used much to go forth of the town on hunting by night, as if they durst not take their pleasure by day, for fear of the *Carthaginians*. Seldom or never they missed of their game: for the *Carthaginians* prepared it ready for their hands, that they might not seem to have been abroad upon other occasion. From the camp of *Hannibal*, it was about three days journey to *Tarentum*, if he should have marched thither with his whole army. This caused his long abode in one place the less to be suspected: as also, to make his enemies the more secure, he caused it to be given out, that he was sick. But when the *Romans* within *Tarentum* were grown careless of such his neighbourhood, and the conspirators had set their business in order, he took with him ten thousand the most expedite of his horse and foot, and long before break of day, made all speed thitherward. Four-score light horse of the *Numidians* ran a great way before him, beating all the ways, and killing any that they met, for fear lest he, and his troop following him, would be discovered. It had been often the manner of some few *Numidian* horse, to do the like in former times. Wherefore the *Roman* governour, when he heard tell in the evening, that some *Numidians* were abroad in the fields, took it for a sign, that *Hannibal* was not as yet dislodged; and gave order, that some companies should be sent out the next morning, to strip them of their booty, and send them gone. But when it grew dark night, *Hannibal*, guided by *Philomenes*, came close to the town: where, according to the tokens agreed upon, making a light to shew his arrival; *Nico*, that was within the town, answered him with another light, in sign that he was ready. Presently *Nico* began to set upon one of the gates, and to kill the watchmen. *Philomenes* went toward another gate: and whistling (as was his manner) called up the porter; bidding him make haste, for that he had killed a great boar, so heavy, that scarce two men could stand under it. So the porter opened the wicket; and forthwith entered two young men, laden with the boar; which *Hannibal* had prepared large enough, to be worthy the looking on. While the porter stood wondering at the largeness of the beast, *Philomenes* ran him through with his boar-spear: and letting in some thirty armed men, fell upon all the watch; whom when he had slain, he opened the great gate. So the army of *Hannibal*, entering *Tarentum* at two gates, went directly toward the market-place; where both parts met. Thence they were distributed by their general, and sent into all quarters of the city, with *Tarentines* to be their guides. They were commanded to kill all the *Romans*; not to hurt the citizens. For better performance hereof, *Hannibal* willed the conspirators, that when any of their friends appeared in sight, they should bid him be quiet, and of good cheer. All the town was in an uproar; but few could tell what the matter meant. A *Roman* trumpet was unskilfully sounded by a *Greek* in the theatre; which helped the suspicion, both of the *Tarentines*, that the *Romans* were about to spoil the town; and of the *Romans*, that the citizens were in commotion. The governour fled into the port: and taking boat, got into the citadel, that stood in the mouth of the haven; whence he might easily perceive the next morning, how all had passed. *Hannibal*, assembling the *Tarentines*, gave them to understand, what good affection he bore them; inveighing bitterly against the *Romans*, as tyrannous oppressors; and spake what else he thought fit for the present. This

done: and having gotten such spoil as was to be had of the soldiers goods in the town, he addressed himself against the citadel; hoping, that if the garrison would fall out, he might give them such a blow, as should make them unable to defend the place. According to his expectation it partly fell out. For when he began to make his approaches, the *Romans* in a bravery falling forth, gave charge upon his men: who fell back of purpose, according to direction, till they had drawn on as many as they could, and so far from their strength, as they durst adventure. Then gave *Hannibal* a sign to his *Carthaginians*, who lay prepared ready for the purpose: and fiercely setting upon the enemy, drove him back with great slaughter, as fast as he could run; so that afterwards he durst not issue forth. The citadel stood upon a demi-island, that was plain ground; and fortified only with a ditch and wall against the town, whereunto it was joined by a causeway. This causeway *Hannibal* intended to fortify in like sort against the citadel; to the end, that the *Tarentines* might be able, without his help, to keep themselves from all danger thence. His work in few days went so well forward, without impediment from the besieged, that he conceived hope of winning the place itself, by taking a little more pains. Wherefore he made ready all sorts of engines, to force the place. But whilst he was busied in his works, there came by sea a strong supply from *Metapontum*: which took away all hope of prevailing; and made him return to his former counsel. Now, forasmuch as the *Tarentine* fleet lay within the haven, and could not pass forth, whilst the *Romans* held the citadel: it seemed likely, that the town would suffer want, being debarred of accustomed trade and provisions by sea; whilst the *Roman* garrison, by help of their shipping might easily be relieved, and enabled to hold out. Against this inconvenience, it was rather wished by the *Tarentines*, than any way hoped, that their fleet could get out of the haven, to guard the mouth of it, and cut off all supply from the enemy. *Hannibal* told them, that this might well be done: for that their town standing in plain ground, and their streets being fair and broad, it would be no hard matter to draw the galleys over land, and launch them into the sea without. This he undertook and effected: whereby the *Roman* garrison was reduced into great necessity; though with much patience it held out, and found *Hannibal* oftentimes otherwise busied, than his affairs required.

Thus with mutual loss on both sides, the time passed: and the *Roman* forces, growing daily stronger, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, with *Appius Claudius*, lately chosen consuls, prepared to besiege the great city of *Capua*. Three and twenty legions the *Romans* had now armed. This was a great and hasty growth from that want of men, and of all necessities, whereunto the loss at *Cannæ* had reduced them. But, to fill up these legions, they were fain to take up young boys, that were under seventeen years of age: and to send commissioners above fifty miles round, for the seeking out such lads as might appear serviceable, and pressing them to the wars; making yet a law, that their years of service, whereunto they were bound by order of the city, should be reckoned for their benefit, from this their beginning so young, as if they had been of lawful age. Before the *Roman* army drew near, the *Campans* felt great want of victuals, as if they had already been besieged. This happened partly by sloth of the nation, partly by the great waste and spoil, which the *Romans* had in foregoing

going years made upon their grounds. They sent therefore embassadors to *Hannibal*; desiring him to succour them ere they were closed up, as they feared to be shortly. He gave them comfortable words; and sent *Hanno*, with an army, to supply their wants. *Hanno* appointed them a day, against which they should be ready, with all manner of carriages, to store themselves with victuals, that he would provide. Neither did he promise more than he performed. For he caused great quantity of grain, that had been laid up in cities round about, to be brought into his camp, three miles from *Beneventum*. Thither at the time appointed came no more than forty carts or waggons, with a few pack-horses; as if this had been enough to victual *Capua*. Such was the wretchedness of the *Campans*. *Hanno* was exceeding angry hereat; and told them, they were worse than very beasts, since hungar could not teach them to have greater care. Whereof he gave them a longer day, against which he made provision to store them throughly. Of all these doings word was sent to the *Roman* consuls, from the citizens of *Beneventum*. Therefore *Q. Fulvius*, the consul, taking with him such strength as he thought needful for the service, came into *Beneventum* by night; where with diligence he made enquiry into the behaviour of the enemy. He learned, that *Hanno*, with part of his army, was gone abroad to make provisions; that some two thousand waggons, with a great rabble of carters, and other varlets, lay among the *Carthaginians* in their camp; so that little good order was kept; all thought being set upon a great harvest. Hereupon the consul bade his men prepare themselves, to assail the enemies camp: and leaving all his impediments within *Beneventum*, he marched thitherward so early in the morning, that he was there with the first break of day. By coming so unexpected, he had well-near forced the camp on the sudden. But it was very strong, and very well defended: so that the longer the fight continued, the less desire had *Fulvius* to lose more of his men in the attempt; seeing many of them cast away, and yet little hope of doing good. Therefore he said, that it were better to go more leisurely and substantially to work; to send for his fellow-consul, with the rest of their army, and to lie between *Hanno* and home; that neither the *Campans* should depart thence, nor the *Carthaginians* be able to relieve them. Being thus discoursing, and about to sound the retreat, he saw, that some of his men had gotten over the enemies rampart. There was great booty; or (which was all one to the soldier) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that camp. Wherefore some ensign-bearers threw their ensigns over the rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, unless they would endure the shame and dishonour following such a loss. Fear of such ignominy, than which none could be greater, made the soldiers adventure so desperately, that *Fulvius*, perceiving the heat of his men, changed his purpose, and encouraged those that were somewhat backward, to follow the example of them that had already gotten over the trenches. Thus the camp was won: in which were slain above six thousand; and taken, above seven thousand; besides all the store of victuals, and carriages, with abundance of booty, that *Hanno* had lately gotten from the *Roman* confederates. This misadventure, and the nearer approach of both the consuls, made them of *Capua* send a pitiful embassy to *Hannibal*: putting him in mind of

all the love that he was wont to protest unto their city; and how he had made shew to assist it no less than *Carthage*. But now, they said, it would be lost, as *Arpi* was lately, if he gave not strong and speedy succour. *Hannibal* answered with comfortable words, and sent away two thousand horse to keep their grounds from spoil; whilst he himself was detained about *Tarentum*, partly by hope of winning the citadel, partly by the disposition which he saw in many towns adjoining to yield unto him. Among the hostages of the *Tarentines* that lately had fled out of *Rome*, and, being overtaken, suffered death for their attempt, were some of the *Metapontines*, and other cities of the *Greeks*, inhabiting that eastern part of *Italy*, which was called of old *Magna Græcia*. These people took to heart the death of their hostages, and thought the punishment greater than the offence. Wherefore the *Metapontines*, as soon as the *Roman* garrison was taken from them to defend the citadel of *Tarentum*, made no more ado, but opened their gates to *Hannibal*. The *Thurines* would have done the like, upon the like reason, had not some companies lain in their town, which they feared that they should not be able to master. Nevertheless, they helped themselves by cunning; inviting to their gates *Hanno* and *Mago*, that were near at hand, against whom, whilst they professed their service to *Atinius*, the *Roman* captain, they drew him forth to fight; and recoiling from him, closed up their gates. A little formality they used, in pretending fear lest the enemy should break in together with the *Romans*; in saving *Atinius* himself, and sending him away by sea; as also in consulting a small while (because perhaps many of their chief men were unacquainted with the practice) whether they should yield to the *Carthaginian*, or no. But this disputation lasted not long, for they that had removed the chief impediment, easily prevailed in the rest, and delivered up the town to *Hanno* and *Mago*. This good success, and hope of the like, detained *Hannibal* in those quarters; whilst the consuls, fortifying *Beneventum*, to secure their backs, addressed themselves unto the siege of *Capua*.

Many disasters beset the *Romans* in the beginning of this great enterprize. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very good man of war, that had of late been twice consul, was slain, either by treachery of some *Lucans*, that drew him into an ambush, or by some *Carthaginian* stragglers, among whom he fell unawares. His body, or his head, was very honourably interred either by *Hannibal* himself, or (for the reports agree not) by the *Romans*, to whom *Hannibal* sent it. He was appointed to lie in *Beneventum*, there to secure the back of the army that should besiege *Capua*. But his death happened in an ill time, to the great hinderance of that business. The *Volones*, or slaves, lately manumised, forsook their ensigns, and went every one whither he thought good, as if they had been discharged by the decease of their leader; so that it asked some labour to seek them out, and bring them back into their camp. Nevertheless, the consuls went forward with their work; and drawing near to *Capua*, did all acts of hostility which they could. *Mago*, the *Carthaginian*, and the citizens of *Capua*, gave them an hard welcome; wherein above fifteen hundred *Romans* were lost. Neither was it long, ere *Hannibal* came thither, who fought with the consuls, and had the better, insomuch that he caused them to dislodge. They removed by night, and went several ways: *Fulvius* toward *Canne*; *Claudius* into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* followed after *Claudius*, who having led him a great walk, fetched a com-

pass about, and returned to *Capua*. It so fell out, that one *M. Centenius Penula*, a stout man, and one that with good commendations had discharged the place of a centurion, lay with an army not far from thence, where *Hannibal* rested, when he was very weary of hunting after *Claudius*. This *Penula* had made great vaunts to the *Roman* senate, of wonders which he would work, if he might be trusted with the leading of five thousand men. The fathers were unwilling in such a time, to reject the virtue of any good soldier, how mean soever his condition were. Wherefore they gave him the charge of eight thousand; and he himself being a proper man, and talking bravely, gathered up so many voluntaries, as almost doubled his number. But meeting thus with *Hannibal*, he gave proof of the difference between a stout centurion, and one able to command in chief. He and his fellows were all (in a manner) slain, scarce a thousand of them escaping. Soon after this *Hannibal* had word, that *Cn. Fulvius*, a *Roman* pretor, with eighteen thousand men, was in *Apulia*, very careless, and a man insufficient for the charge which he held. Thither therefore he hastened to visit him, hoping to deal the better with the main strength of *Rome*, which pointed at *Capua*, when he should have cut off those forces that lay in the provinces about, under men of small ability. Coming upon *Fulvius*, he found him and his men so jolly, that needs they would have fought the first night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted what would happen the day following. So he bestowed *Alago*, with three thousand of his lightest armed, in places thereabout most fit for ambush. Then offering battle to *Fulvius*, he soon had him in the trap, whence he made him glad to escape alive, leaving all, save two thousand of his followers, dead behind him.

These two great blows, received one presently after the other, much astonished the *Romans*. Nevertheless, all care was taken to gather up the small remains of the broken armies; and that the consuls should go substantially forwards with the siege of *Capua*, which was of great consequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other respects. The two consuls sat down before the town, and *G. Claudius Nero*, one of the pretors, came with his army from *Suessula* to their assistance. They made proclamation, that whosoever would issue out of *Capua* before a certain day prefixed, should have his pardon, and be suffered to enjoy all that unto him belonged; which day being past, there should be no grace expected. This offer was contumeliously rejected, the *Capuans* relying on their own strength, and the succours attended from *Hannibal*. Before the city was closed up, they sent messengers to the *Carthaginian*, which found him at *Brundisium*. He had made a long journey, in hope of gaining the *Tarentine* citadel; of which expectation failing, he turned to *Brundisium*, upon advertisement that he should be let in. There the *Capuans* met him; told him of their danger with earnest words; and were with words as bravely re-comforted. He bade them consider, how a few days since he had chased the consuls out of their fields; and told them, that he would presently come thither again, and send the *Romans* going as fast as before. With this good answer the messengers returned, and hardly could get back into the city, which the *Romans* had almost intrenched round. As for *Hannibal* himself, he was of opinion, that *Capua*, being very well manned, and heartily devoted unto his friendship, would hold out a long time; and thereby give him leisure to do what he thought requisite among the *Tarentines*, and in those eastern parts of *Italy*,

whilst the *Roman* army spent it self in a tedious siege. Thus he lingered, and thereby gave the consuls time both to fortify themselves at *Capua*, and to dispatch the election of new magistrates in *Rome*, whilst he himself pursued hopes, that never found success.

Claudius and *Fulvius*, when their term of office was expired, were appointed to continue the siege at *Capua*, retaining the same armies, as pro-consuls. The townsmen often sallied out, rather in a bravery, than likelihood to work any matter of effect, the enemy lying close within his trenches, as intending, without other violence, to subdue them by famine. Yet against the *Campan* horse (for their foot was easily beaten) the *Romans* used to thrust out some troops, that should hold them skirmish. In these exercises the *Campan*s usually had the better, to the great grief of their proud enemy, who scorned to take foil at the hands of such rebels. It was therefore devised, that some active and courageous young men, should learn to ride behind the *Roman* men at arms, leaping up, and again dismounting lightly, as occasion served. These were furnished like the *Velites*, having each of them three or four small darts; which, alighting in time of conflict, they discharged thick upon the enemy's horse; whom vanquishing in this kind of service, they much disheartened in the main. The time thus passing, and famine daily increasing within the city, *Hannibal* came at length, not expected by the *Romans*; and taking a sort of theirs, called *Galatia*, fell upon their camp. At the same time the *Capuans* issued with their whole power, in as terrible manner as they could devise; setting all their multitude of unserviceable people on the walls; which, with a loud noise of pans and basons, troubled those that were occupied in fight. *Appius Claudius* opposing himself to the *Campan*s, easily defended his trenches against them; and so well repressed them, that he drove them at length back into their city. Nevertheless, in pursuing them to their gates, he received a wound, that accompanied him in short space after to his grave. *Q. Fulvius* was held harder to his task by *Hannibal*, and the *Carthaginian* army. The *Roman* camp was even at point to have been lost; and *Hannibal's* elephants, of which he brought with him thirty-three, were either gotten within the rampart, or else (for the report varies) being some of them slain upon it, fell into the ditch; and filled it up in such sort, that their bodies served as a bridge unto the assailants. It is said, that *Hannibal* in this tumult caused some fugitives, that could speak *Latin* well, to proclaim aloud, as it were in the consul's name, that every one of the soldiers should shift for himself, and fly berimes unto the next hills, forasmuch as the camp was already lost. But all would not serve. The fraud was detected, and the army, having sitten there so long, had at good leisure strongly intrenched it self, so as little hope there was to raise the siege by force.

This did extremely perplex the *Carthaginian*. The purchase of *Capua* had (as was thought) withheld him from taking *Rome* it self: and now his desire of winning the *Tarentine* citadel, had well near lost *Capua*, in respect of which, neither the citadel, nor the city of *Tarentum*, were to have been much regarded. Falling therefore into a desperate anger with himself and his hard fortune, that of so many great victories he had made no greater use; on the sudden he entertained an haughty resolution even to set upon *Rome*, and carry to the walls of that proud city the danger of war that threatened *Capua*. This he thought would be a mean to draw the *Roman* generals, or one of them at least, unto the defence of their own home. If they rose from the siege with their

their whole army, then had he his desire: if they divided their forces, then was it likely that either he, or the *Campans*, should well enough deal with them apart. Neither did he despair that the terror of his coming might so astonish the multitude within *Rome*, as he might enter some part or other of the city. His only fear was, lest the *Campans*, being ignorant of his purpose, should think he had forsaken them, and thereupon forthwith yield themselves to the enemy. To prevent this danger, he sent letters to *Capua* by a subtle *Numidian*; who running as a fugitive into the *Roman* camp, conveyed himself thence over the innermost trenches into the city. The journey to *Rome* was to be performed with great celerity; no small hope of good success resting in the suddenness of his arrival there. Wherefore he caused his men to have in a readiness ten days victuals; and prepared as many boats as might in one night transport his army over the river of *Vulturnus*. This could not be done so closely, but that the *Roman* generals, by some fugitives, had notice of his purpose. With this danger therefore they acquainted the senate, which was therewith affected, according to the diversity of mens opinions in a case of such importance. Some gave counsel to let alone *Capua*, yea, and all places else, rather than to put the town of *Rome* into peril of being taken by the enemy. Others were so far from allowing of this, as they wondered how any man could think that *Hannibal*, being unable to relieve *Capua*, should judge himself strong enough to win *Rome*; and therefore stoutly said, that those legions which were kept at home for defence of the city, would serve the turn well enough to keep him out, and send him thence, if he were so unwise as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that letters should be sent to *Fulvius* and *Claudius*, acquainting them perfectly with the forces that at the present were in *Rome*; who since they knew best what the strength was which *Hannibal* could bring along with him, were best able to judge what was needful to oppose him. So it was referred unto the discretion of these generals at *Capua*, to do as they thought behoveful; and, if it might conveniently be, neither to raise their siege, nor yet to put the city of *Rome* into much adventure. According to this decree of the senate, *Q. Fulvius* took fifteen thousand foot and a thousand horse, the choice of his whole army, with which he hastened toward *Rome*, leaving *App. Claudius*, who could not travel by reason of his wound, to continue the siege at *Capua*.

Hannibal, having passed over *Vulturnus*, burnt up all his boats, and left nothing that might serve to transport the enemy, in case he should offer to pursue or coast him. Then hastened he away toward *Rome*, staying no longer in any one place than he needs must. Yet found he the bridges over *Liris* broken down by the people of *Fregelle*; which, as it stopped him a little on his way, so it made him the more grievously to spoil their lands whilst the bridges were in mending. The nearer that he drew to *Rome*, the greater waste he made: his *Numidians* running before him, driving the country, and killing or taking multitudes of all sorts and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The messengers of these news came apace, one after another, into the city; some few bringing true advertisements, but the most of them reporting the conceits of their own fear. All the streets and temples in *Rome* were pestered with women, crying, and praying, and rubbing the altars with their hair, because they could do none other good. The senators were all in the great market, or place of assembly; ready to give their advice, if it

were asked, or to take directions given by the magistrates. All places of most importance were stuffed with soldiers: it being uncertain, upon which part *Hannibal* would fall. In the midst of this trepidation, there came news, that *Q. Fulvius*, with part of the army from *Capua*, was hastening to the defence of the city. The office of a proconsul did expire, at his return home, and entry into the gates of *Rome*. Wherefore, that *Fulvius* might lose nothing by coming into the city in time of such need; an act was passed, that he should have equal power with the consuls, during his abode there. He and *Hannibal* arrived at *Rome*, one soon after another: *Fulvius* having been long held occupied in passing over *Vulturnus*; and *Hannibal* receiving impediment in his journey, as much as the country was able to give. The consuls, and *Fulvius*, incamped without the gates of *Rome*; attending the *Carthaginian*. Thither they called the senate: and as the danger grew nearer and greater; so took they more careful and especial order, against all occurrences. *Hannibal* came to the river *Anio* or *Anien*, three miles from the town: whence he advanced with two thousand horse, and rode along a great way under the walls; viewing the site thereof, and considering how he might best approach it. But he either went, or (as the *Roman* story saith) was driven away, without doing, or receiving any hurt. Many tumults rose in this while among the people; but were suppressed by the care and diligence of the senators. Above the rest, one accident was both troublesome, and not without peril. Of *Numidians* that had shifted side, and fallen (upon some displeasures) from *Hannibal* to the *Romans*, there were some twelve hundred then in *Rome*: which were appointed by the consuls, to pass through the town, from the mount *Aventine*, to the gate *Caelina*, where it was thought that their service might be useful, among broken ways, and garden-walls lying in the suburbs. The faces of these men, and their furniture, wherein they differed not from the followers of *Hannibal*, bred such mistaking, as caused a great uproar among the people: all crying out, that *Aventine* was taken, and the enemy gotten within the walls. The noise was such, that men could not be informed of the truth: and the streets were so full of cattle, and husbandmen, which were fled thither out of the villages adjoining, that the passage was stop'd up; and the poor *Numidians* pitifully beaten from the house-tops, with stones and other weapons that came next to hand, by the desperate multitude, that would have run out of the gates, had it not been certain who lay under the walls. To remedy the like inconveniencies, it was ordained, That all which had been dictators, consuls, or censors, should have authority as magistrates, till the enemy departed. The day following, *Hannibal* passed over *Anien*, and presented battel to the *Romans*, who did not wisely if they undertook it. It is said, that a terrible shower of rain, caused both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* to return into their several camps: and that this happened two days together, the weather breaking up, and clearing, as soon as they were departed asunder. Certain it is, that *Hannibal*, who had brought along with him no more than ten days provision, could not endure to stay there, until his victuals were all spent. In which regard, the *Romans*, if they suffered him to waste his time and provisions, knowing that he could not abide there long, did as became well advised men: if they offered to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parted (as is said) by some accident of weather; the commendations must be given

given to their fortune. The terror of *Hannibal's* coming to the city, how great soever it was at the first, yet, after some leisure, and better notice taken of his forces, which appeared less than the first apprehension had formed them, was much and soon abated. Hereunto it helped well, that at the same time the supply appointed for *Spain*, after the death of the two *Scipio's*, was sent out of the town, and went forth at the gate, whilst one *Carthaginian* lay before another. In all *panick terrors*, as they are called, whereof there is either no cause known, or no cause answerable to the greatness of the sudden consternation, it is a good remedy, to do somewhat quite contrary to that which the danger would require; were it such, as men have fashioned it in their amazed conceits. Thus did *Alexander* cause his soldiers to disarm themselves, when they were all on a sudden in a great fear of they knew not what. And thus did *Clearchus* pacify a foolish uproar in his army, by proclaiming a reward unto him, that could tell who had sent the ass into the camp. But in this present example of the *Romans*, appears withal a great magnanimity: whereby they sustained their reputation, and augmented it no less, than by this bold attempt of *Hannibal* it might seem to have been diminished. Neither could they more finely have checked the glorious conceits of their enemies, and taken away the disgrace of that fear, which clouded their valour at his first coming, than by making such demonstrations; when once they had recovered spirit, how little they esteemed him. To this purpose therefore that very piece of ground, on which the *Carthaginian* lay incamped, was sold in *Rome*: and sold it was nothing under the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had been in time of peace. This indignity coming to his ear, incensed *Hannibal* so much, that he made port-sale of the silver-smith's shops, which were near about the market or common place in *Rome*, as if his own title to the houses within the town were no worse than any *Roman* citizens could be unto that piece of ground, whereon he raised his tent. But this counter-practice was nothing worth. The *Romans* did seek to manifest that assurance which they justly had conceived; *Hannibal*, to make shew of continuing in an hope, which was already past. His victuals were almost spent: and of those ends that he had proposed unto himself, this journey had brought forth none other, than the fame of his much daring. Wherefore he broke up his camp: and doing what spoil he could in the *Roman* territory, without sparing religious places, wherein wealth was to be gotten, he passed like a tempest over the country; and ran toward the eastern sea so fast, that he had almost taken the city of *Rhegium* before his arrival was feared or suspected. As for *Capua*, he gave it lost: and is likely to have cursed the whole faction of *Hanno*, which thus disabled him to relieve that fair city, since he had no other way to vent his grief.

2. *Fulvius* returning back to *Capua*, made proclamation a-new, that whoso would yield, before a certain day, might safely do it. This, and the very return of *Fulvius*, without any more appearance of *Hannibal*, gave the *Capuans* to understand, that they were abandoned, and their case desperate. To trust the *Roman* pardon proclaimed, every man's conscience of his own evil deserts, told him, that it was a vanity: and some faint hope was given by *Hanno* and *Bostar*, captains of the *Carthaginian* garrison within the town, that *Hanni-*

bal should come again, if means could only be found how to convey such letters unto him, as they would write. The carriage of the letters was undertaken by some *Numidians*; who running, as fugitives, out of the town, into the *Roman* camp, waited fit opportunity to make an escape thence with their packets. But it happened, ere they could convey themselves away, that one of them was detected by an Harlot following him out of the town; and the letters of *Bostar* and *Hanno* were taken and opened, containing a vehement intreaty unto *Hannibal*, that he would not thus forsake the *Capuans*, and them. For (said they) we came not hither to make war against *Rhegium* and *Tarentum*, but against the *Romans*: whose legions wheresoever they lie, there also should the *Carthaginian* army be ready to attend them; and by taking of such course, have we gotten those victories at *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, and *Cannæ*. In fine, they besought him, that he would not dishonour himself, and betray them to their enemies, by turning another way; as if it were his only care, that the city should not be taken in his full view: promising to make a desperate sally, if he would once more adventure to set upon the *Roman* camp. Such were the hopes of *Bostar* and his fellow. But *Hannibal* had already done his best: and now began to faint under the burden of that war, wherein (as afterward he protested) he was vanquished by *Hanno* and his partisans in the *Carthaginian* senate, rather than by any force of *Rome*.^a It may well be, as a thing incident in like cases, that some of those which were besieged in *Capua*, had been sent over by the *Hannonians*, to observe the doings of *Hannibal*, and to check his proceedings. If this were so, justly might they curse their own malice, which had cast them into this remediless necessity. Howsoever it were, the letters directed unto *Hannibal*, fell (as is shewed) into the *Roman* proconsul's hands; who cutting off the hands of all such counterfeit fugitives, as carried such messages, whip'd them back into the town. This miserable spectacle broke the hearts of the *Capuans*: so that the multitude crying out upon the senate, with menacing terms, caused them to assemble, and consult about the yielding up of *Capua* unto the *Romans*. The bravest of the senators, and such as a few years ynce had been most forward in joining with *Hannibal*, understood well enough whereunto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them invited the rest home to supper; telling them, that when they had made good cheer, he would drink to them such an health, as should set them free from that cruel revenge, which the enemy sought upon their bodies. About seven and twenty of the senators there were, that liking well of this motion, ended their lives together, by drinking poison. All the rest, hoping for more mercy than they had deserved, yielded simply to discretion. So one of the town-gates was set open: whereat a *Roman* legion, with some other companies, entering, disarmed the citizens, apprehended the *Carthaginian* garrison, and commanded all the senators of *Capua* to go forth into the *Roman* camp. At their coming thither, the proconsuls laid irons upon them all, and, commanding them to tell what store of gold and silver they had at home, sent them into safe custody; some to *Cales*, others to *Theanum*. Touching the general multitude: they were reserved unto the discretion of the senate; yet so hardly used by *Fulvius* in the mean while, that they had little cause of hope or comfort in this adversity. *Ap. Claudius* was brought

^a Liv. l. 30.

even to the point of death, by the wound which he had lately received: yet was he not inexorable to the *Campans*; as having loved them well in former times, and having given his daughter in marriage to that *Pacuvius*, of whom we spake before. But this facility of his colleague, made *Fulvius* the more hasty in taking vengeance: for fear, lest upon the like respects, the *Roman* senate might prove more gentle, than he thought behoveful to the common safety, and honour of their state. Wherefore he took the pains, to ride by night unto *Theanum*, and from thence to *Cales*: where he caused all the *Campan* prisoners to suffer death; binding them to stakes, and scourging them first a good while with rods; after which he struck off their heads.

This terrible example of vengeance, which the *Carthaginians* could not hinder, made all towns of *Italy* the less apt to follow the vain hope of the *Campans*: and bred a general inclination, to return upon good conditions to the *Roman* side. The *Atellans*, *Calatines*, and *Sabatines*, people of the *Campans*, that in the former change had followed the fortune of *Capua*, made also now the like submission, for very fear, and want of ability to resist. They were therefore used with the like rigor, by *Fulvius*: who dealt so extremly with them all, that he brought them into desperation. Wherefore some of their young gentlemen, burning with fire of revenge, got into *Rome*: where they found means by night-time, to set on fire so many houses, that a great part of the city was like to have been consumed. The beginning of the fire in divers places at once, argued that it was no casualty. Wherefore liberty was proclaimed upon any slave, and other sufficient reward unto any freeman, that should discover who those incendiaries were. Thus all came out: and the *Campans*, being detected by a slave of their own (to whom, above his liberty promised, was given about the sum of an hundred marks) had the punishment answerable to their deserts. *Fulvius* hereby being more and more incensed against this wretched people, held them in a manner as prisoners within their walls: and this extreme severity caused them at length to become suppliants unto the *Roman* senate; that some period might be set unto their miseries. That, whereupon the senators resolved in the end, was worse than all that which they had suffered before. Only two poor women in *Capua* (of which one had been an harlot) were found not guilty of the late rebellion. The rest were, some of them, with their wives and children, sold for slaves, and their goods confiscated; others laid in prison, and referred to further deliberation: but the generality of them, commanded to depart out of *Campania* by a certain day; and confined unto several places, as best liked the angry victors. As for the town of *Capua*, it was suffered to stand, in regard of the beauty and commodious site: but no corporation, or form of polity, was allowed to be therein: only a *Roman* provost was every year sent, to govern over those that should inhabit it, and to do justice. This was the greatest act, and most important, hitherto done by the people of *Rome*, after many great losses in the present war. After this, the glory of *Hannibal* began to shine with a more dim light than before: his oil being far spent: and that which should have revived his flame, being unfortunately shed; as shall be told in place convenient.

No. XLII.

SECT. XV.

How the Carthaginians, making a party in Sardinia, and Sicily, held war against the Romans in those islands; and were overcome:

WHILST things passed thus in *Italy*, the commotions raised in *Sardinia* and *Sicily* by the *Carthaginians* and their friends, were brought to a quiet and happy end, by the industrious valour of the *Romans*. The *Sardinian* rebellion was great and sudden: above thirty thousand being up in arms, ere the *Roman* forces could arrive there to suppress it. One *Harsicoras*, with his son *Hiofusus*, mighty men in that island, were the ring-leaders; being incited by *Hanno*, a *Carthaginian*, that promised the assistance of his country. Neither were the *Carthaginians* in this enterprise so careless, as in the rest of their main undertakings, about the same time. Yet it had been better, if their care had been directed unto the prosecution of that main business in *Italy*; whereon this, and all other hopes depended. For it would have sufficed, if they could have hindered the *Romans* from sending an army into *Sardinia*. *Harsicoras*, with his followers, might well enough have served to drive out *Q. Mutius*, the pretor; who lay sick in the province; and not more weak in his own body, than in his train. But whilst they sought revenge of that particular injury, whereof the sense was most grievous: they neglected the opportunity of requiting those that had done them wrong, and of the securing themselves from all injuries in the future. Their fortune also in this enterprise was such, as may seem to have discouraged them from being at the like charge, in cases of more importance. For whereas they sent over *Adrubal*, surnamed *the bald*, with a competent fleet and army; assisted in this expedition by *Hanno*, the author of the rebellion, and by *Mago*, a gentleman of the *Barchine* house, and near kinsman to *Hannibal*: it so fell out, that the whole fleet, by extremity of foul weather, was cast upon the *Baleares*; so beaten, and in such evil plight, that the *Sardinians* had even spent their hearts, and were in a manner quite vanquished, ere these their friends could arrive to succour them.

Titus Manlius was sent from *Rome* with two and twenty thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, to settle the estate of that island, which he had taken in, and annexed unto the *Roman* dominion, long before this, in his consulship. It was a laudable custom of the *Romans*, to preserve and uphold in their several provinces, the greatness and reputation of those men, and their families, by whom each province had been first subdued unto their empire. If any injury were done unto the provincials; if any grace were to be obtained from the senate; or whatsoever accident required the assistance of a patron: the first conqueror, and his race after him, were the most ready and best approved means, to procure the benefit of the people subdued. Hereby the *Romans* held very sure intelligence in every province, and had always in readiness fit men to reclaim their subjects, if they fell into any such disorder, as would otherwise have required a greater charge and trouble. The coming of *Manlius* retained in obedience all that were not already broken too far out. Yet was *Harsicoras* so strong in field, that *Manlius* was compelled to arm his

mariners: without whom he could not have made up that number of two and twenty thousand, whereof we have spoken before: He landed at *Calaris*, or *Carallis*: where mooring his ships, he passed up into the country, and fought out the enemy. *Hyostus*, the son of *Harficoras*, had then the command of the *Sardinian* army left unto him by his father, who was gone abroad into the country, to draw in more friends to their side. This young gentleman would needs adventure to get honour, by giving battel to the *Romans* at his own discretion. So he rashly adventured to fight with an old soldier: by whom he received a terrible overthrow; and lost in one day above thirty thousand of his followers. *Hyostus* himself, with the rest of his broken troops, got into *Cornus*, the chief town of the island: whither *Manlius* pursued them. Very soon after this defeature came *Asdrubal* with his *Carthaginians*: too late to win all *Sardinia*, in such haste as he might have done, if the tempest had not hindred his voyage; yet soon enough, and strong enough to save the town of *Cornus*, and to put a new spirit into the rebels. *Manlius* hereupon withdrew himself back to *Calaris*: where he had not stayed long, ere the *Sardinians* (such of them as adhered to the *Roman* party) craved his assistance; their country being wasted by the *Carthaginians*, and the rebels, with whom they had refused to join. This drew *Manlius* forth of *Calaris*: where if he had stayed a little longer, *Asdrubal* would have sought him out with some blemish to his reputation. But the fame of *Asdrubal* and his company, appears to have been greater than was their strength. For, after some trial made of them in a few skirmishes, *Manlius* adventured all to the hazard of a battel: wherein he slew twelve thousand of the enemies; and took of the *Sardinians* and *Carthaginians* three thousand. Four hours the battel lasted: and victory at length fell to the *Romans*, by the flight of the islanders; whose courage had been broken in their unprosperous fight not many days before. The death of young *Hyostus*, and of his father *Harficoras*, that slew himself for grief, together with the captivity of *Asdrubal* himself, with *Mago* and *Hanno*, the *Carthaginians*; made the victory the more famous. The vanquished army fled into *Cornus*: whither *Manlius* followed them; and in short space won the town. All other cities of the isle that had rebelled, followed the example of *Cornus*, and yielded unto the *Roman*: who imposing upon them such increase of tribute, or other punishment, as best suited with the nature of their several offences, or their ability to pay, returned back to *Calaris* with a great booty, and from thence to *Rome*; leaving *Sardinia* in quiet.

The war in *Sicily* was of greater length, and every way more burdensome to *Rome*: as also the victory brought more honour and profit; for that the *Romans* became thereby not only saviors of their own, as in *Sardinia*, but lords of the whole country, by annexing the city and dominion of *Syracuse*, to that which they enjoyed before. Soon after the battel of *Ganne*, the old king of *Syracuse* died: who had continued long a steadfast friend unto the *Romans*; and greatly relieved them in this present war. He left his kingdom to *Hieronimus*, his grand-child, that was about fifteen years of age; *Gelo*, his son, that should have been his heir, being dead before. To this young king his successor, *Hiero* appointed fifteen tutors; of which the principal were *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and *Themistius*; who had married his daughters, or the daughters of *Gelo*. The rest were such, as he judged

most likely to preserve the kingdom, by the same art, whereby himself had gotten, and so long kept it. But within a little while, *Andronodorus*, waxing weary of so many coadjutors, began to commend the sufficiency of the young prince, as extraordinary in one of his years: and said, that he was able to rule the kingdom without help of any protector. Thus by giving over his own charge, he caused others to do the like: hoping thereby to get the king wholly into his hands; which came to pass in a sort as he desired. For *Hieronimus*, laying aside all care of government gave himself wholly over to his pleasures: or if he had any regard for his royal dignity, it was only in matter of exterior shew, as wearing a diadem with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby he offended the eyes of his people, that had never seen the like in *Hiero*, or in *Gelo*, his son. But much more he offended them, when by his insolent behaviour, suitable to his outward pomp, he gave proof, that, in course of life, he would revive the memory of tyrants dead long since, from whom he took the pattern of his habit. He grew proud, lustful, cruel, and dangerous to all that were about him: so that such of his late tutors as could escape him by flight, were glad to live in banishment: the rest, being most of them put to death by the tyrant; many of them dying by their own hands, to avoid the danger of his displeasure, that seemed worse than death it self. Only *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and one *Thraso*, continued in grace with him, and were his counsellors, but not of his cabinet. These, howsoever they agreed in other points, were at some dissension about that main point, of adhering, either to the *Romans*, or to the *Carthaginians*. The two former of them, were wholly for the king's pleasures, which was set on change: but *Thraso*, having more regard for his honour and profit, was very earnest to continue the amity with *Rome*. Whilst as yet it remained somewhat doubtful, which way the king would incline; a conspiracy against his person, was detected by a groom of his; to whom one *Theodorus* had broken the matter. *Theodorus* hereupon was apprehended, and tormented; thereby to wring out of him the whole practice, and the names of the undertakers. Long it was ere he would speak any thing: but yielding (as it seemed) in the end, unto the extremity of the torture; he confessed, that he had been set on by *Thraso*; whom he impeached of the treason, together with many more, that were near in love or place unto *Hieronimus*. All these therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were indeed the conspirators, walked boldly in the streets, and never shrunk for the matter: assuring themselves, that the resolution of *Theodorus* would yield to no extremity. Thus they all escaped, and soon after found means to execute their purpose. The king himself, when *Thraso* was taken out of the way, quickly resolved upon siding with the *Carthaginians*; whereto he was very inclinable before. Young men, when first they grow masters of themselves, love to seem wiser than their fathers, by taking different courses. And the liberality of *Hiero* to the *Romans*, in their great necessity, had of late been such, as might have been termed excessive, were it not in regard of his providence, wherein he took order for his own estate, that depended upon theirs. But the young nephew, taking little heed of dangers far off, regarded only the things present; the weakness of

Rome;

Rome; the prevalent fortunes of *Carthage*; and the much money that his grandfather had laid out in vain, to shoulder up a falling house. Wherefore he dealt with *Hannibal*, who readily entered into good correspondence with him; that was maintained by *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, *Carthaginians* born, but grand-children of a banished *Syracusan*. These grew into such favour with *Hieronymus*, that they drew him whither they listed. So that when *Appius Claudius*, the *Roman* pretor, hearing what was towards, made a motion of renewing the confederacy between the people of *Rome* and the king of *Syracuse*, his messengers were dismissed with an open scoff. For *Hieronymus* would needs have them tell him the order of the fight at *Cannæ*, that he might thereby learn how to accommodate himself: saying, that he could hardly believe the *Carthaginians*; so wonderful was the victory, as they reported it. Having thus dismissed the *Romans*, he sent ambassadors to *Carthage*, where he concluded a league: with condition, at first, that a great part of the island should be annexed to his dominion; but afterwards, that he should reign over all *Sicily*, and the *Carthaginians* rest satisfied with what they could get in *Italy*. At these doings *Ap. Claudius* did not greatly stir; partly for the indignities that were offered; partly for that it behoved not the *Romans* to entertain more quarrels than were enforced upon them by necessity; and partly (as may seem) for that the reputation both of himself, and of his city, had received such blemish by that which happened unto him in his journey, as much discountenanced him when he came into *Sicily*, and forbade him to look big. The money that *Hiero* had bestowed formerly upon the *Romans*, wherewith to relieve them in their necessity, this *Appius* was to carry back unto him; it being refused by the *Roman* senate with greater bravery than their present fortune would allow. But instead of returning the money with thanks, as he had been directed, and as it had been noised abroad that he should do; the war against *Philip*, king of *Macedon* (whereof we have spoken before) compelled the *Romans* to lay aside their vain-glory, and send word after him, that he should consign that money over to *Marcus Valerius*; of whose voyage into *Greece*, the city had not otherwise wherewith to bear the charge. This was done accordingly, and hereby *Claudius* (which name, in the whole continuance of that family, is taxed with pride) his errand was changed, from a glorious ostentation of the *Roman* magnanimity, into such a pitiful tune of thanksgiving, as must needs have bred sorrow and commiseration, in so true a friend as *Hiero*; or, if it were delivered after his death, matter of pastime and scorn, in *Hieronymus*, the new king.

But whilst *Hieronymus* was more desirous of war, than well resolved how to begin it; his own death changed the form of things, and bred a great innovation in the state of *Syracuse*, which thereby might have prospered more than ever, had it been wisely governed. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, of whom we spoke before, were sent about the country with two thousand men, to solicit the towns, and persuade them to shake off their obedience to the *Romans*. The king himself, with an army of fifteen thousand horse and foot, went to *Leontium*, a city of his own dominion, hoping that the fame of his preparation would make the whole island fall to him in all haste, and accept him for sovereign. There the conspirators took him on the sudden, as he was passing through a narrow street; and, rushing between him and his guard, struck him dead. Forthwith liberty was proclaimed, and the sound of that word so joyfully answered by the *Leontines*, that the guard

of *Hieronymus* had little courage to revenge their master's death. Yet for fear of the worst, a great largess was promised unto the soldiers, with rewards unto their captains; which wrought so effectually, that when many wicked acts of the murdered king were reckoned up, the army, as in detestation of his bad life, suffered his carcase to lie unburied. These news ran quickly to *Syracuse*, whither some of the conspirators, taking also of the king's horses, posted away, to signify all that had passed, to stir up the people to liberty, and to prevent *Andronodorus*, if he or his fellows would make offer to usurp a tyranny. The *Syracusians* hereupon presently took arms, and made themselves masters of their own city. *Andronodorus*, on the other side, fortified the palace and the island; being yet uncertain what to do, between desire of making himself a sovereign lord, and fear of suffering punishment as a tyrant, if his enterprize miscarried. His wife *Demarata*, that was the daughter of *Hiero*, cherished him in his hopes, putting him in mind of that well-known proverb which *Dionysius* had used; *That a tyrant should keep his place, till he were haled out of it by the heels, and not ride away from it on horse-back*. But fear, and better counsel prevailed so far, that *Andronodorus*, having slept upon the matter, dissembled his affections, and deferred his hope unto better opportunity. The next day he came forth, and made a speech unto the people, telling them, that he was glad to see how prudently they behaved themselves in so great a change; that he had stood in fear, lest they would not have contained themselves within bounds of discretion, but rather have sought to murder all, without difference, that any-way belonged to the tyrant; and that since he beheld their orderly proceeding, and their care not to ravish their liberty perforce, but to wed it unto them for ever; he was willingly come to them forth of his strength, and surrendered up the charge committed unto him, by one that had been an evil master both to him and them. Hereupon great joy was made, and pretors chosen (as in former times) to govern the city; of which *Andronodorus* was one, and the chief. But such was his desire of sovereignty, and so vehement were the instigations of his wife, that shortly he began to practise with *Hippocrates*, *Epicides*, and other captains of the mercenaries; hoping to make himself strong by their help, that were least pleased with the change. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* had been with the *Syracusan* pretors, and told them, that, being sent from *Hannibal* to *Hieronymus*, they, according to instructions of their captain, had done him, whilst he lived, what service they could; and that now they were desirous to return home. They requested therefore that they might be friendly dismissed, and with a convoy, that might keep them from falling into the hands of the *Romans*, and set them safe at *Locri*. This was easily granted, both for that the *Syracusan* magistrates were well contented to earn thanks of *Hannibal* with such a little courtesy; and for that they thought it expedient to rid their town quickly of this troublesome couple, which were good soldiers, and gracious with the army, but otherwise lewd men. It was not the desire of these two *Sicilians* to be gone so hastily as they made shew; they were more mindful of the business for which *Hannibal* had sent them. Wherefore they insinuated themselves into the bosoms of such as were most likely to fill the army with tumult, especially of the *Roman* fugitives, and those that had cause to mistrust what should become of themselves, when the *Romans* and *Syracusians* were come to agreement. Such instruments as these *Andronodorus* had great need of; as also of many other, to help him in his dangerous attempt.

attempt. He found *Themistius*, that had married *Harmonia*, the sister of *Hieronimus*, ready to take his part; as being carried with the like passions of his own, and of his wife. But in seeking to increase the number of his adherents, he revealed the matter to one, that revealed all to the rest of the pretors. Hereupon it followed, that he and *Themistius* entering into the senate, were slain out of hand; and afterwards accused to the people of all the evil which they had done whilst *Hieronimus* lived, as by his authority; and now since attempted, in seeking to usurp the tyranny themselves. It was also declared, that the daughters of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were accessary to this dangerous treason; and that the unquiet spirits of these women would never cease to work, until they had recovered those royal ornaments, and sovereign power, whereof their family was now dispossessed. These daughters therefore of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were also condemned to die, and executioners presently sent by the enraged people to take away their lives. *Demarata* and *Harmonia* had perhaps deserved this heavy sentence; but *Heraclea*, the daughter of *Hiero*, and wife of *Sosippus*, being altogether innocent, was murdered, together with her two young daughters, in the hasty execution of this rash judgment. Her husband *Sosippus*, was a lover of the common-wealth, and in that respect so hated by *Hieronimus*, that being sent ambassador to king *Ptolemy*, &c. he durst not return home, but stayed in *Egypt*, as a banished man. This consideration, when it was too late, together with some pitiful accidents accompanying the slaughter, so affected the multitude, that (pardoning themselves) all cried out upon the authors of so foul a butchery. Being thus incensed against the senate, and knowing not otherwise how to satisfy their anger, they called for an election of new pretors, in the room of *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*, that were lately slain; meaning to substitute such in their places, as the senators should have little cause to like. At the election were present a great rout, not only of the poorer citizens, but of soldiers that pressed into the throng. One of these named *Epicides* pretor; another named *Hippocrates*: and the less that the old pretors and senators approved this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and, by a general cry, forced them to be accepted. These, being made pretors, did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand between the *Syracusians* and the *Romans*. But having striven in vain, and seeing that the people stood in fear of *Ap. Claudius*, and of *Marcellus*, that was lately come into *Sicily*, they gave way unto the time, and suffered the old league of *Hiero* to be re-confirmed; which afterwards they purposed to dissolve by practice. The *Leontines* had some need of a garrison, and to them was sent *Hippocrates* the pretor, attended by such fugitives and mercenary soldiers as were most burdensome to *Syracuse*. Thither when he came, he began to do many acts of hostility against the *Romans*: first in secret, afterwards more openly and boldly. *Marcellus*, rightly understanding the purpose of these two brethren, sent word unto the *Syracusians*, that they had already broken the league; and that the peace would never be kept sincerely, until this turbulent pair of brethren were expelled the island. *Epicides*, fearing to bear the blame of his brother's proceedings, and more desirous to set forward the war, than to excuse any breach of peace, went himself unto the *Leontines*, whom he persuaded to rebel against the *Syracusians*. For he said, that since they had all of late served one master, there was little reason why the *Leontines* should not be enfranchised by his death, as well as the *Syracu-*

fians; yea, or much rather, all things considered; since in their streets the tyrant was slain, and liberty first proclaimed. Wherefore, since they of *Syracuse* were not contented to enjoy the freedom purchased among the *Leontines*, but thought it good reason that they should bear dominion over those that had broken the chain, wherewith the one and the other were bound; his advice was, that such their arrogance should be checked betimes, ere it could get any colour of right by prescription. Hereunto occasion was given by one article of the league made of late by the *Romans* and *Syracusians*. For it was agreed, That all which had been subject to *Hiero* and *Hieronimus*, should henceforth be vassals unto the state of *Syracuse*. Against this article, if the *Leontines* would take exception, and thereby challenge their own due; *Epicides* told them, that in this novelty of change, they had fit opportunity to recover the freedom which their fathers had lost not many ages before. Neither was it unreasonable which this crafty *Carthaginian* propounded, if the *Leontines* had been subdued by the same hand which took liberty from the *Syracusians*. But seeing they had long since yielded unto *Syracuse*, and been subject unto that city, by what form soever it was governed, this claim of liberty was rather seasonable than just. Nevertheless, the motion of *Epicides* was highly approved; inasmuch that when messengers came soon after from *Syracuse*, to rebuke the *Leontines* for that which they had done against the *Romans*, and to denounce unto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, that they should get them gone either to *Locri*, or whither else they listed, so that they stayed not in *Sicily*; word was returned, that they of *Leontium* had not requested the *Syracusians* to make any bargains for them with the *Romans*, nor thought themselves bound to observe the covenants, which others, without warrant, had made in their names. This peremptory answer was forthwith reported unto *Marcellus* by the *Syracusians*, who offered him their assistance in doing justice upon the *Leontines*, their rebels; with condition that when the town was taken, it might be theirs again. *Marcellus* required no better satisfaction, but forthwith took the business in hand, which he dispatched in one day. At the first assault, *Leontium* was taken: all, save the castle, whereinto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* fled; and, stealing thence away by night, conveyed themselves into the town of *Herbesus*. The first thing that *Marcellus* did, when he had won the town, was the same which other *Roman* captains used after victory; to seek out the fugitive *Roman* slaves and renegadoes, whom he caused all to die: the rest, both of the townsmen and soldiers, he took to mercy; forbearing also to strip or spoil them. But the fame of his doings was bruited after a contrary sort. It was said, that he had slain man, woman and child, and put the town to sack. These news met the *Syracusan* army upon the way, as it was going to join with *Marcellus*, who had ended his business before. About eight thousand mercenaries there were that had been sent out of *Syracuse*, under *Sosis* and *Dinomenes*, two of the pretors, to serve against the *Leontines*, and other rebels. These captains were honest men, and well affected to their country; but the soldiers that followed them, had those diseases with which all mercenaries are commonly infected. They took the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow-soldiers (as now they termed those against whom they went) had been so cruelly butchered: and hereupon they fell to mutiny, though what to demand, or with whom to be angry, they could not tell. The pretors therefore thought it best to turn their unquiet thoughts another way, and

and set them at work in some place else; forasmuch as at *Leontium* there was no need of their service. So toward *Herbesus* they marched, where lay *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, the architects of all this mischief, devising what further harm they might do; but now so weakly accompanied, that they seemed unable to escape the punishments belonging to their offences pass'd. Hereof the two brethren were no less well aware, and therefore adventured upon a remedy little less desperate than their present case. They issued out of *Herbesus* unarmed, with olive-branches in their hands, in manner of supplicants, and so presented themselves to the army. Six hundred men of *Crete* were in the vanguard, that had been well used by *Hieronymus*; and some of them greatly bound unto *Hannibal*, who had taken them prisoners in the *Italian* war, and lovingly dismissed them. These *Cretans* therefore welcomed the two brethren, and bade them be of good cheer; saying, that no man should do them harm as long as they could use their weapons. Herewithal the army was at a stand, and the rumour of this accident ran swiftly from man to man, with general approbation. The pretors thought to help the matter by severity, which would not serve. For when they commanded these two traitors to be laid in irons, the exclamation was so violent against them, that fain they were to let all alone, and return, uncertain what course to take, unto *Megara*, where they were lodged the night before. Thither when they came, *Hippocrates* devised a trick, whereby to help himself, and better the uncertain case wherein he stood. He caused letters of his own penning to be intercepted by some of his most trusty *Cretans*; directed (as they made shew) from the *Syracusan* pretors to *Marcellus*. The contents hereof were, that *Marcellus* had well done in committing all to the sword among the *Leontines*; but that it farther behoved him to make the like dispatch of all the mercenaries belonging to *Syracuse*, which were offensive, all of them in general, to the liberty of the city, and the peace with *Rome*. When this counterfeit epistle was openly rehearsed, the uproar was such, that *Sofis* and his fellow-pretor were glad to forsake the camp, and fly for their lives. All the *Syracusians* remaining behind, had been cut in pieces by the enraged soldiers, if the two artificers of the sedition had not saved their lives, rather to keep them as pledges, and by them, to win their friends within the town, than for any good-will. They perswaded also a mischievous knave, that had served among the *Leontines*, to justify the bruit of *Marcellus's* cruelty; and to carry home the news to *Syracuse*, as an eye-witness. This incensed not only the multitude, but some of the senate, and filled the whole town with senseless indignation. In good time (said some) was the avarice and cruelty of the *Romans* detected; who, had they in like sort gotten into *Syracuse*, would have dealt much worse, where their greedy appetites might have been tempted with a far greater booty. Whilst they were thus discoursing and devising how to keep out the wicked *Romans*, *Hippocrates*, with his army, came to the gates, exhorting the citizens to let him in, unless for want of help, they would be betrayed to their enemies. The pretors, with the best and wisest of the senate, would fain have kept him out; but the violence of the soldiers to force a gate, was no whit greater than the head-strong fury of those within the town, that laboured to break it open. So he entered, and immediately fell upon the pretors, whom (being forsaken by all men) he put to the sword, and made slaughter of them and their followers until night. The next day he went openly to work;

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and, after the common example of tyrants, gave liberty to all slaves and prisoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worst and basest sort, made himself and his brother pretors, in title, but in effect, lords of *Syracuse*.

When *Marcellus* was advertised of this great alteration, he thought it no time for him to sit still, and attend the further issue. He sent ambassadors to *Syracuse*, that were not admitted into the haven, but chased out as enemies. Then drew he near with his army, and lodging within a mile and an half of the town, sent before him some to require a parley. These were entertained without the walls by the two new pretors, to whom they declared, that the *Romans* were come thither, not with purpose to do hurt, but in favour of the *Syracusians*, which were oppressed by tyrants; and to punish those that had murdered and banished so many of the principal citizens. Wherefore they required, that those worthy men, their confederates, which were chased out of the town, might be suffered to return, and enjoy their own; as also that the authors of the great slaughter lately committed, might be delivered up. Hereto *Epicides* briefly answered, that if their errand had been to him, he could have told what to say to them: but since it was directed unto others, they should do well to return, when those, to whom they were sent, had the government in their hands. As for the war which they threatened, he told them, they should find by experience, that to besiege *Syracuse*, was another manner of work than to take *Leontium*. Thus he sent them gone, and returned back into the city. Immediately began the siege, which endured longer than the *Romans* had expected. The quick and easy winning of *Leontium*, did put *Marcellus* in hope, that so long a circuit of walls as compassed *Syracuse*, being manned with no better kind of soldiers than those with whom he had lately dealt, would, in some part or other, be taken at the first assault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or terror in the very beginning, but did his best both by land and sea. Nevertheless, all his labour was disappointed, and his hope of prevailing by open force taken from him, by the ill success of two or three of the first assaults. Yet was it not the virtue of the defendants, or any strength of the city, that bred such despair of hasty victory. But there lived at that time in *Syracuse*, *Archimedes* the noble mathematician, who, at the request of *Hiero* the late king, that was his kinsman, had framed such engines of war, as being in this extremity put in use, did more mischief to the *Romans* than could have been wrought by the cannon, or any instruments of gun-powder, had they in that age been known. This *Archimedes*, discoursing once with *Hiero*, maintained, that it were possible to remove the whole earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were some other earth, or place of sure footing, whercon a man might stand. For proof of this bold assertion, he performed some strange works, which made the king intreat him to convert his study unto things of use, that might preserve the city from danger of enemies. To such mechanical works *Archimedes*, and the philosophers of those times, had little affection. They held it an injury done unto the liberal sciences, to submit learned propositions unto the workmanship and gain of base handicraftsmen. And of this opinion *Plato* was an author, who greatly blamed some geometricians, that seemed unto him to profane their science, by making it vulgar. Neither must we rashly task a man to wise as *Plato*, with the imputation of supercilious austerity, or affected singularity in his reprehension. For it hath been the unhappy fate of great inventions,

tions, to be vilified as idle fancies, or dreams, before they were published; and being once made known, to be under-valued, as falling within compass of the meanest wit, and things, that every one could well have performed. Hereof (to omit that memorable example of *Columbus's* discovery, with the much different sorts of neglect which he underwent before and after it) in a familiar and most homely example, we may see most apparent proof. He that looks upon our *English* brewers, and their servants, that are daily exercised in the trade, will think it ridiculous to hear one say, that the making of malt was an invention proceeding from some of an extraordinary knowledge in natural philosophy. Yet is not the skill of the inventors any whit the less, for that the labour of workmanship grows to be the trade of ignorant men. The like may be said of many handicrafts, and particularly in the printing of books, which being devised and bettered by great scholars and wise men, grew afterwards corrupted by those to whom the practice fell; that is, by such as could slubber things easily over, and feed their workmen at the cheapest rate. In this respect therefore, the alchymists, and all others, that have, or would seem to have, any secret skill, whereof the publication might do good unto mankind, are not without excuse of their close concealing. For it is a kind of injustice, that the long travels of an understanding brain, beside the loss of time, and other expence, should be cast away upon men of no worth, or yield less benefit unto the author of so great a work, than to meer strangers; and perhaps his enemies. And surely, if the passion of envy have in it any thing allowable and natural, as having anger, fear, and other the like affections; it is in some such case as this, and serveth against those which would usurp the knowledge wherewith God hath denied to endue them. Nevertheless, if we have regard unto common charity, and the great affection that every one ought to bear to the generality of mankind, after the example of him *that suffereth his sun to shine upon the just and unjust*; it will appear more commendable in wise men to enlarge themselves, and to publish unto the world those good things that lie buried in their own bosoms. This ought specially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed to it some dangerous cunning, that may be perverted by evil men to a mischievous use. For if the secret of any rare antidote contained in it the skill of giving some deadly and irrecoverable poison, much better it were that such a jewel remain close in the hands of a wise and honest man, than being made common, bind all men to use the remedy, by teaching the worst men how to do mischief. But the works, which *Archimedes* published, were such as tended to very commendable ends. They were engines, serving unto the defence of *Syracuse*; not fit for the *Syracusians* to carry abroad, to the hurt and oppression of others. Neither did he altogether publish the knowledge how to use them; but reserved so much to his own direction, that after his death more of the same kind were not made, nor those of his own making were employed by the *Romans*. It sufficed unto this worthy man, that he had approved even unto the vulgar the dignity of his science, and done especial benefit unto his country: for to enrich a mechanical trade, or teach the art of murdering men, it was besides his purpose.

Marcellus had caused certain of his *Quinquereme* galleys to be fastened together, and towers erected on them, to beat the defendants from the wall. Against these *Archimedes* had sundry devices, of

which any one fort might have repelled the assailants; but all of them together shewed the multiplicity of his great wit. He shot heavy stones, and long pieces of timber, like unto the yards of ships, which brake some of the galleys by their force and weight. These afflicted such as lay far off. They that were come nearer the walls, lay open to a continual volley of shot, which they could not endure. Some with an iron grapple were taken by the prow, and hoisted up, shaking out all the men, and afterwards falling down into the water. Some by strange engines were lifted up into the air, where turning round a-while, they were broken against the walls, or cast upon the rocks; and all of them were so beaten, that they durst never come to any second assault. In the like sort was the land-army handled, stones and timber falling upon it like hail, did not only overwhelm the men, but broke down the *Roman* engines of battery, and forced *Marcellus* to give over the assault. For remedy hereof it was conceived, that if the *Romans* could early, before day, get near unto the walls, they should be (as it were) under the *point-blanc*, and receive no hurt by these terrible instruments, which were wound up hard, to shoot a great compass. But this vain hope cost many of the assailants lives, for the shot came down-right upon them; and, beating them from all parts of the wall, made a great slaughter of them all the way as they fled (for they were unable to stay by it) even till they were gotten very far off. This did so terrify the *Romans*, that if they perceived any piece of timber, or a rope's end, upon the walls, they ran away, crying out, that *Archimedes's* engines were ready to discharge. Neither knew *Marcellus* how to overcome these difficulties, or to take away from his men that fear, against the cause whereof he knew no remedy. If the engines had stood upon the wall, subject to firing, or any such annoyance from without, he might have holpen it by some device to make them unserviceable. But all, or most of them, were out of sight, being erected in the streets behind the walls, where *Archimedes* gave directions how to use them. Wherefore the *Roman* had none other way left, than to cut off from the town all provision of victuals both by land and by sea. This was a very desperate piece of work: for the enemies having so goodly an haven, the sea in a manner free, and the *Carthaginians*, that were strong by sea, willing to supply them, were not likely so soon to be consumed with famine, as the besiegers to be wearied out, by lying in leaguer before so strong a city, having no probability to carry it. Yet, for want of better counsel to follow, this was thought the best and most honourable course.

In the mean while *Himilco*, admiral of a *Carthaginian* fleet, that had waited long about *Sicily*, being by *Hippocrates* advertised of these passages, went home to *Carthage*; and there so dealt with the senate, that twenty-five thousand foot, three thousand horse, and twelve elephants, were committed unto his charge, wherewith to make war upon the *Romans* in *Sicily* by land. He took many towns, and many, that had anciently belonged unto the *Carthaginians*, did yield unto him. To remedy this mischief, and to stay the inclination of men, which following the current of fortune, began to turn unto the *Carthaginians*, *Marcellus*, with a great part of his army, rose from *Syracuse*, and went from place to place about the island. He took *Pelorus* and *Herbesus*, which yielded unto him. He took also *Megara* by force, and sacked it, either to terrify others that were obstinate, especially the *Syracusians*; or else because *Rome* was at this time poor, and his army must have somewhat to keep it in heart. His
especial

especial desire was to have saved *Agrigentum*: whether he came too late; for *Himilco* had gotten it before. Therefore he returned back toward *Syracuse*; carefully, and in as good order as he could, for fear of the *Carthaginian*, that was too strong for him. The circumspection that he used, in regard of *Himilco*, stood him in good stead, against a danger that he had not mistrusted. For *Hippocrates*, leaving the charge of *Syracuse* unto his brother, had lately issued out of the city, with ten thousand foot; and five hundred horse; intending to join his forces with *Himilco*. *Marcellus* fell upon him; ere either were aware of the other: and the *Romans*, being in good order, got an easy victory against the dispersed, and half-unarmed *Syracusians*. The reputation hereof helped a little to keep the *Sicilians* from rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere *Himilco*, joining with *Hippocrates*, ran over all the island at his pleasure; and presented battel to *Marcellus*, even at his trenches; but the *Roman* wisely refused it. *Bomilcar* also, a *Carthaginian*; entred with a great fleet into the haven of *Syracuse*, and victualled the city. After this, the disposition of the islanders changed so again, that although another legion was come from *Rome*, which escaped from *Himilco*, and safely arrived at *Marcellus's* camp: yet many places revolted unto the *Carthaginians*; and slew or betrayed the *Roman* garrisons.

In the midst of these troubles, winter enforced both parts to take breath a while: and *Marcellus* leaving some of his army before *Syracuse*, that he might not seem to have given over the siege, went unto *Leontium*; where he lay intente to all occasions. In the beginning of the spring, he stood in doubt, whether it were better to continue the laborious work of besieging *Syracuse*; or to turn all his forces to *Agrigentum*, against *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*. But it would greatly have impaired his reputation, if he had gone from *Syracuse*, as unable to prevail: and he himself was of an eager disposition, ever unwilling to give ground, or to quit, as not feasible, an enterprize, that he had once taken in hand. He came therefore to *Syracuse*: where, though he found all the difficulties remaining as before, and no likelihood to take the city by force or famine; yet was he not without hope, that continuance of time would bring forth somewhat, which might fulfil his desire. Especially he assayed to prevail by treason; against which no place can hold out. And to this end, he dealt with the *Syracusan* gentlemen that were in his camp; exhorting them to practise with their friends that remained in the city. This was not easy for them to do; because the town would hearken to no parley. At length a slave unto one of these banished men, making shew to run away from his master, got into *Syracuse*; where he talked in private with some few, as he had been instructed. Thus began *Marcellus* to have intelligence within the city: whence the conspirators used to send him advertisement of their proceedings, by a fisher-boat that passed forth in the night. But when they were grown to the number of fourscore, and thought themselves able to effect somewhat of importance: all was discovered; and they, like traitors, put to death. In the mean while, one *Damasippus*, a *Lacedemonian*, that had been sent out of the town, as an ambassador to *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, was fallen into the hands of *Marcellus*. *Epicides* was very desirous to ransom him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpose, not far from the walls. There one of the *Romans* looking upon the wall, and wanting the more compendious art of

geometry, fell to numbring the stones: and, making an estimate of the height, judged it less than it had been formerly deemed. Herewith he acquainted *Marcellus*: who causing better notice to be taken of the place, and finding that ladders of no extraordinary length would reach it; made all things ready, and waited a convenient time. It was the weakest part of the town, and therefore the most strongly guarded: neither was there hope to prevail by force against *Archimedes*, if they failed to take it by surprize. But a fugitive out of the town brought word, that a great feast was to be held unto *Diana*, which was to last three days: and that, because other good cheer was not so plentiful within the city, as in former times, *Epicides*, to gratify the people, had made the more large distribution of wine. A better opportunity could not be wished. Wherefore *Marcellus*, in the dead of the festival night, came unto the walls; which he took by *Scalado*. *Syracuse* was divided into four parts (or five, if *Epipolæ* were reckoned as one) each of which was fortified as distinct cities. When therefore *Marcellus* had gotten some pieces, he had the commodity of a better and safe lodging, with good store of booty; and better opportunity than before, to deal with the rest. For there were now a great many, as well of those in *Acradina*; and the island, inner parts of the town, as of those that were already in the hands of *Marcellus*, that began to hearken unto composition; as being much terrified by the loss of those parts, which the *Romans* had taken and sack'd. As for the weapons of *Archimedes*, little harm, or none, they did unto those that were sheltered under strong houses: although it may seem, that the inner walls, were not altogether unfurnished of his help; since they held out a good while, and were not taken by force. The *Roman* fugitives, and renegadoes, were more careful than ever to defend the rest of the city; being sure to be rewarded with a cruel death, if *Marcellus* could prevail. *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, were daily expected; and *Bomilcar* was sent away to *Carthage*, to bring help from thence. It was not long ere *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* came: who fell upon the old camp of the *Romans*, whilst *Epicides* sallied out of *Acradina* upon *Marcellus*. But the *Romans* made such defence in each part, that the assailants were repelled. Nevertheless, they continued to beset *Marcellus*: whom they held in a manner as streightly besieged, as he himself did besiege the town. But the pestilence at length consumed, together with the two captains, a great part of the army, and caused the rest to dislodge. The *Romans* were (though somewhat less) afflicted with the same pestilence, insomuch that *Bomilcar* did put the city of *Carthage* in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great forces were sent thither. This *Bomilcar* wanted no desire to do his country service: but his courage was not answerable to his good will. He arrived at *Pachynus* with a strong fleet: where he stayed; being loth to double the cape; for that the winds did better serve the enemy than him. Thither sailed *Epicides* out of *Syracuse*; to acquaint him with the necessities of the city, and to draw him on. With much intreaty, at length he came forwards: but meeting with the *Roman* fleet, that was ready for him, he stood off into the deep; and sailed away to *Tarentum*, bidding *Sicily* farewell. Then durst not *Epicides* return into *Syracuse*, but went to *Agrigentum*: where he expected the issue, with a very faint hope of hearing any good news.

The *Sicilian* soldiers, that remained alive of *Hippocrates's* army, lay as near as they could safely,

safely, unto *Marcellus* ; and some of them, in a strong town three miles off. These had done what good they could to *Syracuse*, by doing what hurt they could unto the *Romans*. But when they were informed, that the state of *Sicily* was given as desperate by the *Carthaginians* : they sent ambassadors to treat of peace ; and made offer to compound, both for themselves, and for the town : hereunto *Marcellus* willingly gave ear : for he had stayed there long enough ; and had cause to fear, that after a little while, the *Carthaginians* might come thither strong again. He therefore agreed, both with the citizens, and with the soldiers that lay abroad ; that they should be masters of their own, enjoying their liberty and proper laws ; yet suffering the *Romans* to possess whatsoever had belonged unto the Kings. Hereupon they, to whom *Epicides* had left his charge, were put to death ; new pretors chosen ; and the gates even ready to be opened unto *Marcellus* : when suddenly the *Roman* fugitives disturbed all. These perceiving their own condition to be desperate, perswaded the other mercenary soldiers, that the citizens had bargained for themselves, and betrayed the army to the *Romans*. Wherefore they presently took arms, and fell upon the new chosen pretors ; whom they slew, and made election of six captains that should command over all. But shortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the soldiers ; excepting only the fugitives. The treaty therefore was again set on foot, and wanted little of conclusion ; which yet was delayed, either by some fear of the citizens, that had seen (as they thought) proof of the *Roman* avarice in the sack of *Epipolæ*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis*, the parts already taken ; or by some desire of *Marcellus* to get the town by force, that he might use the liberty of a conqueror, and make it wholly subject unto *Rome*. *Mericus*, a *Spaniard*, was one of the six captains, that had been chosen in the last commotion : a man of such faith, as usually is found in mercenaries ; holding his own particular benefit above all other respects. With this captain, *Marcellus* dealt secretly : having a fit instrument, of the same nation, one *Belligenes* ; that went in company with the *Roman* ambassadors, daily passing to and fro. This crafty agent perswaded *Mericus*, that the *Romans* had already gotten all *Spain* : and that if ever he purposed to make his own fortune good, either at home in *Spain*, or any-where else ; it was now the only time to do it ; by conforming himself to the will of the *Roman* general. By such hopes the *Spanish* captain was easily won : and sent forth his own brother among the *Syracusan* ambassadors, to ratify the covenant with *Marcellus*.

This under-hand dealing of *Marcellus* against the *Syracusians*, cannot well be commended as honest : neither was it afterwards thoroughly approved at his coming to *Rome*. For the benefits of *Hiero* to the *Romans* had been such, as deserved not to be requited with the ruin of his country : much less, that the miseries of his people, oppressed (though partly through their own folly) by an army of mercenaries, should minister unto the people of *Rome*, advantage against them. The poor citizens could not make good their parts against the hired soldiers ; and therefore were fain to yield unto the time, and obey those ministers of *Hannibal*, that ruled the army. But as long as they were free after the death of *Hieronymus* ; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of *Epicides* : it had been their chief care to maintain amity with the people of *Rome*. They had lately slain many the principal of *Epicides*'s followers ; and many of

themselves had also been slain, both lately and in former times, because of this their desire unto the peace. What though it were true, that the rascality, and some ill advised persons, joined with the soldiers in hatred of the *Romans*, by occasion of the slaughter which they heard to be done at *Leontium*, and afterwards beheld in those parts of their own city which was taken ? Ought therefore the *Roman* general, in a treaty of peace held with the *Syracusians*, to make a bargain under-hand against them, with a captain of the mercenaries ? These things were objected against *Marcellus*, at his return home. But the senators thought it a great deal better, to comfort the *Syracusians* with gentle words, and promises of good usage in time to come ; than to restore the booty, and give over the dominion of a city, so great, wealthy, strong, and many ways important. Nevertheless, if we consider the many inconveniencies and great mischiefs, whereunto *Syracuse* was obnoxious, both by evil neighbours, and by that very form of polity, after which it was governed : we may truly affirm, that it received no small benefit, by becoming subject unto *Rome*. For thereby it was not only assured against all foreign enemies, domestical conspiracies, and such tyrants as of old had reigned therein : but freed from the necessity of banishing, or murdering the most worthy citizens ; as also from all factions, intestine seditions, and a thousand the like miseries, that were wont to grow out of the jealousy, wherein they held their liberty in vain. Neither enjoyed that city, from her first foundation, any such long time of happiness, as that wherein it flourished, when it rested secure under the protection of *Rome* ; and was no more molested by the disease of ambition ; whereof by *Marcellus*'s victory it was thoroughly cured. But such benefit, arising from wrongs done, serves not to make injustice the more excusable ; unless we should approve the answer of that thief, who being found to have stolen a silver cup from a sick man, said, *He never leaves drinking*.

By the treason of *Mericus*, the *Roman* army was let into possession of all *Syracuse* : wherein the booty that it found, was said to have been no less, than could have been hoped for, if they had taken *Carthage* it self ; that maintained war by land and sea against them. All the goodly works and imageries, wherewith *Syracuse* was marvellously adorned, were carried away to *Rome* ; and nothing left untouched, save only the houses of those banished men, that had escaped from *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, into the *Roman* camp. Among other pitiful accidents, the death of *Archimedes*, was greatly lamented, even by *Marcellus* himself. He was so busy about his geometry, in drawing figures, that he hearkned not to the noise and uproar in the city ; no, nor greatly attended the rude soldier that was about to kill him. *Marcellus* took heavily the death of him ; and caused his body to be honourably buried. Upon his tomb (as he had ordained in his life-time) was placed a cylinder and sphere, with an inscription of the proportion between them ; which he first found out. An invention of so little use, as this may seem, pleased that great artist better, than the devising of all those engines, that made him so famous. Such difference is between the judgment of learned men, and of the vulgar sort. For many a one would think the money lost, that had been spent upon a son, whose studies in the university had brought forth such fruit, as the proportion between the sphere and a cylinder.

After the taking of *Syracuse*, all the towns in *Sicily* yielded unto the *Romans* ; except *Agigentum*, and

and a few places thereabout. At *Agrigentum* lay *Epicides*, with one *Hanno*, a *Carthaginian*, and *Mutines*, an *African*, that was lately sent from *Hannibal*. This *Mutines*, by many good pieces of service, had added some credit to the beaten *Carthaginian* side ; and withal made his own name great. By his persuasions, *Hanno* and *Epicides* adventured to meet *Marcellus* without the town ; and not behave themselves as men expecting to be besieged. Neither was he more valiant in counsel, than in execution. Once and again he set upon the *Romans*, where they lay encamped ; and drove them fearfully into their trenches. This bred envy in *Epicides* and *Hanno* : especially in *Hanno*, that having been lately sent from *Carthage*, with commission and authority from the state, thought himself wronged greatly by *Hannibal* ; in that he had sent unto him this *Mutines*, to be his companion, and to take upon him, like as good a man as himself. The indignity seemed the greater, when *Mutines* being to step aside unto *Heraclea*, for the pacifying of some troubles there among the *Numidians*, advised (as directing *Hanno* and *Epicides*) not to meddle with the enemy, until his return. So much therefore the rather would *Hanno* fight : and offered battel unto *Marcellus*, before he fought it. It is like, that a great part of the *Roman* army was left behind in *Syracuse*, as need required : which made the *Carthaginians* the better able to deal with those that came against them. But whatsoever disproportion was between the two armies ; far greater were the odds between the captains. For howsoever the people of *Carthage* would give authority by favour ; yet could they not give worth, and ability, in matter of war. The *Numidians*, having before conceived some displeasure against their captains : and being therefore some of them gone away to *Heraclea* ; were much more offended, when they saw that the vain-glorious envy of *Hanno* carried him into the fight, upon a foolish desire to get victory, without the help of *Mutines*, their countryman. Wherefore they sent unto the *Roman* general, and bade him be confident : for that it was not their purpose to shew themselves his enemies that day ; but only look on, and see the proud *Carthaginians* well beaten, by whom they had been misused. They made good their promise, and had their desire. For *Marcellus* finding likelihood of truth in their message, did so lustily set upon the enemies, that he brake them at the first charge ; and with the slaughter of many thousands, drove them back into *Agrigentum*.

If *Hanno* could have been contented to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of war than himself, and not have hazarded a battel without need ; the *Romans* would shortly have been reduced into terms of great difficulty in their *Sicilian* war. For *Marcellus* was shortly after to leave the province ; and soon upon his departure, there landed in the island a supply of eight thousand foot, and three thousand *Numidian* horse, that were sent from *Carthage*. The lame of this new army drew many of the *Sicilians* into rebellion. The *Roman* army, consisting (for the most part) of the legions of *Cannæ*, took it very heinously, that no good service done, could bring them into the favour of the senate ; but that, as banished men, they were sent far from home and not suffered to return back to *Rome* with their general. *Mutines* had pacified his countrymen the *Numidians* ; and, like an honest man, did the best that he could for those whom he served, without contending against the foolish pride of *Hanno*. He recovered those inland towns that had rebelled : finding that there was a great altera-

tion ; and a greater might have been, if the army lately overthrown had been intire. *M. Cornelius*, the *Roman* pretor, used all diligence, both to pacify his own men, and to hinder the *Carthaginians*. He recovered those inland towns that had rebelled : and though he could not hinder *Mutines* from over-running all the country ; yet he hindered the country from revolting unto *Mutines*. Above threescore towns, great and small, the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily* : of which, *Agrigentum* was the principal ; and far bigger than any of the rest. Thence issued *Mutines* as often as he pleased, in despite of the *Romans* : not only to the succour of his own adherents, but to the great waste of those that followed the contrary part. But *Hanno*, instead of being pleased with all these good services, was filled more and more with envy, against the man that performed them. He had (belike) received instructions from old *Hanno* at *Carthage*, not to suffer *Hannibal*, or any *Hannibalian*, to have share in the honour of these *Sicilian* wars : which were therefore perhaps the more diligently supplied ; whilst *Italy* was neglected, that should have been regarded more than all the rest. Wherefore, to shew his authority, and that it was not in the power of *Hannibal*, to appoint unto him an assistant, or director : he took away from *Mutines* his charge, and gave it to his own son ; thinking thereby to discountenance the man, and make him little esteemed, as one out of office, among his *Numidians*. But it fell out quite contrary : and this spiteful dealing occasioned the loss of whatsoever the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*. For the *Numidians* were so incensed by the indignity offered unto their countryman, being such a brave commander, that they offered him their service to requite the wrong, and were thenceforth absolutely at his own disposition. *M. Valerius Laevinus*, the *Roman* consul, was newly come into the province, when this fell out : and with him did *Mutines* enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brook these indignities : but being neither a *Carthaginian*, nor favoured by those that bore all the sway in *Carthage* ; he thought it the wisest way, to play the best of his own game, and forsake that city, which was likely to perish by the evil counsel that governed it. He did not therefore, as his countrymen had lately done, content himself to see his adversaries reap the bitter fruits of their own malicious over-weening : and to suffer that harm, in doing whereof he would not bear a part ; but conspired against them, to deliver up *Agrigentum*, and to help to expel them utterly out of *Sicily*. The consul was glad of his friendship ; and carefully followed his advertisements. Neither was there much cunning needful, to the performance of that which *Mutines* had undertaken. For he, with his *Numidians*, did forcibly seize upon a gate ; whereat they let in some *Roman* companies, that lay near in a readiness for the purpose. *Hanno*, when first he heard the noise, thought it had been no worse matter, than some such tumult of the *Numidians*, as he had been well acquainted with of late. But when, making haste to pacify the trouble, he saw and heard the *Roman* intermixed among those discontented followers of *Mutines*, forthwith he betook himself to flight : and saving himself, with *Epicides*, in a small bark, set sail for *Afric* ; leaving all his army and adherents in *Sicily*, to the mercy of the *Romans*, that henceforward continued masters of the whole island.

Laevinus, the consul, having taken *Agrigentum*, did sharp execution of justice upon all the citizens. The principal of them he scourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the manner of the *Romans* :

mans : all the rest of them he sold for slaves, and confiscated their goods ; sending home to *Rome* the money that was raised of the booty. This was indeed a time, wherein *Rome* stood in no less necessity of gold than of steel : which may have been the reason, why *Lævinus* dealt so cruelly with the *Agrigentines*. Nevertheless, the fame of such severity bred a terror among all the dependants of the *Carthaginians* ; so that in great haste they sought to make their peace. About forty towns yielded themselves quickly unto the *Romans* ; twenty were delivered up by treason ; and six only staid to be won by force. These things done, *Lævinus* returned home to *Rome* ; carrying with him about four thousand men from *Agatirna* ; that were a company of out-laws, bankrupts, and banished men, accustomed to live by spoil of others, in these troublesome times. He bestowed them about *Rhegium* in *Italy*, where they might exercise their own occupation against the *Brutians*, a thievish kind of people, that were enemies unto those of *Rhegium*, and to the *Romans*. As for *Mutines*, he was well rewarded, and made citizen of *Rome* : where he lived in good account ; accompanying the two *Scipio's* in their journey against *Antiochus*, and therein doing (as it is said) very especial service. So by this enterprize of *Sicily*, the *Carthaginians* wasted much of their forces, that with greater profit might have been employed in *Italy* : leaving yet unto the *Romans*, in the end of this war, the entire possession of this island ; which they wanted when it began.

SECT. XVI.

How the war passed between the Romans and Hannibal in Italy, from the taking of Capua to the great victory at Metaurus.

SHORTLY after the winning of *Capua*, *Marcellus* came to *Rome* : where, for his good services done in the island of *Sicily*, he had granted unto him the honour of the lesser triumph, which was called *Ovation*. The greater triumph was denied him : because he had not finished the war, but was fain to leave his army behind him in the province. He staid not long in *Rome*, before he was again chosen consul, together with *M. Valerius Lævinus*, who succeeded him in the government of *Sicily*, and was, at the time of his election, making war against king *Philip* in *Greece*. Great complaint was made against the consul *Marcellus*, by the *Syracusians*, for that which he had done unto them : they alledging their great friendship to the people of *Rome*, in the time of their late king *Hiero* ; and affirming, that their city did never willingly brake the alliance, excepting when it was oppressed by such tyrants, as were not greater enemies to *Rome*, than to all good men that lived in *Syracuse*. The consul, on the other side, reckoned up the labours and dangers whereunto they had put him : willing them to bemoan themselves to the *Carthaginians* that had holpen them in their necessity ; and not unto the *Romans*, whom they had kept out. Thus each part having some good matter to alledge, the senate made such an end of the controversy, as best agreed with the benefit of their own commonwealth : blaming the too much rigor of *Marcellus*, yet not restoring the booty that he had taken, nor making the *Syracusians* free from their subjection ; but comforting them, with gentle words, and hopeful promises, as hath been shewed before. The two new consuls, *Marcellus* and *Lævinus*, were appointed to make war, as their lots should fall out ; the one in *Italy*, the other in *Sicily*. The isle of *Sicily* fell

unto *Marcellus*, which province he willingly changed with his colleague, to the end that the *Syracusians* (whose cause had not as yet been heard in the senate) might not seem hindred by fear, from uttering their grievances freely. Afterwards, when his business with them was dispatch'd, he gently undertook the patronage of them : which remained long in his family ; to the great benefit of the country in times following. So *Valerius*, the other consul, was sent into *Sicily*, whose doings there have been already rehearsed : but *Marcellus* was employed against *Hannibal*.

Before the consuls departed out of *Rome*, they were much troubled with pressing of soldiers to the war ; and most of all, with getting mariners for their navy. They were all of the poorer sort, that used to be employed in sea-service ; especially in rowing. These could not live without present wages : neither was there money enough in the treasury to give them pay. Wherefore it was ordained, that they should be set out at the expence of private men ; who in this necessity of the state, were driven to sustain all publick charges. Hereat the people murmured ; and were ready to fall into sedition, had not the consuls deferred the matter unto further consideration. The senate could ill tell, what to determine or do, in a case of such extremity. For manifest it was, that the multitude had already endured so much as well it could undergo ; and somewhat more than could with honesty have been imposed upon it. Nevertheless, it was impossible to maintain the war against the *Carthaginians*, or to keep the *Macedonian* out of *Italy*, without a strong fleet. Wherefore some were of opinion, that, since the common treasury was so empty, the people must be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burthen upon them. At last the consuls began to say, That no persuasions would be so effectual with the people, as good examples : and that if the senators would follow the consuls, like it was, that the people also would follow the senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, that every one of them should bring forth, and put into the treasury, all the money that he had ; and that no senator should keep any vessel of gold, or plate whatsoever, excepting one salt-seller, and a bowl, wherewith to make their offerings unto the gods : as also a ring for himself, with such other tokens of ingenuity for his wife and children, as every one did use, and those of as small value as might be. This advice of the consuls was not more thankfully accepted by the senate, than the ready performance thereof by the senate was highly applauded, and hastily followed by the gentlemen of *Rome*. Neither did the commonalty refuse to do that, which their betters had openly done before them. For since the publick necessity could no otherwise be holpen, every one was contented that his private estate should run the same fortune with the commonwealth, which if it suffered wrack, in vain could any particular man hope to enjoy the benefit of his proper substance. This magnanimity deserved well that greatness of empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Convenient order being thus taken for an army and fleet : *Marcellus* went forth of the city against *Hannibal* ; and *Lævinus* towards *Sicily*. The army of *Hannibal* was greatly diminished, by long and hard service : neither did his *Carthaginians* seem to remember him, and think upon sending the promised supply, or any such proportion as he needed. His credit also among his *Italian* friends, was much weakened, by the loss of *Capua* : which gave them cause to look unto themselves ; as if in

his help there were little trust to be reposed, when they should stand in need. This he well perceived; yet could not tell how to remedy. Either he must thrust garrisons into all towns that he suspected, and thereby so diminish his army, that he should not be able to keep the field; or else he must leave them to their own fidelity; which now began to waver. At length his jealousy grew so outrageous, that he sacked, and wasted those places that he was unable to defend: thinking that the best way to enrich himself; and make unprofitable, to his enemies, the purchase from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him; and some of those, whom before he had least cause to doubt. The town of *Salapia* yielded unto *Marcellus*: and betrayed unto him a gallant regiment of *Numidian* horse, the best of all that served under *Hannibal*; which was a greater loss than the town it self. *Blasius*, the author of this rebellion, could not bring his desire to effect, without getting the consent of one *Dasius*, that was his bitter enemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to this *Dasius* in private; and was by him accused unto *Hannibal*. But when he was convened, and charged of treason, he so stoutly denied it, and by way of recrimination, so vehemently pressed his accuser with the same fault; that *Hannibal* thought it a matter devised out of mere malice; knowing well what enemies they were; and seeing, that neither of them could bring any proof of what he affirmed. This notwithstanding, *Blasius* did not cease to press his adversary a-new, and urge him from time to time, with such lively reasons, that he who could not be believed by *Hannibal*, was contented at length to win the favour of *Marcellus*. Presently after this, the consul took by force, *Maronea* and *Meles*, towns of the *Samnites*: wherein he slew about three thousand of *Hannibal's* men.

Hannibal could not look to all at once: but was fain to catch advantages where he might get them; the *Romans* now being grown stronger in the field than he. The best was, that his *Carthaginians*, having wearied themselves with ill speed in many petty enterprises, and laid aside all this while the care of *Italy*, to follow business of far less importance; had now at length resolved to send presently the great supply, that had been so long promised and expected. This if they had done in better season, *Rome* it self might have been stricken down, the next year after that great blow received at *Cannæ*. But since that which is past cannot be amended; *Hannibal* must force himself to make a good countenance; and tell his followers, that this mighty succour would come time enough. For *Masaniissa* was at *Carthage* with five thousand *Numidians*, ready to set sail for *Spain*: whither when he came, it was appointed, that *Asdrubal* should forthwith take his journey into *Italy*, of which there had been so long talk. These news did not more comfort *Hannibal* and his followers, than terrify the *Romans*. Wherefore each did their best: the *Romans*, to prevent the threatening mischief, and win as much as they could upon *Hannibal*, before the coming of his brother: *Hannibal*, on the contrary, to hold his own, and weaken the *Romans* as much as he was able. He had intelligence, that *Gn. Fulvius*, a *Roman* pretor, lay near unto *Herdonea*, to get the town by practice. It was not long, since, near unto the same place, another *Gn. Fulvius* had lost his army. Therefore *Hannibal* had made great marches thitherward; and came to *Herdonea* ere *Fulvius* had news of his approach. As soon as he came, he offered battle to the *Roman* pretor: who

accepted it with more haste than good speed. The *Roman* legions made good resistance a-while, till they were compassed round with the *Carthaginian* horse. Then fell they to rout, and great slaughter was made of them. *Fulvius* himself, with twelve tribunes or colonels, were lost: of the common soldiers that were slain, the number is uncertain; some reporting seven, others thirteen thousand. The town of *Herdonea*, because it was at point to have yielded unto *Fulvius*, *Hannibal* did set on fire; and, putting those to death that had practised with the enemy, carried away the multitude, whom he bestowed among the *Thurians* and *Metapontines*. The consul *Marcellus* hearing of this, wrote unto the senate, and exhorted them to be of a good cheer; for that he would shortly abate the enemy's pride. He followed the *Carthaginian* apace, and overtaking him at *Numistro*, in the country of the *Lucans*, fought with him a battle; which beginning at nine of the clock in the morning, lasted until night; and ended, by reason of the darkness, with uncertain victory. Afterwards *Hannibal* departed thence into *Apulia*, whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Venusia* they met, and had many skirmishes, but none of importance. *Hannibal* removed often, and sought to bring the enemy within danger of some ambush. But *Marcellus*, though he was very eager of battle, would yet adventure nothing, but by open day-light, and upon fair ground.

Thus passed the time away, until *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fulvius*, he that lately had taken *Capua*, were chosen consuls. *Fabius*, considering how much the *Roman* affairs were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purposed that year to besiege *Tarentum*; which if he could win, like it was, that scarce one good city would afterwards remain true to *Hannibal*. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his colleague, and *Marcellus* (to whom was continued the command of those legions that served under him the year before) to press the *Carthaginian* so hard, as he might have no leisure to help *Tarentum*. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge, for he thought no *Roman* fitter than himself, to deal with *Hannibal* in open field. He followed him therefore to *Cannusium*, and thence from place to place, desiring ever to come to battle, but upon equal terms. The *Carthaginian* had not mind to hazard much in fight, but thought it enough to entertain his enemy with skirmish, as being desirous to keep his army strong until the coming of *Asdrubal*. Yet could he not avoid the importunity of *Marcellus*, nor brook the indignity of being daily braved. He therefore bade his men to be lusty, and to beat soundly this hot-spirited *Roman* captain, that would never suffer them to be at quiet, until they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him blood. Hereupon followed a battle, wherein *Hannibal* had the victory, took six ensigns, and slew of the *Romans* almost three thousand; among which were some of mark. *Marcellus* was so impatient of this dishonour, that he rated his men as peasants, and base cowards; telling them, that they were the first of the *Roman* legions which had been beaten by *Hannibal*, by plain force and manhood, without being circumvented by any stratagem. With these, and many other the like words, which they were ashamed to hear, he did so vex them, that thinking themselves better able to endure any violence of the enemy, than such displeasure of their general, they besought him to pardon them, and lead them forth once again to fight. He did so, and placing those companies foremost, that had lost their ensigns the day before, bade them be careful

ful to win a victory, whereof the news might be at *Rome*, before the report of their shameful overthrow. *Hannibal* was angry, to see that nothing could make this enemy quiet, and therefore was ready to fight again, since all other motives continued the same, and his men had been heartened by the late victory. But the *Romans* were stirred up with desire of revenge, and of repairing their honour lost, which affections gave a sharp edge unto their valour; whereas the *Carthaginians* were grown dull, and weary, by seeing themselves disappointed of their hope; and the enemy, notwithstanding their late victory, as ready to molest them as before. In this second battel *Marcellus* got the victory, which he purchased at so dear a rate, that neither he nor *Hannibal* had great cause to vaunt the second night. For if eight thousand of the *Carthaginians* were slain, and three thousand of the *Roman* side, in this next battel, the difference was no greater, than even to recompense the late received overthrow; especially since the number of the *Romans* that were wounded was so great, as disabled *Marcellus* from pursuing *Hannibal*, who dislodged by night. Nevertheless it sufficed, that *Fabius* the consul hereby got leisure to follow his business at *Tarentum*, without any disturbance. *Q. Fulvius* the other consul, about the same time, took in many of the *Hirpines*, *Lucans*, and *Volscentes*, that willingly yielded themselves, and betrayed the garrisons of *Hannibal* that lay in their towns, whom *Fulvius* entertained in loving sort; gently rebuking them for their errors past, without punishing those that had been authors, or busy doers in the rebellion. That rabble of *Sicilian* thieves, which *Lævinus* had lately brought from *Agaterna*, was then also set on work to besiege *Caulonia*, a town of the *Brutians*; and nothing was omitted, that might serve to divert *Hannibal* from the succour of *Tarentum*.

Q. Fabius the consul having taken *Manduria*, a town of the *Salentines*, sat down before *Tarentum*; making all preparation that seemed needful to carry it either by assault, or long siege. Of the garrisons in the town, a good part were *Brutians*, placed there by *Hannibal*, under a captain of their own nation. This captain fell in love with a *Tarentine* wench, whose brother served under *Fabius*. Hereof she gave notice by letters to her brother, as thinking, belike, to draw him from the *Roman* side; by telling him how rich, and of what great account her lover was. But her brother made the consul acquainted with these news, and said, that if the *Brutian* were far in love, he might perhaps be won by intreaty of his mistress, to do what she would have him. The consul hearing this, and finding likelihood in the matter, willed his soldier to convey himself into the town as a fugitive, and try what good might be done. It fell out according to his desire. The soldier grew acquainted with this *Brutian* captain, and partly by his own persuasions, partly by the flattering entreaty of his sister, won him to betray the town to the *Romans*. When they had agreed upon the business, and resolved how to order it, the same soldier got out of the town by night, and acquainted the consul with his proceedings; telling him in which part that *Brutian* kept watch, and what might conveniently be done. So in the night-time *Fabius* gave an alarm to the city, especially about those parts of the wall which were farthest from the place where he meant to enter. The captains in the town prepared to make resistance in those places, where the noise did threaten them with greatest likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himself, with the choicest of his men, came in great silence to the quarter of the *Brutians*; who

being wrought by their captain, helped the *Romans* to get up, and break open the next gate, whereat the army was let in. The *Tarentines* and *Carthaginian* soldiers made head against *Fabius* in the market-place; but (as it happeneth in like cases, where the main confidence is already taken away) not very obstinately. *Nico*, *Democritus*, and *Philomenes*, with those that before had let in *Hannibal*, used now the last of their courage, in dying against the *Romans*. *Carthalo*, who commanded the garrison within the town, offered himself prisoner, hoping to be well used, because of hospitality that had passed between his father and the consul. But he was slain by the way, ere he could come at *Fabius*. The *Romans* did put all indifferently to the sword; in such sort, that they spared few of the *Brutians*. This slaughter of the *Brutians* was thought to have been made by appointment of the consul, to the end that he might seem to have won the town by force, and not by treason, though he thereby failed of his purpose; and neither had the glory which he expected, nor preserved his reputation of faithful dealing, and keeping his word. The booty found in *Tarentum* was very great, whereof the *Roman* treasury, whither it was carried, had great need. As for the imageries, and other curiosities that were in the city, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone; and being told of some idols, that seemed worthy to be carried away, being very goodly pieces, in such habit and posture as if they were fighting, he said, let us leave unto the *Tarentines* their angry gods.

Hannibal, being gotten clear from *Marcellus*, fell upon those that besieged *Caulonia*. They fled at his coming, but he was so near, that they were fain to betake them to a hill, which served to no other purpose, than to bear off the first brunt. There they defended themselves a little while, and then they yielded. When this business was done, he hastened away to relieve *Tarentum*; but when he came within five miles of the city, he had news that it was lost. This grieved him; yet he said no more than this; *The Romans have also their Hannibal*; we have lost *Tarentum* in such sort as we got it. That he might not seem to turn back amazed, or in any fear of the victorious consul, he encamped a few days together so near as he was unto *Tarentum*; and thence departing to *Metapontum*, bethought himself how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He caused the chief of the *Metapontines* to write unto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands the *Carthaginian* garrison, with condition, that he should in that respect forgive them all offences past. These letters were sent by two young men of the same city, who did their errand so well, that the consul wrote back by them unto the *Metapontines*, and appointed the day when they should expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad, and at good leisure, made ready his ambushes for the wary *Fabius*. But whether some secret notice of the plot were given, or whether indeed (as it is related) some tokens in sacrificing, terrified the superstitious *Roman*, the journey to *Metapontum* was deferred. Hereupon the same two messengers were employed again; but being apprehended, and threatened with torture, they discovered all.

This year was happy to the *Romans*, in all their wars; for they got every-where, save only at *Caulonia*, where they lost a company of such lewd fellows, that it may seem good fortune to have so been rid of them. But their common poverty, and disability to maintain their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirty *Roman* colonies were then in *Italy*, of which, twelve refused to contribute

contribute any longer to the wars: for it was considered, that the legions of *Cannæ*, and those unhappy companies that had been beaten under the one and the other *Cn. Fulvius*, were transported into *Sicily*, where they lived, in a sort, as banished men. This grieved their friends at home, and made them reckon up the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten years together they had been exhausted with levies of men, and impositions of money, in every of which years they had received some notable overthrow. In this case, the least that they could fear, or rather, the best which they could hope, was, to fall into the hands of the enemy to be made prisoners. For *Hannibal* did gently send home their people that was taken by him; whereas the *Romans* did banish from their homes those that had escaped. It was therefore likely to come to pass within a-while, that they should be all consumed, since new soldiers were daily pressed out of their towns, and the old ones never did return. Such talk was frequent among those of the colonies, especially where they that were transported into *Sicily*, had most compassionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrium*, *Alba*, and other good towns, to the number of twelve, that they should boldly deny unto the *Romans* their farther help. This was thought the likeliest way to obtain peace, whereof otherwise they saw little hope, so long as *Hannibal* lived. When the consuls heard the ambassadors of these towns make such declaration, and protest their disability of giving any farther help, they were much amazed. They willed the ambassadors to return home, and bring a better answer; forasmuch as this was none other than treason: they bade them consider, that their people were not *Campanians*, or *Tarentines*; but the offspring of the *Romans*; and no less partakers of the empire, than they that inhabited the mother-city. But all would not serve, the ambassadors continuing to protest that they had already done what they could, and that they had remaining neither men nor money. It was well for the *Romans*, that the other eighteen colonies did not imitate these twelve, but shewed themselves willing to undergo whatsoever should be laid upon them, without shrinking under the burden. This their offer was so highly pleasing to the consuls, that the ambassadors of those faithful colonies, were brought unto the senate, and produced into the assembly of the people, where, with commemoration of all their former good services, this their present love unto the state was magnified, and thanks accordingly bestowed upon them; with promise, that it should not be forgotten. As for the ambassadors of those twelve colonies that refused to contribute, it was thought best neither to retain them in the city; nor yet to dismiss them, nor to take any notice of them at all, but leave them to their own consideration of their ill-deserving.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of these twelve people would have wrought in those that were so willing to help the state, if *Asdrubal* had been then coming into *Italy*: for then must the *Romans* have betaken themselves wholly to their own defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their subjects, they employed their forces in the conquest of *Italy*, with hopeful and fortunate success. Nevertheless, they were fain to open their most privy treasury, and thence take out the gold that had been laid up to serve them in cases of greatest extremity. Of the money thus extracted, one quarter was delivered to *Fabius* the consul, to set him well out against the *Tarentines*: all the rest was sent into *Spain* to *Scipio*, for the maintenance

of his army, and to provide that *Asdrubal* might not pass from thence into *Italy*. It is likely that *Fabius* did not spend all his money; finding such easy success at *Tarentum*, as was shewed before. But to stop the journey of *Asdrubal*, neither the money sent into *Spain*, nor any victories won by *Scipio*, could suffice. Nevertheless, it fell out happily for the people of *Rome*, that this year and the next were spent before his coming; and they better prepared, than at less warning they could have been, to entertain him. Here it were not amiss to note, that since the *Romans*, being in so great necessity of money, were driven to furnish the army in *Spain* with the greatest part of all their stock that was left; it must needs be, that either the booty taken in *New Carthage*, was far less than fame had reported it; or else that *Scipio* had not as yet won it: howsoever *Livy* rather inclines to those, who say that he got it soon after his arrival.

M. Claudius Marcellus, and *T. Quintius Crispinus*, were chosen consuls after *Fabius* and *Fulvius*. In this year it was, that *Asdrubal* took his journey out of *Spain*, though he came not into *Italy* till the year following. After the great battle at *Cannæ*, *Hannibal* had lost much time about *Cumæ* and *Naples*, in seeking to make himself master of a good haven, for the landing of those succours that were promised from *Carthage*. The hope that he reposed in *Philip*, caused him to turn his principal care to the eastern parts of *Italy*, where he made ready a fair entrance for the *Macedonian*, if he had been ready to come. But since his hope was vanished, and the long promised succour of *Asdrubal* was (though far later than had been expedient) ready to arrive, he began to deal with the people of *Umbria*, through whose countries his brother was to pass, that therein he might make a party against the *Romans*. The loss of *Capua*, *Tarentum*, and many other towns, might have terrified all other of the *Italian* towns from hearkening to any solicitation of the *Carthaginians*; yet the poverty of the *Romans*, and the weariness of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater army coming, than that which *Hannibal* brought into *Italy*, did embolden many of the *Umbrians*, especially the *Aretines*, to take such counsel as they thought most expedient for themselves, without regard of their fidelity to *Rome*. The *Roman* senate, hearing the rumour of their conspiracy, sent *Marcellus* the new chosen consul into *Umbria*, whose coming did so terrify them, that they rested quiet for a-while. All the year following they were devising how to break out; as contrariwise, the *Roman* pretors, partly by terror of severe judgments and inquisitions, and partly by the force of two or three legions, with which they visited all suspected places, kept them honest against their wills, and took many hostages for better assurance. The two consuls had an earnest desire to make strong war upon *Hannibal*, without more temporizing; persuading themselves, that in battle they should be too strong for him. *Crispinus* had further his particular desire to make his consulship notable, by the winning of some good town: as *Fulvius* and *Fabius* had gotten honour by *Capua* and *Tarentum*. Therefore he went about the siege of *Locri*, one of the best cities which the *Carthaginian* then held in *Italy*; and brought thither all sorts of engines, sending for a fleet out of *Sicily* to help him. But *Hannibal* was not slow to relieve the city, the fame of whose approach, made *Crispinus* desist from his enterprize, and retire unto his colleague, that lay at *Venusia*. Thither followed *Hannibal*, to whom the consuls daily offered battle. This great man of war had no need

o stand upon his reputation, which was already so confirmed, that his refusing to fight, was not likely to be ascribed unto fear, but rather deemed as a part of his wisdom. He entertained the consuls with many light skirmishes, and fought to take them at some advantage; reserving his own numbers as full as he could unto a time of greater employment. In this lingering manner of war *Marcellus* took no pleasure, but fought to compel the enemy to battel whether he would or no. The admiral of the *Roman* fleet about *Sicily*, *L. Cincius*, was commanded again to assail the town of *Locri*, which might well enough be forced, if *Hannibal* continued, as he began, to trifle away the time at *Venusia*. To the same purpose a part of the garrison that lay in *Tarentum*, was appointed to go by land to the assistance of *Cincius*; but *Hannibal* had an eye behind him. He laid an ambush in the way, between *Tarentum* and *Locri*, whereinto the *Romans* fell; and having lost above three thousand of their company, were well glad, the rest of them, to quit their enterprize, and save their own lives within *Tarentum*. As for the consuls, it was the desire of *Hannibal* to waste their army by little and little; which to do, he neglected no advantage. There lay between him and them an hillock, over-grown with wood, that seemed fit to cover a number of men; who lying there undiscerned, might fall upon such as should straggle from the *Roman* camp, and cut them off. Therefore he sent thither by night some companies of *Numidians*, whom he willed to keep themselves close, and attend their best advantage. To this piece of ground the consuls thought it fit to remove their camp; *Marcellus* thinking that he never lay near enough unto *Hannibal*. Thither therefore both of them rode to view the place, accompanied with the son of *Marcellus*, a few colonels, and other principal men, and not many more than two hundred horse, most of them *Hebrurians*. The *Numidian* sentinel gave warning of their approach to his fellows, who discovered not themselves until they had surrounded the consuls and their train. The consuls, as necessity compelled them, defended themselves, hoping to be quickly relieved from their camp, that was near at hand. But the *Hebrurians* ran away from them at the first, and left them in that great danger to the weak assistance of no more than forty horse-men, that were of the colony of *Fregellæ*. These *Fregellans* abode by the consuls, and did what they could to have brought them safe off. But when *Marcellus* was stricken through with a lance, and fell down dead, then began every one to shift for himself, and escape as they might. *Crispinus*, the other consul, had his death's wound, being stricken with two darts; and young *Marcellus* was likewise wounded; yet these two recovered their camp. The rest of the colonels and officers, together with the lictors that carried the bundles of rods and axes before the consuls, were all slain or taken. To the dead body of the consul *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* gave honourable funeral, according to the custom of those times; and bestowing his ashes in a silver pot, covered it with a crown of gold, and so sent them to young *Marcellus*, to be by him interr'd where he thought good.

Presently after this, *Crispinus* bethought himself how that the signet-ring of *Marcellus* was fallen into the custody of *Hannibal*, who might use it to his own purposes, ere that which had happened were well known abroad. Wherefore he sent word unto all the towns about, that his colleague was slain, and that *Hannibal* had gotten his ring; wishing them in that regard to give no credit to any letters therewithal signed. This providence of *Crispinus*, was

not more than requisite: for his messenger was but a little before come to *Salapia*, when another messenger arrived there, sent from *Hannibal*, bringing letters in the name of *Marcellus*, and sealed with the captive ring, whereof the contents were, that it was his purpose to come the same night unto *Salapia*; where he willed, that the soldiers of the garrison should be in a readiness, for such employment as he should think needful. The device was plain: and no less plain was the revengeful mind, which he bare against that city; because of his brave *Numidian* companies, that had therein been betrayed. The *Salapians* hereupon bethought themselves, how to take their enemy in his own snare. They sent back the messenger, which was a *Roman* fugitive, without letting him perceive any sign of distrust in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readiness, for the entertainment of such a friend. Late in the night he came thither, with a troop of *Roman* fugitives, armed *Roman*-like, leading the way. These all talking *Latin* together, called unto the watch, and bade open the gate; for the consul was there. The gate was opened, fair and leisurely, and the port-cullis drawn up no higher than needs it must be, to let them enter. But when six hundred of them were gotten in, down fell the port-cullis again: and they that thought to have taken others, were taken themselves; being laid at on all hands by the *Salapians*, that quickly made an end with them.

Hannibal being thus over-reached with this stratagem, hasted away to *Locri*; whereunto *Cincius*, the admiral of the *Roman* fleet about *Sicily*, did lay hard siege. The first appearance of the *Numidians*, *Hannibal's* vant-currors, made the *Romans* in all confused haste run to their ships: leaving all their engines, and whatsoever was in their camp, to the enemies disposition.

The *Roman* senate, hearing of these accidents, sent unto *Crispinus*, the surviving consul, and requested him to name a dictator: that might take charge of the commonwealth, and dispatch the election of new magistrates, with other business; whereunto himself was disabled by his hurts. He did so: and soon after died. Then it was thought needful, that new consuls should be chosen out of hand: forasmuch as two *Roman* armies lay so near unto the enemy, without any general. Especially it was desired, that election should be made of such men, as were not only valiant, but well advised: since the best, and most fortunate of their great darters, *M. Marcellus*, by losing himself so strangely, had given them a fair warning, not to commit their army unto rash heads. Among those that stood for the consulship, *C. Claudius Nero* was the most eminent. He was of great nobility, a good soldier, and one, whose many services in this present war, did forcibly commend unto the place. Yet he seemed a little too violent; and one, whose temper needed the allay of a more staid wit. The *Fathers* therefore endeavoured to join unto him in the consulship *M. Livius*: one that had borne the same office, long before. This *M. Livius* had been consul with *L. Æmilius Paulus*, in the year foregoing the beginning of this war. After their consulship, wherein they did good service, they had both of them been called unto judgment by the people: and this *Livius* condemned, *Æmilius* hardly escaping. Though it hath been once already noted, yet I cannot forbear to remember it again; how it pleased God to upbraid the unthankful *Romans*, with the malicious judgment, given by their multitude upon honourable men. For in the battel of *Canne*, it was apparent, what lamentable effects

the memory of their injustice wrought: when *L. Æmilius* rather chose to yield to the forward ignorance of his colleague; and afterwards to die in the greatest overthrow that ever fell upon the state of *Rome*; than by resisting the pernicious courses of *Terentius Varro*, to cast himself a-new upon the danger of the popular fury. As for *M. Livius*, he is even now ready, and will so continue, to tell the people of their faults in a diverse manner. Eight years together after his condemnation had he been absent out of the city, and lived in his country grange; still vexing himself with the indignity of his condemnation. *Marcellus* and *Levinus*, being consuls two or three years ago, had brought him into *Rome*: where he lived private, in discontented sort, as might appear, both by his carelessness in apparel, and by the wearing of his long hair and beard; which in that age were the badges of men afflicted. Very lately he was compelled by the censors to pull his hair, and come into the senate: where he used to sit silent, and signify his assent or dislike to what was proposed; either in short formal words, or in passing from side to side, when the house was divided. At length it happened, that in some business weightily concerning one that was his kinsman, he stood up, and made a set speech: whereby he drew all the *Fathers* to attention; and bade them enquire of him, and take better notice what he was, and what he had been. The senate was much altered since he had left it; many brave men were lost; new ones were chosen; such as rather served to fill up the number, than to answer to the dignity of the place: and they that were left of ancient standing, had ever spent their virtues to no great effect. Wherefore, all began to say, that it was a great pity, so worthy and able a man, as this *Livius*, had been all this while forgotten; one, of whom the commonwealth stood in great need, yet had not used in this dangerous war. Now seeing that the consuls ought, one of them, to be chosen a *Patrician*; the other, of necessity a *Plebeian*: and since, neither *Fabius*, nor *Valerius Levinus*, being both of them *Patricians*, could be joined with *Claudius Nero*: every one was of opinion, that there could not be chosen and coupled together, two fitter men than *C. Claudius*, and this *Marcus Livius*. But *Livy* would not endure to hear of this. He said, it was unreasonable, that one condemned as a dishonest man, should afterwards be chosen ruler of the city. If they had done ill to trust him with one consulship, what meant they then to offer him another? With these and the like phrases, he resisted their desires: till by persuasions, and examples rehearsed, of such as had patiently digested injuries done by the people, and repayed good for evil; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that emblem, with which *Themistocles* checked the ingratitude of the *Athenians*: resembling himself to a plane-tree, the branches and boughs whereof men brake in fair weather; but run under it for shelter in a storm. Such unthankfulness, to well-deserving men, is not rarely found in the outrageous multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much unlike, of *Philip* the second, king of *Spain*, his dealing with the duke of *Alva*. For although he had committed the duke to prison, upon some small offence conceived, without all regard of his former deserts: yet, when his intended conquest of *Portugal*, required the service of a man, more than ordinarily sufficient; he stood no longer upon the scanning of late displeasures; but employed the

same duke, whom he had newly disgraced. This is wisdom often taught by necessity.

It was a dangerous year toward, when *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* were chosen consuls. *Asdrubal* was already come into *France*, and waited only to have the ways of the *Alps* thawed by warm weather, for his passage into *Italy*. The *Romans* used at this time the service of three and twenty legions: and wanted not employment, for many more, if they had known how to levy and maintain them. Of these which they had, four served in *Spain*, two in *Sicily*, and two in *Sardinia*; the rest were so disposed, in several parts of *Italy*, where need seemed to require, that only two legions were left to each of the consuls. But the consuls were men of execution, and would not be tied to the punctual observance of what the senate thought fit. *M. Livius* would not stir out of *Rome*, against so mighty a power as followed *Asdrubal*; until he had first obtained, that he might carry with him as many as could well be spared from other employments; and those, or the most of them, chosen companies. It was true, that two legions, appointed to serve under *Lucius Porcius*, a pretor of that year, among the *Cisalpine Gauls*, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of *Livius*; to whom the war against *Asdrubal* was allotted. So might also two other legions, that were among the *Salentines*, near unto *Tarentum*, under another of the pretors, be accounted a part of *Claudius's* army, that was sent against *Hannibal*. Nevertheless the consuls, by the special instance of *Livy*, did obtain, that all might be left to their own discretion. For news came, that *Asdrubal* was already passing the *Alps*; the *Ligurians*, who dwelt in the country about *Genua*, with their neighbour people, were in readiness to join with him; and *L. Porcius* sent word, that he would adventure no further, than he safely might. When all was ordered, as themselves thought best, the two consuls went forth of the city, each his several way. The people of *Rome* were now quite otherwise affected, than they had been, when *L. Æmilius Paulus*, and *C. Terentius Varro*, were sent against *Hannibal*. They did no longer take upon them, to direct their generals, or bid them dispatch, and win the victory betimes; but rather they stood in fear, lest all diligence, wisdom, and valour, should prove too little. For since few years had passed, wherein some one of their generals had not been slain; and since it was manifest, that if either of these present consuls were defeated, or put to the worst, the two *Carthaginians* would forthwith join, and make short work with the other: it seemed a greater happiness than could be expected, that each of them should return home victor; and come off with honour, from such mighty opposition, as he was like to find. With extreme difficulty had *Rome* held up her head ever since the battel of *Cannæ*: though it were so, that *Hannibal* alone, with little help from *Carthage*, had continued the war in *Italy*. But there was now arrived another son of *Amilcar*; and one, that in his present expedition, had seemed a man of more sufficiency than *Hannibal* himself. For, whereas in that long and dangerous march, through barbarous nations, over great rivers and mountains, that were thought unpassable, *Hannibal* had lost a great part of his army: this *Asdrubal*, in the same places, had multiplied his numbers; and, gathering the people that he found in the way, descended from the *Alps* like a rowling snow-ball, far greater than he came over the *Pyrenees*, at his first setting out of *Spain*.
These

These considerations, and the like, of which, fear presented many unto them ; caused the people of *Rome*, to wait upon their consuls out of the town ; like a pensive train of mourners : thinking upon *Marcellus* and *Crispinus*, upon whom in the like sort they had given attendance the last year, but saw neither of them return alive, from a less dangerous war. Particularly, old *Q. Fabius* gave his accustomed advice to *M. Livius*, that he should abstain from giving, or taking battel, until he well understood the enemies condition. But the consul made him a froward answer, and said, That he would fight the first day : for that he thought it long, till he should either recover his honour by victory ; or, by seeing the overthrow of his own unjust citizens, satisfy himself with the joy of a great, though not an honest, revenge. But his meaning was better than his words.

Of the overthrow that *Asdrubal* received in *Spain*, from *Scipio*, a little before he took his journey into *Italy* ; such mention hath already been made, as agreed with the report of that noble historian *Livy*. Yet I think it not amiss to add in this place, what may be gathered out of the remaining fragments of *Polybius's* history, concerning the accident. *Asdrubal* had wrestled with many difficulties in *Spain*, by reason of those captains that were sent from the city of *Carthage*, to join with him in the administration of that province : they being, as it may seem, of the *Hannonian* faction ; which is to say, thus far forth traitors, that they preferred the advantage of their own side, before the good of their commonwealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthy son of *Amilcar*, and how they hindered his courses undertaken, it cannot be known : since of these books, wherein *Polybius* hath exactly handled these matters, there are to us remaining, only a few broken pieces. But by the spiteful dealing of *Hanno*, in *Sicily*, with *Mutines*, a better man of war than himself, whom *Hannibal* had sent into the island ; we may conceive, that against the brother of *Hannibal*, it was thought needful, by these mischievous partisans of *Hanno*, to use the violent opposition of more earnest malice. Nevertheless *Asdrubal* was a good patriot : and therefore endured patiently such indignities as *Mutines* could not long digest. His journey into *Italy* being resolved upon ; he lay with part of the army at *Betula*, not far from the mines of silver ; whence he was to furnish his expedition. Thither came *Scipio* ; and drove him out of his camp, though he were strongly lodged, before the other *Carthaginian* captains could, or would, come to his assistance. The overthrow seems not to have been so great, as it must have been supposed, if no way lay open to those that fled. Rather it appears, that *Asdrubal* dealt like a provident man : and seeing that his camp was likely to be forced, sent away all his money, with his elephants before him : but staid behind himself to sustain the *Romans* a while, until his carriages might be out of danger. Herein he had his desire. Afterwards, he gathered his broken troops together ; and retired in such sort, that *Scipio* thought it not good to pursue him ; and so passed over *Tagus*. Then taking unto him the forces assigned for his expedition, he marched away towards the *Pyrenees* : leaving the care of *Spain* unto his brother *Mago*, and to *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gesco*, that thought himself the fittest man for the administration thereof. Fain would *Scipio* have stopped him in his journey, by sending to defend against him the ordinary way of the mountains.

But whether *Asdrubal* took another way, or whether he forced the guards that *Scipio* had set to keep the *Pyrenees* (as the defence of hard passages commonly sorts to no good effect) he was not letted in his voyage by any such impediment. Coming into *Gaul*, and following the steps of his brother *Hannibal* : he found the nations that lay in his way, so well affected, either to him or his money, that no passages were defended against him, nor any sort of resistance made ; but he, and his army well entertained, and their numbers much increased, by access of such as were desirous to take his pay. Of these he had the better choice : for that he was driven to winter in their country, whilst that the passages of the *Alps* were closed up with ice and snow. The mountains likewise, that had so greatly molested *Hannibal* in his journey over the *Alps*, were easily won to take part with *Asdrubal*, when he travelled through their country. For these poor men, at the first coming of *Hannibal*, were verily perswaded, that it was his purpose to rob them of their cattel, and to make spoil of that little wealth, which they had painfully scraped together out of the desolate rocks. But now in process of time they were better informed. Therefore understanding, that there were two mighty cities, far disjoining asunder, which made war upon each other, by land and sea : and that the *Alps* did only lie in their way ; they gladly condescended, to take their part in the fortune of the invaders. The like affection, upon greater cause, was afterwards found in the *Cisalpine Gauls*. The *Ligurians* also joined with *Asdrubal* : and so would the *Etrurians* have done, if he had arrived in their country. There was no other *Roman* army near, than *L. Porcius*, with his two legions ; of whom there was no great fear. Therefore did *Asdrubal* set upon *Placentia*, a *Roman* colony : in hope to make his coming the more terrible, by the destruction of that town. But there he lost a great deal of time, and finally was driven to quit the enterprise : by undertaking which, he gave the *Roman* consuls leisure to make ready for him ; and caused his brother *Hannibal* (who upon the first bruit of *Asdrubal's* so timely, and easily passing the *Alps*, was about to leave his wintering camp, and go forth to meet with him) to sit still a while, as well aware, that *Placentia* would not be taken in haste.

C. Claudius Nero, the *Roman* consul, made what speed he could to meet with *Hannibal*, and stop him from joining with his brother. He had about forty thousand foot, and five hundred horse : with which he daily offered battel to the *Carthaginian* ; and had of him the better in many skirmishes. *Hannibal* was once driven to make a tedious march from the borders of the *Salentines* and *Apulians*, into the country of the *Brutians*, there to increase his forces ; which were otherwise too weak for the journey intended. Afterwards coming to *Grumentum*, a town of the *Lucans* ; he there fought unprosperously with *Nero* the consul. Nevertheless he got off, and marched away to *Venusia*. But *Nero* followed him ; and had there again the better of him. Wherefore he was driven to return to *Metapontum* : where joining with *Hanno*, that had made ready a good army, he assayed again to make way by force to his brother. So he passed onward, and came again to *Venusia*, having *Nero* still at his heels. Thence went he over the river *Aufidus*, to *Cannusium* ; where he sat down, not far from the place in which he had obtained his most memorable victory. There also

did *Nero* sit down by him : and both of them rested, without making offer to fight. It seemed perhaps unto *Hannibal*, who knew the country very well, that his brother might, with little impediment, overcome the way to *Canusium* : where if he could once again deal with both the consuls, and all the *Roman* forces together, he had reason to hope for such another victory, as once he had gotten in the same open country. If this had so fallen out, *Rome* would have been undone for ever. But the *Carthaginians* should not have needed to wish any second victory, in the naked champans about *Cannæ* ; if such an army, as this which *Asdrubal* now brings, had come to second *Hannibal*, when he was in his full strength, and the *Romans* not able to keep the field. Wherefore this worthy general had good reason afterwards to say, that *Hanno* was the man, who, by delaying the supply, did beat him out of *Italy* ; which else no power of the *Romans* could have done.

Whilst *Nero* waited upon the *Carthaginians*, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting with the army that was coming to their succour : he was advertised of *Asdrubal's* approach ; by letters and messengers intercepted, as they were going to *Hannibal*. These gave notice, that *Asdrubal* had left the siege of *Placentia*, and drew onwards apace : being already come within two hundred miles of his brother ; notwithstanding all opposition that could be made by *Livy* the consul. Of these news *Claudius Nero* was nothing joyful. For if *Hannibal* could once be joined as head, unto that great body of an army, which *Asdrubal* brought with him : it was most apparent, that howsoever the fortune of *Rome* should avoid, for the present, any great calamity ; yet the very continuance of so strong a war at home, would enforce the *Latins*, and other faithful associates, to faint under the burden ; as twelve of the thirty *Roman* colonies had already done. Wherefore he resolved, that it were better to make any desperate adventure, than to suffer the conjunction of two such malevolent planets : whose pestilent influence, if not on the sudden, yet within few years, was like to work most lamentable effects. It seemed apparent, that his colleague was unable to stay the progress of *Asdrubal* : neither were there any good legions in a readiness, that could do service in such a needful case ; excepting those that were already employed under the two consuls. Hereupon he concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tie himself to his own charge, which was the war against *Hannibal* : but rather that it behoved him to help where more necessity required ; and to carry part of his forces unto his colleague. This could not be without much danger. Yet since the meeting of the two *Carthaginian* brethren, was far more dangerous to the *Roman* commonwealth ; it seemed the best way to put fortune in trust with that which was of the less importance. Six thousand foot, and a thousand horse he therefore took, that were the very choice of his army : and making shew, as if he would only step aside, to do some small piece of service near at hand ; away he posted as fast as he could, to assist his fellow-consul. His messengers ran before him, to give warning to all towns by which he was to pass, that they should be ready to meet him, with victuals, and all other necessities for his army. *Livius*, the other consul, at that time, lay encamped near unto *Sena Gallica* ; and *Asdrubal* within half a mile of him. In six days *Nero* had finished his journey thither ; and when he drew near, sent messengers before him, to give notice of his coming. *Livy* thought it fittest that he should stay

in some place of covert until dark night, and then enter secretly into the camp : lest the enemy, perceiving this access of strength, should accordingly frame his counsels. This was done : and a token given, that the colonels, captains, and all soldiers, as well horse as foot, that *Nero* had brought with him, should be lodged and entertained by men of their own sort. Their company was somewhat increased by volunteers that joined with them on the way. Nevertheless, it was not needful, that the quarter which received them, should be enlarged, since they had brought with them nothing but their arms. The next day they held a council of war : wherein some were of opinion, that it was best for these new-arrived companies, to refresh themselves a few days after their weary journey, before they should be drawn forth to battle. But against this, *Nero* was very earnest : and besought his colleague, to make use of him out of hand ; that he might betimes return to his own camp, ere *Hannibal* should have notice of his absence. The soldiers also of *Nero* were full of spirit ; perceiving that the honour of the victory was like to be theirs : forasmuch as the battle would not have been undertaken, without this their coming to help. Finally, it was agreed when the council brake up, that the sign of battle should be hung out ; which was commonly a purple coat over the general's pavillion.

Asdrubal was no less willing than the *Romans* to come to battle : having long desired it, and hitherto not found occasion before. But when he had put his men in order, and was riding before the head of his army, to behold the enemies countenance ; it seemed to him, that they were more than they had been ; and some of their arms and horses, looked as though they had wanted dressing, after a long journey. Hereupon he began to withdraw his army back into the camp : and gave order, that if no prisoners could be taken, by whom he might be certified of the truth ; yet should there good observation be made, whether the enemies camp were enlarged, or no ; or what other alteration could be noted, that might shew their forces to be increased. The camp, as hath been said, was not extended : but the trumpet, that sounded only once in the quarter of *L. Porcius* the pretor, did now, contrary to former custom, sound twice in the quarter of *Livius* the consul. Hereat *Asdrubal* greatly mused : and being well acquainted with the *Roman* orders ; held this for a sure token, that the other consul was there arrived. How this might be, if *Hannibal* were alive, and in good case, he was not able to conjecture : but thought it the best way, to go leisurely to work, till he might be better informed. Upon confidence in his own forces, he had not cared hitherto, how near he lay to the *Romans* ; nor troubled himself perhaps with over-strongly fortifying his own camp. Yet when he now perceived, that somewhat was fallen out beside his expectation, he changed his resolution ; and held it no dishonour to remove a little further off. So he dislodged secretly by night : intending to get over the river *Metaurus* ; whereby to keep himself as long as he could, from necessity of battle. But whether it were so, that his guides did steal away from him in the dark, so that he could not find the way to the fords ; or whether his carriages were too heavy, and hindered his speed : far he had not gone, ere the consul *Nero* was at his heels with all the *Roman* horse, and stayed him from passing any further. Soon after came *L. Porcius* with the light armature : whom the other consul followed anon with all his legions, in good order, and ready for battle. *Asdrubal*, seeing him-

self overtaken with necessity to fight, omitted no care and circumspection. His *Gauls*, in whom he reposed least confidence, he placed in his left wing, upon a hill, which the enemy should not, without much difficulty, be able to climb: in the right wing he stood himself, with his *Africans* and *Spaniards*; his *Ligurians* he placed in the midst; and his elephants be bestowed in the front of his battels. On the *Roman* side, *Nero* had the leading of the right wing, *Livius* of the left, and *Porcius* of the battel. Both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* well understood how much depended upon the fortune of this day, and how little hope of safety there was unto the vanquished. Only the *Romans* herein seemed to have had the better in conceit and opinion; that they were to fight with men desirous to have fled from them. And according to this presumption, came *Livius* the consul with a proud bravery, to give charge on the *Africans*; by whom he was so sharply entertained, that the victory seemed very doubtful. The *Africans* and *Spaniards* were stout soldiers, and well acquainted with the manner of the *Roman* fight. The *Ligurians* also were a hardy nation, and not accustomed to give ground, which they needed the less, or were able now to do, being placed in the midst. *Livius* therefore, and *Porcius*, found strong opposition; and, with great slaughter on both sides, prevailed little or nothing. Besides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the elephants, that broke their first ranks; and put them in such disorder, as the *Roman* ensigns were driven to fall back. All this while *Claudius Nero*, labouring much in vain against a steep hill, was unable to come to blows with the *Gauls*, that stood opposite unto him, but out of danger. This made *Asdrubal* the more confident, who, seeing his own left wing safe, did the more boldly and fiercely make impression on the other side, upon the left wing of the *Romans*. But *Nero*, perceiving that the place wherein he stood, was such as would compel him to remain idle till the fight were ended, took a part of his forces, and led them round behind the forces of *Porcius* and *Livius*; which having compassed, he fell upon *Asdrubal*, and charged him in the flank. Here began the victory to be manifest on the *Roman* side: for *Nero*, finding none to resist him in front, ran all along the depth of *Asdrubal's* battel; and, falling upon the skirts thereof, disordered the enemies, and put all to rout. Of the *Spaniards* therefore and *Africans*, that were laid at on every side, the greatest part was slain. The *Ligurians* and *Gauls* escaped as they could, and saved themselves by timely flight. Of the elephants, four were taken alive, the rest were slain; some by the enemy's weapons, others by their own guides that rode them. For when any of them, being sore wounded, began to wax unruly, and rush back upon their own battels following them, the guide had in readiness a mallet and a chizze, wherewith he gave them a stroke between the ears, in the joint of the neck, next unto the head, wherewith he killed the beast upon the sudden. This speedy way of preventing such harm as the elephants, being hurt, were wont to do to the squadrons following them, is said to have been the device of *Asdrubal* himself, who died in this battel.

Great commendations are given to *Asdrubal*, both by *Polybius*, and by *Livy*. He is said, at all times, to have shewed himself worthy of *Amilcar* his father, and *Hannibal* his brother; to have striven with great patience against many difficulties, wherinto he fell by the means of those captains that were sent from *Carthage* into *Spain*; to have performed in this last battel all duties of a worthy general; and

finally, when he saw the loss irreparable, to have ridden manfully into the thickest of his enemies; where, fighting bravely, he was slain. Of the number that died with him in this battel, the report of *Livy*, and of *Polybius*, do very much disagree: for *Livy* saith, that the *Carthaginians* had no less an overthrow, than was that which they gave to the *Romans* at *Cannæ*; that fifty-six thousand of them were slain, five thousand four hundred taken prisoners, and above four thousand *Roman* citizens, whom they had captives with them, delivered, and set at liberty. He saith also, that of the *Romans* and their associates there were slain eight thousand; and of the booty, that it was exceeding great; not only in other kinds, but in gold and silver. Concerning the booty, *Polybius* hath no mention of it. Likely it is to have been as rich as *Livy* reporteth it; for *Asdrubal* came well stored with money. But *Polybius* (who had no desire to make this battel of *Metaurus* a parallel unto that of *Cannæ*) reports no more than about ten thousand on the *Carthaginian* side, and two thousand of the *Roman* to have been slain. The number of the prisoners he doth not mention; but only saith, that some of the *Carthaginian* princes were taken alive, and that all the rest died in the battel: whereby it may seem that they were all *Barchines*, forasmuch as they preferred the honour of themselves, and of their country, above their lives.

The joy of this victory was no less in *Rome*, than had been the fear of the event: for ever since it was known in what sort *Nero* had left his army, the whole city was troubled, as much as lately at *Hannibal's* coming thither. Men thought it strange, that the consul should make such a great adventure, as thus to put the one half of all the *Roman* forces unto hazard of the dice. For what if *Hannibal* should chance to have notice of this his departure, and either pursue him, or set upon the army that stayed behind, much weakened, and without a general? Thus did they talk; yet reserving their censure unto the success, with liberty to approve or condemn, according to the issue. In the mean while the people filled the market-place; the women ran to the temple with vows and prayers, and the senators were daily in council, waiting still ready at hand upon the magistrates; as if some great matter were likely to fall out, that would require every one's help. In brief, they were all so full of melancholy, that when the first news of the victory came, there were not many that would believe it. Afterwards, when messengers arrived from the consuls, with letters containing all that had passed, there was not only a great and joyful concourse of all sorts of men unto the temples, but the very face of the city was altered; and men from thenceforth began to follow their private business, making contracts one with another (which they had long forbore to do) and attending their own affairs in such wise, as if *Hannibal* were already driven out of *Italy*.

Nero, returning to his camp, threw forth openly the head of *Asdrubal* before the *Carthaginians*; and producing his *African* prisoners bound, sent two of them loose to give *Hannibal* notice of what had happened. These two prisoners might have served well enough to certify *Hannibal* of the misadventure, without doing wrong to the dead body of *Asdrubal*; especially since *Hannibal* in honourable, and far different manner, had given burial to *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*; yea, to all the *Roman* generals, whose carcases fell into his hands. But it may seem, that howsoever the people of *Carthage* wanted much of the generous disposition which was found among

among the *Romans*, in their love unto the common-weal; yet in dealing with enemies, they were far more civil, and less prone to the insolency of revenge. The best excuse of this outrage done by *Nero*, is, that he hoped much more by the sudden terror of such a spectacle, than by the simple relation of that which had passed, to make a deep impression of fear into the *Carthaginians*. It may also be said, that he forgot himself, being over-joyed with the greatness of his prosperity: for it was the battle of *Metaurus* that weighed down the balance, and turned the tide of the *Roman* fortune; which being then at the lowest ebb, ceased not afterwards to flow, till it could not be contained within any banks. *Hannibal*, having lost in this unhappy fight (besides that worthy gentleman his brother) all the hope that so long sustained him in *Italy*, withdrew himself into the country of the *Brutians*; and thither he caused all the *Lucans*, that were of his party, to remove; as likewise all that dwelt in *Metapontum*. For he wanted men, to defend so many places as he held at the present, because they lay too far asunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a lesser compass, in the utmost corner of *Italy*, it being a country of much fastness, and the people exceedingly devoted to his service. In this business, *Nero* gave him no memorable impediment, either because *Hannibal* was too strong for him, having all his forces united, or because it is likely that this remove of the *Lucans* and *Metapontines* was not before the end of summer, when their harvest was gathered in; at which time the senate called him home to *Rome*. *M. Livius*, the other consul, tarried among the *Cisalpine Gauls* until the end of summer; there to set things in such order as he thought requisite: which done, he wrote unto the senate, that there was no more need of him and his army in that province; but that *L. Porcius*, with the two legions that were there before, might very well discharge the place. For this cause he desired leave to return home, and that he might bring his army with him. The senate well understood his meaning, which was to have the honour of triumph, as he well deserved. But so far as it was well known what interest *Nero* had in the late victory, order was given, that not only *Livy*, with his army, should come home, but likewise *Nero*; though leaving his army behind him, to confront *Hannibal*. So the honour of triumph was granted to them both; in the pomp whereof *Livy* made the greater shew, as riding in a chariot, and followed by his soldiers; because in his province, and upon his day of command, the victory was gotten; his army also being present at the triumph. But *Nero*, that rode on horseback, and without such attendance, was the more extolled both by the people and soldiers, by whom the victory was in a manner wholly ascribed unto his great worth. Neither wanted *L. Veturius Philo*, and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, lieutenants to the generals, the due acknowledgment of their good service. For they were commended unto the people, as men worthy to be chosen consuls; and consuls they were chosen for the year following; but nothing was done by them worthy of memory in their consulship. Neither indeed from this year, which was the thirteenth of the present war, until the eighteenth year, wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in *Italy*; save only the taking of *Locri* from the *Carthaginians* by surprise: for *Hannibal* wanted strength wherewith to make any great offer; and the *Romans* had little mind to provoke him, but thought it well that he was quiet. Such opinion had they conceived of him, that though all about him went to ruin, yet in him alone they thought

there was force enough to hold himself upright. And surely very notable are the commendations given unto him by *Polybius*, whom *Livy* therein follows: that making war upon a people, of all other the most warlike, he obtained so many victories by his own good conduct; and that leading an army, compounded of so many sundry nations, *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians*, and *Greeks*, which were neither in language, laws, conditions, or any other thing, one like to another, he held them all in such good order, that they never fell to sedition among themselves, or against their general. But that which *Livy* adds hereto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: that he sustained his army, without help from other places, from this time forward, upon the hungry soil of the *Brutians*; which, when it was best manured in time of peace, could hardly suffice to nourish the inhabitants. It is therefore apparent, that by his proper worth and virtue, he kept his army in such order and obedience, rather than by any greatness of reward and booty; since after the death of *Asdrubal*, he made no invasion upon the wealthier parts of *Italy*, but held himself still among the poor *Brutians*. Where we must leave him until he be drawn into *Africa* by *Scipio*, whose doings will henceforth entertain, and lead us unto the end of this war.

SECT. XVII.

How P. Cornelius Scipio, the Roman, made entire conquest of Spain.

†. I.

How the Carthaginians were driven by Scipio from the continent into the isle of Gades.

MAGO, and *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gesco*, took upon them the charge of *Spain*, when *Asdrubal*, the son of *Amilcar*, departed thence into *Italy*. These agreed together, that *Mago* should make a voyage to the *Baleares*, there to levy a supply of men; and *Asdrubal* withdraw himself into *Lusitania* (which is now *Portugal*) whither the *Romans* had ill means to follow, being altogether unacquainted in those parts. *Mago* had soon ended his business, and returned into *Spain*, where he met with one *Hanno* (the same perhaps that had lately been employed in *Sicily*) who brought new forces out of *Africa*, and came to succeed in place of *Asdrubal* the *Barchine*. It is not unlikely that *Spain* was now the better, and more readily furnished with men, and all things needful, from *Carthage*, when that son of *Amilcar*, whose authority had been greatest, was thence departed. For hereby might the factious diligence of old *Hanno* approve it self, against that noble race of warriors, when it should appear, that things did prosper much the better, by being left unto the handling of other men. Whether it were upon desire to make good some such opinion raised of him at home, or whether upon confidence in the forces that he brought over, *Hanno* took the field, and led *Mago* with him, as purposing afresh to set upon the *Romans*. So he entered into the country of the *Celtiberians*, not very far from *New Carthage*, where, by money, and other persuasions, he levied above nine thousand men.

P. Scipio, in the mean while, contained himself in the eastern parts of *Spain*, attentive, as it may seem, to the proceedings of *Asdrubal*, the son of *Amilcar*; against whom, he is reported, by some writers, to have sent part of his forces into *Italy*, to the assistance of *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius*, the

the consuls. But hearing of the levy made by *Hanno* and *Mago*, among the *Celtiberians*, he sent *M. Syllanus*, the proprætor, with ten thousand foot and five hundred horse. *Syllanus* got intelligence by some fugitive *Celtiberians*, who became his guides, that their countrymen encamped a-part from the *Carthaginians* in great disorder, as men fearing no danger, because they were at home. Wherefore, as closely as he was able, he drew near to these *Celtiberians*; and, falling upon them on the sudden, gave them such an overthrow, that *Hanno* and *Mago*, coming to their succour, instead of heartning and reinforcing them, became partakers of the loss. *Mago* saved himself, with all the horse and old companies of foot, which were about two thousand, and in ten days journey brought them safe to *Asdrubal*. The rest of the *Africans* were either slain or taken, among whom, *Hanno* had the ill luck to be taken prisoner; though he kept himself out of the fight until all was lost. As for the *Celtiberians*, they knew better how to make shift, and saved most of themselves by running into the woods.

It could no otherwise be, but that *Scipio* was much troubled with the danger wherein *Italy* stood, by the coming thither of *Asdrubal*. Ten thousand foot and eighteen hundred horse he did therefore send out of *Spain* (as it is reported by some authors) to the defence of his own country, or was perhaps about to send them; and thereupon remained at *New Carthage*, intente to the necessity and success of his countrymen at home. But when he had word of the great victory at *Metaurus*, which fell out long before the end of this summer, then might he well adventure to take in hand the entire conquest of *Spain*; which must needs be much alienated from the *Carthaginians*, by the report of such an overthrow. The *Spanish* soldiers that served under *Hannibal*, and those that had been sent over into *Africa*, were as pledges heretofore, by whom their country was held obnoxious to the *Carthaginians*. But when it was noised abroad, that all which had followed *Asdrubal* into *Italy*, were fallen into the hands of the *Romans*; and that *Hannibal*, with his army, was closed up in a streight, whence he could not get out; then did it greatly behove the *Spaniards* to conform themselves unto the will of the victors. That it was the success of things in *Italy*, which gave such confidence unto *Scipio*, it is the more probable, because he took not this great enterprize in hand till the summer was almost spent. *Asdrubal* therefore used the benefit of the season; and by disposing his army into many garrisons, hindered the enemy from doing any great exploit before winter. So the very length of way, and the time of the year, caused *Scipio* to return back, without any other matter performed, than that his brother, *L. Scipio*, took by assault the town of *Oringis*.

Against the next year's danger, *Asdrubal* prepared a great army, and spared not cost nor travel in strengthening himself for the trial of his last fortune in *Spain*. With seventy thousand foot, four thousand horse, and thirty-two elephants, he took the field; which number, I believe, that he could hardly have raised, without boldly denying the truth of those reports that came from *Italy*. *Scipio* thought his *Roman* legions too weak to encounter with such a multitude; wherefore he judged it needful to use the help of his *Spanish* friends. But the death of his father and uncle, that were cast away by the treason of such false auxiliaries, made him, on the other side, very doubtful of relying upon those that might perhaps betray him in his greatest need. Yet since one *Colchas*, that was lord of twenty-

eight towns, had promised him the last winter, to raise three thousand foot, and five hundred horse for his service: he resolved to make use of those, and some few others, that might help to make a shew, and yet not be able to do great harm, if they would revolt. So with five and forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse he fought the enemy; near to whom he incamped. At his first coming, *Mago* and *Masaniissa* fell upon him; with hope to take him unprepared, whilst he was making his lodgings. But he laid certain troops of horse in covert: which breaking upon them unexpected, caused them to fall off. They made at first an orderly retreat: but being more hardly pressed, they shortly betook themselves to plain flight. After this encounter, which added some courage to the *Romans*, and abated the presumption of the *Carthaginians*: there were daily skirmishes between the horse, and light armature, on both sides; wherein was nothing done of importance. *Asdrubal* drew forth his army, and arranged it before his trenches: the like did *Scipio*; each of them to shew that he durst fight; yet not proceeding any further. Thus they continued many days: *Asdrubal* being still the first that issued forth in the morning; and the first that, in the evening, withdrew himself into his trenches. The *Spanish* auxiliaries were placed on both sides in the wings: the *Carthaginians* were in the midst, with their elephants before them; and opposite to these on the other side were the *Roman* legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though at far distance, many days together: it grew to be the common opinion, that they should shortly meet in the same form, and be matched on each part, with the enemies, long before designed. But *Scipio*, when he purposed indeed to fight, altered the form of his army; and withal, came forth earlier than he had been wont. He caused his men, and horses, to be well fed betimes in the morning, before day: and then sent forth his horse and light armature, to train out the *Carthaginians*, with their bellies empty: using herein the same trick, whereby he might remember that *Hannibal* had beaten his father in the battel of *Trebia*. His *Roman* legions he bestowed in the wings; his *Spaniards* in the battel. *Asdrubal* sent forth his horse in all haste, to entertain the *Romans*; whilst he himself arranged his men, in their wonted order, at the hill foot, upon which he incamped. In the skirmishes of the horse it could not be discerned which part had the better: since being over-pressed on either side, they had a safe retreat unto their foot; and one troop seconding another by course, returned to charge. This fight was protracted by *Scipio* to a great length: because his men, having well fed themselves, were like to hold out better than the enemy. But about noon he caused his wings to advance a good pace; leaving their battel of *Spaniards* far behind them, that came on leisurely, according to direction. The *Spanish* mercenaries, that stood in *Asdrubal's* wings, were no way comparable, save only in number, to the *Latin* and *Roman* soldiers, that came against them; for they were fresh soldiers, levied in haste; and fighting only in respect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the legions, and in flank, at the same time, by the *Roman Velites*, and by some cohorts, that were appointed to wheel about for the same purpose: they were sorely pressed; and with much difficulty made resistance. The *Carthaginians* would fain have succoured them; but that they durst not stir out of their places, because of the *Spanish* battel which was coming against

against them ; though it were as yet far off. Thus the best part of *Asdrubal's* army stood idle, until the wings were broken. For, had he adventured to meet with the *Spaniards*, he must have cast himself into the open space that lay before him, between the *Roman* wings : to the depth whereof when he had arrived, he should have found himself inclosed in such a fort, as was the consul *Paulus* at the battel of *Cannæ*. Wherefore he did not only employ his elephants ; which did, according to their manner, no greater harm to his enemies, than to his friends. When they were chafed with wounds, they could no longer be ruled by their guides : but ran, as chance led them, and troubled both parts ; or those perhaps the more, that were the more unwilling to kill them. In process of the fight, the *Romans*, who had well refreshed their bodies in the morning, endured lusty ; when the others began to faint with travel, and heat of the day. Wherefore perceiving their advantage, they followed it the more hotly : and gave not over, till they had forc'd the enemy to change his pace, and run from him. *Asdrubal* did his best to have made an orderly retreat ; and afterwards again, to have caused his men to turn head, at the hill foot. But the *Romans* would not suffer the victory to be so extorted from them : neither was it easy to put fresh courage into the vanquished ; led by the obstinate passion of fear, which hearkens to no perswasion. the camp of *Asdrubal* had that day been taken, if a storm of rain, which fell violently on the sudden, and bred some superstition in the *Romans*, had not caused them to give over.

The same night, *Asdrubal* gave no rest to his men : but caused them, hungry, and over-laboured as they were, to take pains in fortifying the camp ; wherein he feared to be assaulted. But little assurance could he have in the strength of his trenches, when he had lost the hearts of his *Spanish* soldiers. One *Attanes*, that was lord of the *Turdetani*, fled from him to the *Romans*, with a great band of his subjects : many followed this example ; and soon after, two strong towns were yielded up to *Scipio*, and the garrisons betrayed. It seems, that the perverse fortune of this late battel, whereupon *Asdrubal* had set his rest ; bred in the *Spaniards* a disposition, to believe the more easily those reports which they heard from *Italy* : for henceforward, they never did good office to the *Carthaginians*. *Asdrubal*, perceiving this, withdrew himself, and marched away, faster than an ordinary pace, towards the ocean sea. *Scipio* followed the next morning : and overtaking the *Carthaginians* with his horse, caused them so often to make stand, that they were at length attacked by the *Roman* legions. Here began a cruel slaughter : for there was no resistance made, but all fell to rout, save only seven thousand, that with *Asdrubal* himself recovered a very strong piece of ground, which they fortified in haste. This place he made shift a while to defend : but wanting there necessities to sustain himself long, he was forsaken by some of those few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherefore he resolved to make shift for one : and stealing from his company by night away to the sea-side, that was not far thence ; he took shipping, and set sail for *Gades*. When *Scipio* understood that *Asdrubal* was thus gone : he left *Syllanus* with ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to besiege their camp (which was not taken in haste ; for *Mago* and *Masaniissa* stayed in it) whilst he with the rest of the army, did what was needful in the country abroad. It was not long ere *Mago* and *Masaniissa* followed *Asdrubal* to *Gades* : and their army dis-

perfed it self ; some flying over to the *Romans* ; others taking what way they liked. So upon all the continent of *Spain*, there were only three towns left, *Illiturgi*, *Castulo*, and *Astapa*, that made continuance of war against the *Romans* : of which only *Castulo* had in it a *Carthaginian* garrison ; consisting of such as had saved themselves by flight, in the late overthrows. Hereby it seems, that the report of those historians was ill grounded, who said, that *Castulo* yielded long since unto the *Romans* ; though *Hannibal* took a wife in that city. For this was one of the last three towns that held out, on the *Carthaginian* side. *Illiturgi* had sometimes been inclinable to the *Romans* ; if not altogether at their devotion. Yet after the death of the two elder *Scipio's*, following too earnestly the *Carthaginian* fortune ; it not only rebelled ; but with great cruelty betrayed, and slew the poor men that escaped thither from the overthrows. *Astapa* was a town that still adhered to the *Carthaginians* ; and, which was worse, had thriven by the spoil of the *Romans* and their confederates. Wherefore (though not until the next year) *Scipio* went against these, and took himself *Illiturgi* and *Castulo* : *Illiturgi* by assault, and with a general slaughter of the inhabitants ; *Castulo*, by treason of one *Cerdubellus*. *Astapa* was taken by *Lucius Marcius* ; or rather destroyed by the inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raised in the market-place ; whereinto was thrown all the gold and silver, with whatsoever else was precious ; the women and children standing by it under a sure guard, that should kill and burn them if the *Romans* got into the town. This provision being made ; all the inhabitants that could bear arms, rushed forth desperately, and fell upon the *Roman* camp ; where striving beyond their power, they were every one slain. Then was the town forthwith set on fire, by those that had taken charge to do it : and many of the *Romans* consumed with the flame ; whilst they rushed over-hastily to catch the gold and silver, which they saw lying on the pile ready to melt.

Asdrubal, being beaten into the island of *Gades*, found no cause of long stay there : but returned home to *Carthage*, with seven gallies : leaving *Mago* behind him, to wait upon occasion, if any should be offered. He visited in his way home, *Syphax*, king of the *Masafili*, a people of the *Numidians*, hoping to win him to the friendship of the *Carthaginians*. But he met with *Scipio*, as it were with his evil *Angel*, in the king's port : who, landing at the same time, carried *Syphax* quite another way. For *Scipio*, having driven the *Carthaginians* out of *Spain*, did forthwith bethink himself, how to finish the war, by putting them to the like distress in *Afric*. Hereunto it seemed, that the help of *Syphax* would be much available : a king that had many times fallen out with the *Carthaginians*, and sustained much hurt by their procurement ; of which in all likelihood he might easily be moved to seek revenge. He had also been beholden to *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, that sent him over a captain into *Afric* ; who instructed him so well in marshalling his forces, as he thereby often became victorious. Upon these reasons the *Numidian* king sent ambassadors to *Rome*, and made league with the city, in a time of great extremity. So that hereby *P. Scipio* conceived hope of laying a foundation to the war, which he intended in *Afric*, upon the friendship of this ill neighbour to the *Carthaginians*. For which cause he sent over *C. Lælius* his ambassador, to deal with *Syphax* : who declaring, that the *Carthaginians* did very ill in *Italy*, and had nothing now at all to do in *Spain* ; easily perswaded the king to take part with those that had the better, and were

without question his better friends. Only *Syphax* requested, that the *Roman* general should visit him in person, to conclude the league; by which he was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former treaty. Hereto *Scipio* condescended; thinking the friendship of so great a king, that was neighbour to *Carthage*, and not far distant from *Spain*, well worthy of the adventure. So with two *Quinquereme* gallies he took sea: and arrived in the king's port, at the same time with *Asdrubal*. This would have been very dangerous to him, had he been defied by his enemies further at sea: but in the haven, they forbore to make offer one upon the other. *Syphax* might well be proud; seeing at one time, two such captains of the two most powerful cities, came to desire his friendship. He would have brought them to treat of peace: but the *Roman* excused himself, by want of such commission from the senate. He feasted them together: and shortly dismissed *Scipio*, with whom he readily entered into covenant; which in time of performance, he as readily brake.

†. II.

Funeral games held by Scipio. A duel between two Spanish princes. A digression, concerning duels.

SCIPIO returning into *Spain*, and resting that winter, took vengeance the next year upon those of *Illiturgi*, *Castulo*, and *Astapa*, as hath been said before. The conquest of the country being then in a manner at an end: he performed at *New Carthage*, with great solemnity, some Vows that he had made; and honoured the memory of his father and uncle, with funeral games, especially of those that fought at sharp, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needful, that he should trouble himself with preparing slaves for that spectacle, to hazard their lives, as was used in the city of *Rome*: for there were enough, that either offered themselves as volunteers, or were sent from their princes, to give proof in single combat, of the valour that was in their several countries. Some also there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not otherwise end, agreed to refer the decision of their controversy, to trial of the sword, in single fight. Among these, the most eminent, were *Corbis* and *Orsua*, cousin-germans, that contended for the principality of a town called *Ibes*. *Corbis* was the elder, and the elder brother's son: wherefore he claimed the lordship, as eldest of the house, after the manner of our *Irish Tanistry*. But the father of *Orsua* stood lately seized of the principality: which though himself received by the death of his elder brother, yet this his son would not let it go back; but claimed to hold it as heir unto his father, and old enough to rule. Fain would *Scipio* have compounded the matter. But they answered peremptorily, That all their friends, and kindred had already laboured in vain, to take up that quarrel; and that neither God, nor man, but only *Mars*, their god of battel, should be umpire between them. So they had their wills: and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skillful at his weapon, easily vanquished the fool-hardiness of the younger.

Such combats have been very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kind of fight. We read of many performed before the war of *Troy*, by *Theseus*, *Hercules*, *Pollux*, and others: as also of two more at the war of *Troy*; the one between *Paris* and *Menelaus*; the other between *Hector* and *Ajax*. Neither want their examples of them

among the *Hebrews*: whereof that between *David* and *Goliath*; and others performed by some of *David's* worthies, against those that challenged them; are greatly celebrated. Unto the same kind appertains the fight, between twelve of the tribe of *Juda* and as many of the *Benjamites*. The *Romans* had many of them: whereof that was principal, in which they ventured their dominion upon the heads of three brethren the *Horatii*, against the three brethren *Curatii*, that were *Albans*. The combat of *Manlius Torquatus*, and shortly after, of *Valerius Corvinus*, with two champions of the *Gauls*, which challenged any *Roman*; were of less importance, as having only reference to bravery. In *England* there was a great combat fought, between *Edmond Ironside* and *Canutus* the *Dane*, for no less matter than the kingdom. The use of them was very frequent in the *Saxon* times; almost upon every occasion, great or small. In the reign of *Edward* the third, who sustained the party of *Mountfort* against the earl of *Blois*, contending for the dutchy of *Bretagne*; there was a fight, for honour of the nations, between thirty of the *Bretanes*, and thirty *English*: two of which *English*, were *Calverly*, a brave captain, and that Sir *Robert Knolles*, who afterwards became a renowned commander in the *French* wars, and did highly honour his blood, whereof the lord *Knolles* is descended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in *English*, *French*, and *Italian* histories. Most of them have been combats of bravery, and of *gayeré de cœur*, as the *French* term it; for honour of several nations; for love of mistresses; or whatsoever else gave occasion unto men, desirous to set out themselves. But besides those of this sort, there are two other natures of combats; which are, either upon accusation for life; or upon trial of title and inheritance, as in *writ of right*. And of this latter kind was that, of which we spake even now, between *Corbis* and *Orsua*. Unto these (methinks) may be added, as of different condition from the rest, the combat upon wager; such as were that between *David* and *Goliath*; or that between the *Horatii* and *Curatii*: in which, without regard of title, the dominion of nations, one over the other, is adventured upon the head of champions. ^a Upon an accusation for life, there was a combat appointed between the lord *Henry* of *Boulainbrook*, duke of *Hereford*, and *Moubray*, duke of *Norfolk*. ^b There was a combat performed by Sir *John Ansley*, and one *Cattrington*: whom *Ansley* charged with treason; and proved it upon him, by being victorious. The like was fought between *Robert* of *Mountfort*, and *Henry* of *Effex*. ^c The like also between a *Navarrois*, and one *Welch* of *Grimsby*, whom the *Navarrois* accused of treason: but, being beaten in fight, confessed that he had belied him; and was therefore drawn and hanged. Whether our trial by battel do determine, that the false accuser, if he be vanquished, shall suffer the punishment which had been due to the offender, if the accusation had been proved, I cannot affirm. But we every-where find, that if he which is accused of treason, or, according to the customs of *Normandy*, of murder, rape, or burning of places (offences punished by death) be overcome, he shall suffer the pains appointed for those crimes. In combats for trial of right, it is not so: neither is the appellant or defendant bound to fight in person, but he may try it by his champion; as did *Paramor* and *Lower*, or offered to do, in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*. And in this case, he that is beaten, or yieldeth, loseth only his cause,

^a Anno 21. Ric. 2.^b Anno 3. Ric. 2.^c Anno 9. Hen. 2.

not his life. Neither are the combats, upon accusation, or trial of right, fought in open field, as are those of bravery, but in *campe close*; that is, within rails. Now this trial by combat was so ordinary in *France*, before the time of *St. Lewis*, and *Philip the fair*, his grand-child, as every lord of fee, ecclesiastical or temporal, had power to grant it within his own jurisdiction. And it seemeth, that the *French* kings, and other lords, made their profit hereby. For in the ^a *Memorials of the chamber of accounts*, is found an article to this effect: That if a combat were once accepted, and after, by consent of the the lord, were taken up, each of the parties should pay two shillings and six-pence; but if it were performed, then should the party vanquished forfeit an hundred and twelve shillings. And upon this custom grew the *French* proverb, which they use when any man hath had an hard or unjust judgment, saying, that *he was tried by the law of Loray, or Berne; ou le battu paye l'amende*, where he that is beaten gives the recompence. Of these frequent trials by battel, that great learned man *Yuo*, bishop of *Chartres*, did often complain, and especially against the *French* church-men: as appears by ^b his letters to the bishop of *Orleans*, to the arch-deacon of *Paris*, to *Rembert* archbishop of *Sens*, and to others; wherein he rebukes the judgment of their churches, that had ratified such challenges of combat. But this liberty, and kind of trial, was retrenched by *St. Lewis*, and *Philip the fair*; so that no man should decree or grant it, save the king himself. It hath since been granted, though more sparingly, by the *French* kings; as to the lord of *Carouges* against *Jaques les gris*; and to *Julian Romero* the *Spaniard*, against *Moro* his country-man: wherein *Sir Henry Kneuet*, father of the lord *Kneuet*, now living, was patron to *Romero*, that had the victory; and lastly, to the lord of *Chast*. Now in those challenges, upon accusation of treason, murder, or other offence deserving death (and in those only) the rule held; That *le defendeur estoit tenu de proposer ces deffenses par une dementir*; The defendant was bound to plead not guilty, by giving the accuser the lie: otherwise it was concluded, that the defendant did *zaisiblement confesser le crime*; silently confesses the crime. But after such time as *Francis* the *French* king, upon some dispute about breach of faith, had sent the lie unto the emperor *Charles* the fifth, thereby to draw him to a personal combat: every petty companion in *France*, in imitation of their master, made the giving of the lie mortality it self; holding it a matter of no small glory, to have it said, that the meanest gentleman in *France*, would not put up, what the great emperor *Charles* the fifth had patiently endured.

From this beginning is derived a challenge of combat, grounded upon none of those occasions that were known to the antient. For, the honour of nations, the trial of right, the wager upon champions, or the objection and refutation of capital offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of half so many duels, as are founded upon mere private anger; yea, or upon matter seeming worthy of anger in the opinion of the duellists. So that in these days, wherein every man takes unto himself a kingly liberty, to offer, accept, and appoint personal combats; the giving of the lie, which ought to be the negation only in accusations for life, is become the most fruitful root of deadly quarrels. This is held

a word so terrible, and a wrong so unpardonable, as will admit no other recompence, than the blood of him that gives it. Thus the fashion, taken up in haste by the *French* gentlemen, after the pattern of their king, is grown to be a custom: whence we have derived a kind of art and philosophy of quarrel, with certain grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are deduced. Yea, there are (among many other no less ridiculous) some so mystical curiosities herein, as that it is held a far greater dishonour to receive from an enemy a slight touch with a cane, than a sound blow with a sword; the one having relation to a slave; the other to a soldier. I confess, that the difference is pretty; though, for mine own part, if I had had any such *Italianated* enemy in former times, I should willingly have made with him such an exchange, and have given him the point of honour to boot.

But let us examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the lie, with their conditions, who are commonly, of all other, the most tender in receiving it. I say, that the most of these, who present death on the points of their swords to all that give it them, use nothing so much in their conversation and course of life, as to speak and swear fully. Yea, it is thereby that they shift and shuffle in the world, and abuse it. For how few are there among them, which having assumed and sworn to pay the monies, and other things they borrow, do not break their word and promise as often as they engage it? Nay, how few are there among them, that are not liars by record, by being sued in some court or other of justice, upon breach of word, or bond? For he which hath promised that he will pay money by a day, or promised any thing else, wherein he faileth, hath directly lied to him to whom the promise hath been made. Nay, what is the profession of love that men make now-a-days? What is the vowing of their service, and of all they have used in their ordinary compliments, and (in effect) to every man whom they bid but good-morrow, or salute, other than a courteous and court-like kind of lying? It is, saith a wise *Frenchman* (deriding therein the apish custom of his country) *une marché & complot fait ensemble se mocquer, mentir, & piper les uns les autres*; A kind of merchandise, and complot made among them, to mock, belie, and deride each other: and so far now-a-days in fashion, and in use; as he that useth it not, is accounted either dull, or cynical. True it is notwithstanding (omitting the old distinction) that there is great difference between these mannerly and complimentary lies, with those which are sometime perswaded by necessity upon breach of promise; and those which men use out of cowardise and fear: the latter confessing themselves to be in greater awe of men, than of God; a vice, of all other, siled the most villainous. But now for the lie it self, as it is made the subject of all our deadly quarrels in effect: to it I say, that whoso gives another man the lie, when it is manifest that he hath lied, doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more heinously taken, than to tell him, that he hath broken any promise which he hath otherwise made. For he that promiseth any thing, tells him to whom he hath promised, that he will perform it; and, in not performing it, he hath made himself a liar. On the other side, he that gives any man the lie, when he himself knows that he to whom it is given, hath not lied,

^a Si homines de Loraico vadia duelli temerè dederint, &c.

^b Clerici vestri nuper ad nos revertentes, qui cause comitis Theobaldi Aurelianis interfuerunt, retulerunt nobis, quod quidam miles Domini Rodulphi quendam militem comitis ad Monomachiam provocaverit, & hanc provocationem Ecclesie vestrae judicio consimaverit, &c.

doth therein give the lie directly to himself. And what cause have I, if I say that the sun shines, when it doth shine, and that another fellow tells me I lie, for it's mid-night, to prosecute such an one to death, for making himself a foolish ruffian, and a liar in his own knowledge? For he that gives the lie in any other dispute, than in defence of his loyalty or life, gives it impertinently, and ruffian-like. I will not deny, but it is an extreme rudeness to tax any man in publick with an untruth (if it be not pernicious, and to his prejudice against whom the untruth is uttered) but all that is rude, ought not to be civilized with death. That were more to admire and imitate a *French* custom, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the counsel of God: but you will say, that these discourses favour of cowardise. It is true, if you call it cowardise to fear God or hell; whereas he that is truly wise, and truly valiant, knows that there is nothing else to be feared. For against an enemy's sword we shall find ten thousand seven-penny men (waged at that price in the wars) that fear it as little, or perchance less, than any profess'd swordsman in the world. *Diligentissima in tutela sui fortitudo*; Fortitude is a diligent preserver of it self. It is (saith *Aristotle*) a mediocrity between doubting and daring. *Sicut non martyrem poena; sic nec fortem pugna, sed causa*: As it is not the punishment that makes the martyr; so it is not fighting that declares a valiant man, but fighting in a good cause. In which whosoever shall resolvedly end his life, resolvedly in respect of the cause, to wit, in defence of his prince, religion, or country; as he may justly be numbered among the martyrs of God; so may those that die with malicious hearts, in private combats, be called the martyrs of the devil. Neither do we indeed take our own revenge, or punish the injuries offered us, by the death of the injurious. For the true conquest of revenge is, to give him, of whom we would be revenged, cause to repent him; and not to lay the repentance of another man's death on our own consciences; *animasq; in vulnere ponere*; And to drown our souls in the wounds and blood of our enemies. Hereupon you will again ask me, if I condemn in generous and noble spirits the defence of their honours, being pressed with injuries? I say, that I do not, if the injuries be violent. For the law of nature, which is a branch of the eternal law; and the laws of all christian kings and states, do favour him that is assailed, in the slaughter of the assailant. You will secondly ask me, whether a nobleman, or a gentleman, being challenged by *cartel*, by one of like quality, be not bound, in point of honour, to satisfy the challenger in private combat? I answer, that he is not; because (omitting the greatest, which is the point of religion) the point of the law is directly contrary and opposite to that, which they call the point of honour; the law which hath dominion over it, which can judge it, which can destroy it; except you will stile those acts honourable, where the hangman gives the garland. For, seeing the laws of this land have appointed the hangman to second the conqueror; and the laws of *God* appointed the *Devil* to second the conquered dying in malice: I say, that he is both base, and a fool, that accepts of any *cartel* to accompanied. To this perchance it will be answered, that the kings of *England*, and other christian kings, have seldom taken any such advantage over men of quality; who upon even terms have slain their private enemies. It is true, that as in times of trouble and combustion they have not often done

it; so did our noblemen and gentlemen in former ages, in all important injuries, lye unto the king, to approve themselves by battel and publick combat. For as they dared not to brave the law: so did they disdain to submit themselves to the shameful revenge thereof; the same revenge (because it detesteth murder) that it hath declared against a common cut-purse, or other thieves. Nay, let it be granted, that a pardon be procured for such offenders; yet is not the man-slayer freed by his pardon. For these two remedies hath the party grieved notwithstanding; that is, to require justice by grand-assize, or by battel, upon his appeal, which (saith ^a *Sir Thomas Smith*) is not denied; and he further saith (for I use his own words) that if the defendant (to wit, the man-slayer) be convinced either by great assize, or by battel, upon that appeal; the man-slayer shall die, notwithstanding the prince's pardon. So favourable (saith the same learned gentleman) are our princes, and the law of our realm, to justice, and to the punishment of blood violently shed. It may further be demanded, how our noblemen and gentlemen shall be repaired in honour, where an enemy, taking the start either in words or blows, shall lay on them an infamy unsufferable? I say, that a marshal's court will easily give satisfaction in both. And if we hold it no disgrace to submit our selves, for the recovery of our debts, goods, and lands, and for all things else, by which the lives of our selves, our wives, and children, are sustained, to the judges of the law; because it may be felony, to take by violence even that which is our own: why should we not submit our selves to the judges of honour in cases of honour; because to recover our reputation by strong hand, may be murder? But yet again it may be objected, that the loss of honour ought to be much more fearful unto us, than either the loss of our goods, of our lands, or of our lives; and I say so too. But what is this honour, I mean honour indeed, and that which ought to be so dear unto us, other than a kind of history, or fame following actions of virtue, actions accompanied with difficulty or danger, and undertaken for the publick good? In these, he that is employed and trusted, if he fail in the performance, either through cowardise, or any other base affection; it is true that he loseth his honour. But the acting of a private combat, for a private respect, and most commonly a frivolous one, is not an action of virtue; because it is contrary to the law of God, and of all christian kings: neither is it difficult; because even and equal in persons and arms: neither for a publick good, but tending to the contrary; because the loss or mutilation of an able man, is also a loss to the commonweal.

Now that a marshal of *England* hath power to save every man's fame and reputation, as far as reputation may sustain injury by words, I think no man doubteth. For to repent us of any evil words that we have given, and to confess that we have done him wrong to whom we have given them, is a sufficient satisfaction; and, as it may fall out, more than sufficient. For he, that gives ill words in choler, and suddenly denies them, or repents himself of them upon advisement, hath the disadvantage in point of reputation. Concerning blows, which are indeed not to be given but to those that are servile, whether sufficient recompence will be made for them, it shall appear by a notable example of a most worthy gentleman, *Monsieur de Plessis*, that was stricken in *France* not long since,

^a *Sir Thomas Smith, in his commonwealths of England.*

by a baron of the same nation. The satisfaction which was given him by a judgment of the constable, and marshals of *France*, was this : In the open court, wherein the constable gave judgment, *M. de Pleffis* was set in a chair under the degrees where the constable and marshals sat : the baron, who had given him the blow, did kneel before him on both knees, holding in his right hand a sword, with the point towards himself, and in his left hand the like cudgel, or bastinado, wherewith he had stricken *M. de Pleffis* ; both which weapons he delivered into *Pleffis's* hands, submitting himself to such revenge, as it should please him to take with either of those weapons ; the constable and marshals having formally left it to the will of *Pleffis* to use his own discretion in the revenge of his own wrongs. Now whether the baron had reason to please himself, as one before-hand in point of honour, who struck *M. de Pleffis*, like a ruffian, coming behind him, and (having advantage of company, and his horses ready) shifted himself away on the sudden, but being afterwards taken, was taught to repent himself in this shameful manner ; or whether *M. de Pleffis* (of whose valour no man doubted) had not far juster cause to rest satisfied, since he might at his pleasure have beaten or wounded his enemy, but forgave him ; let any wise man judge. To this if it be said, that the baron was constrained to make his submission, that his repentance was enforced, and not voluntary ; and therefore no disgrace unto him : I answer, that one may say as well, that it is no disgrace to a thief, when he is brought to the gallows, to repent him of the robberies by him committed, because his repentance also is constrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is no disgrace, in respect of the force, but in respect of the fact : which (but for our sins to God) makes all appearance shameful ; because all forced repentance is inflicted upon us for somewhat unworthy of a gentleman and of an honest man. Nay, voluntary repentance it self, as it hath relation to men, ariseth either out of the fear of the ill that may befall us, or out of the acknowledgment of our own weakness. Certainly, as wise men, and valiant men, do rather deride petty injuries, or sudden injuries, that are not offered from malice fore-thought, than revenge them : so men, apt to quarrel, do commonly suspect their own valour ; and rather desire, that thereby the world should believe them to be of great daring, than know any such resolution in themselves. For he that knows himself indeed to be a valiant man, scorns to hunt after opinion.

Now the same power, which the constable and marshals of *France* have, hath also a marshal of *England*, or his Deputies ; by whose judgment, in all disputes of honour, every man's reputation may be preserved ; we may therefore as well submit our selves to the judges of honour, in all disputes of honour, as we do submit our selves in all controversies of livelihood and life, to the judges of the law. And, out of doubt, the institution of this court of chivalry in *England*, in *France*, and elsewhere, was no less charitable than politick. For the blood of man, violently spilt, doth not bring forth honey-bees, as that of bulls doth, which sting but the fingers, or the face : but it produceth that most monstrous beast, *Revenge* ; which hath stung to death, and eaten up of several nations, so many noble patronages, as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatening the wrath of God upon supreme governors, than the permission.

His majesty therefore (which *Henry* the fourth of *France* also endeavoured) hath done a most kingly and christian-like deed in *Scotland*, which the most renowned of all his predecessors could never do : in beating down, and extinguishing, that hereditary prosecution of malice, called *the deadly feud* ; a conquest, which will give him the honour of prudence and kingly power for evermore. And we have cause to hope, that his royal care shall be no less happy in preventing the like mischief, which threatens *England*, by the audacious, common, and brave, yet outrageous vanity of duellists.

Unto this that I have spoken of lying, and of man-slaughter, it must be added, that each of these are of great latitude, and worthy of reproof and vengeance proportionably, more or less, in their several degrees. There is much difference between lies of necessity, upon breach of promise, or complimentary lies ; and such pernicious lies, as proceed from fear and cowardise, or are uttered by false witnesses : the former sort, being excusable by weakness or levity ; the latter, being altogether detestable. No less, if not more, difference there is, between killing of a man in open field, with even weapons ; and that killing, which the scriptures call *killing by guile*, *dolo* or *per insidias* ; though our laws do not much distinguish them in punishment. For in the latter, God, forsaking his own privilege, commandeth, that the *guileful* murderer be drawn by force, from the protection of his altar. ^a Neither is every guileful murder performed by the sword, nor by *overt* violence : but there is a guileful murder also, by poisoning ; and by the pen, or by practice. For such distinction is found, between coming *presumptuously* upon a man, ^b *to slay him with guile*, and *lying in wait for blood*, *privily*, *for the innocent without a cause*, upon hope of spoil, after such manner as ^c *the net is spread before the eyes of the birds*. *Francis* the first, queen *Mary* of *England*, and the king's majesty now reigning, have given notable testimony of their justice, upon three noblemen, who committed *guileful* murder. Of the first kind, king *Francis* upon the lord of *Talard* : who being (saith the *French* historian) *de haute & ancienne lignée, & supporté de plusieurs grandes alliances* ; who being of high and ancient lineage, and supported by divers great alliances, of which the cardinal of *Bellay* (in special favour with the king) was one, was notwithstanding delivered over into the hands of a hangman. Queen *Mary*, upon a nobleman of her own religion, and in many other respects very dear unto her. His majesty, upon a baron of *Scotland* ; whose house was no less ancient and faithful, than himself valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing guilefully by poison, and of punishment following such wicked artificers, every age hath had too many examples. Of killing guilefully by the *pen* (that I may not speak of any *English* judge) the author of the *French Recherches* gives us two notable instances : the one of *des Esbars*, who ^d (saith *Paſquiere*) *fit mourir Montaigu grand maitre de France, pour contenter l'opinion de celuy dont il estoit lors idolastre ; & Dieu permit que depuis il fut pendu & estranglé* ; who caused *Montaigu*, great master of *France* to die, to content his mind (to wit, the duke of *Burgoyne*) whom at that time *Esbars* worshipped as his idol ; but God permitted, that he himself was soon after hanged and strangled. The other was of the great *Francis* the first, upon his chancellor *Poyet* ;

^a Exod. 21.^b Exod. 21. 14.^c Prov. 1. 11.^d Lib. 5. cap. 12. & cap. 11.

who, to satisfy the king's passion, practised the destruction of admiral *Chabot*, a man most nobly descended, and of great service. For as in other men, so in kings, the passion of love grows old, and wears out by time. So the king's affection being changed towards the admiral, he charged him with some offences which he had formerly committed. The admiral, presuming upon the great good service which he had done the king in *Piedmont*, and in the defence of *Marseilles* against the emperor, gave the king other language than became him; and desired nothing so much as a publick trial. Hereupon the king (it being easy to provoke an ill disposition) gave commission to the chancellor, as president, and other judges, upon an information of the king's advocate, to question the admiral's life. The chancellor, an ambitious man, and of a large conscience (which is not rare in men towards the law) hoping highly to content the king; wrought with some of the judges with so great cunning; with others, with so sharp threats; and with the rest, with so fair promises; as, albeit nothing could be proved against the admiral, worthy of the king's displeasure; yet the chancellor subscribed, and got others to subscribe, to the forfeiture of his estate, offices, and liberty; though not able to prevail against his life. But what was the chancellor's reward (the king hating falshood in so great a magistrate) other than his own degradation, arraignment, and condemnation? *Belle leçon certes* (saith *Pasquire*) *à tout juge pour demeurer toujours en soy, & de laisser fluctuer sa conscience dedans les vagues d'une imaginaire faveur, qui pour fin de jeu le submerge*; a fair lesson to all judges, to dwell always in themselves, and not to suffer their consciences to float upon the waves of imaginary favour, which in the end overwhelm them. And as for the admiral: though it might have been answered unto his friends, if any bewailed his calamity, as undeserved, that he was tried, according to his own desire, by the laws of his country, and by the judges of parliament; yet the king's justice, surmounting all other his passions, gave back unto him his honour, his offices, his liberty, and his estate.

† III.

The last acts of Scipio in Spain. His return to Rome, where he is chosen consul.

THE last business that troubled *Scipio* in *Spain*, grew by the rebellion of the people, and mutiny of his soldiers. He fell dangerously sick, in such sort, that the rumour of his death ran current throughout *Spain*. This encouraged *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, petty kings, that had forsaken the *Carthaginians*, and followed *Scipio* awhile before, to take arms against the *Romans*. They were vainly perswaded, that after the *Carthaginians* were driven out, they themselves should become the mightiest in all *Spain*. But seeing now, that things were no way answerable to the greatness of their hopes, they thought it best, to take the present advantage, and hammer out their own fortunes. So they rashly fell upon the *Suesetani* and *Sedetani*, confederates of the *Romans*, and wasted their country. Part of the *Roman* army lying at *Sucro*, instead of making head against these rebels, grew to be affected with the like distemper. They had not reaped such profit of their *Roman* conquests, as might satisfy their desires; or as they thought easy to be gotten, if they might be their own carvers. Wherefore, when the death of *Scipio* was reported, they thought, that the time

served very well, to enrich themselves with the spoil of the country. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greatest of all, driving away their colonels, that should have bridled their fury; they chose out of their own number, two base fellows, *Albius Calenus*, and *Atrius UMBER*, to be their commanders. These took upon them all the ensigns of proconsuls, or propretors; as if this their election had been like to that, wherein *Lucius Martius* was chosen by the soldiers, after the death of the two *Scipio's*. But whilst they were devising, what exploits they might do, for the enriching of themselves, in a time of such combustion; as was expected; there arrived more certain news, that *Scipio* was both alive, and in good health. There came also new colonels, sent unto them from their general: who mildly rebuking their want of consideration, and seeming to be glad, that they had no further over-shot themselves, led them to *Carthagera*, there to receive their pay. Before their coming, *Scipio* had resolved to do exemplary justice on the principal offenders; and to put the whole multitude of them in fear of what they had deserved. Therefore he caused *Syllanus* to make ready the companies which lay before in the town, as it were to make an expedition against *Mandonius*, and *Indibilis*; he caused *Albius* and *Atrius*, with some thirty other of their complices, to be secretly apprehended in their lodgings; he called the mutineers to assembly; and having them unarmed as they were, encircled round by *Syllanus*, and his companies, prepared for the purpose; he bitterly inveighed against them all, as traitors. This done, *Albius*, and *Atrius*, with the other prisoners, were haled to the stake; where they were whipt, and beheaded, as was the *Roman* custom towards such offenders. The rest of the soldiers, to the number of eight thousand, were caused to take their oath of obedience a-new; and received every man his pay when he was sworn.

Mandonius and *Indibilis* continued in arms, notwithstanding that they had certain word of *Scipio's* life and health. Well they could have been contented to be quiet: but, by the severity used to the *Roman* soldiers, they stood in fear, as being *Spaniards*, and greater offenders, of harder measure. *Scipio* went against them; and found them in a valley, that was scarce large enough to hold all their army. In the entrance thereof he fought with them: and sending *Lælius*, with all his horse, to fetch a compass about the hills, and charge them in rear; he overthrew them. *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* had after this no hope remaining, to preserve themselves and their estates, otherwise than by making submission. *Mandonius* therefore came to *Scipio*: and, humbly craving pardon, both for himself, and for his brother *Indibilis*, obtained his request; yet so, that they were taught to acknowledge themselves less free princes than formerly they had been.

Afterwards *Scipio* went towards *Gades*: and was met on the way by *Masaniissa*; who secretly promised to do him all service, if the people of *Rome* would send him to make war in *Africa*. Unto *Mago*, that lay in *Gades*, came directions from *Carthage*; that letting all care of *Spain* alone, he should thence depart with his fleet into *Italy*; and there wage an army of *Gauls* and *Liguans*, to join with *Hannibal*. For this purpose, was money sent unto him from *Carthage*: and he himself laid hold upon all that he could find in the town of *Gades*: without sparing either private men, the common treasury, or the temples. In his voyage thence, he landed at *Carthagera*: hoping

ping to have taken it by surprise. But he failed in the attempt ; and was so beaten to his ships, that he returned back to repose himself a-while at *Gades*. The *Gaditanes*, offended with the robberies and spoil that he had made at his taking leave of them, would not suffer him again to enter into their city. By this he foresaw, that it would not be long ere they became *Roman*. Wherefore sending messages into the town, to complain of this uncourteous dealing, he allured their magistrates forth unto him ; whom, notwithstanding all the excuse they could make, he whipped and crucified. This done, he followed his former intended voyage, bidding *Spain* farewell for ever.

The isle and city of *Gades* was yielded to the *Romans* presently after the departure of *Mago*. Then did *Scipio* deliver up the province to those that were sent from *Rome* to succeed him therein, and himself, with ten ships, returned home. At his coming to *Rome*, he made suit for the honour of a triumph : but it was denied him, for that it had as yet been granted unto no proconsul, excepting to such as received that dignity after a consulship, as it were by prorogation. But to make amends for this repulse, the election of new consuls being then in hand, by general voice of the city, *P. Cornelius Scipio* was chosen consul ; and *P. Licinius Crassus* joined with him. This *Crassus*, being high-priest, or bishop of the *Romans*, might not, by the custom of those times, go far from the city, as being to intend the matters of their superstition : though *Cesar*, and others, who in ages following held the same office, were stayed by no such religious impediment from being far, and long absent. Hereby it came to pass, that *Scipio* desiring to have the war transferred into *Afric*, was in no danger to lose that honourable charge by any mischance of lot in the division of provinces ; for that his colleague was not capable of employment so far off.

SECT. XVIII.

Scipio obtains leave to make war in Afric. His preparations. Of Masaniſſa, who joined with Scipio. The victories against Asdrubal and Syphax.

PUB. *Cornelius Scipio*, and *P. Licinius Crassus*, entering into their consulship, held a meeting of the senate in the capitol ; wherein it was decreed, that *Scipio* should be allowed to bestow part of the money which he had brought out of *Spain* into the treasury, upon the setting forth of solemn plays that he had vowed to make whilst he was busied in his *Spanish* wars. This helped well to revive the memory of his victories already gotten, and to give hope unto the people of greater victories in the war which he intended to make in *Afric*. To the same purpose did the *Spanish* embassages avail much in the senate, especially that of the *Saguntines*, who magnified his actions highly and deservedly ; saying, that they were the most happy of all their countrymen, since they being present, had seen him chosen consul, and should carry home such joyful news. The *Saguntine* ambassadors were lovingly entertained by the senate, as their faith to *Rome* (though costly it were, both to them and to the *Romans*) had well deserved. Nevertheless, when *Scipio* proposed that *Afric* might be decreed unto him for his province, there wanted not many, even of the principal men, that vehemently gainsay'd him. Of these was *Q. Fabius Maximus* the chief, who seems to have been troubled with that disease, which too often causeth men renowned for long approved virtue, to look askint upon the actions of those that follow them in the same kind. He alledged many

reasons against the purpose of the consul, whereof the chief were, that the treasury was unable to sustain the charges of a war in *Afric* ; and that it was extremely perilous to hazard so great forces, where they could not at pleasure be recalled unto the defence of *Rome* it self, if need required. Hereunto he added many words concerning the danger wherein *Italy* stood, not only of *Hannibal*, but of *Mago* his brother, that was arming the *Ligurians* : as also concerning the honour of the consul, which would (he said) be greater in setting *Italy* free from enemies, than it could be in doing any harm to *Afric*. Neither did he forget both to elevate the *Spanish* wars, as of less moment than the intended voyage against *Carthage* ; nor withal, to lay great blame upon *Scipio*, for having suffered *Asdrubal* to pass into *Italy* : shewing, that it was greatly to be feared lest the like might happen again ; and that a new army, notwithstanding the good success of *Scipio* (if it had happened to be good) might be sent from *Carthage*, to the utter endangering of *Rome*, whilst the *Roman* forces were employed abroad. But the main point which he urged, was, that neither the senate had ordained, nor the people commanded, *Afric* to be that year a province ; which the consul nevertheless propounded in such wise, as if it were a matter already concluded, and no longer to be argued. *Scipio*, on the other side, insisted upon this one point, that it was better to make an offensive, than a defensive war, especially against such as the *Carthaginians* ; who being ill provided of able men at home, did furnish themselves by help of money, with levies made abroad. As for the care of *Italy*, he doubted not but *P. Licinius* his colleague, would be as well able to discharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promising to draw *Hannibal* into *Afric*, for defence of his own home ; and taxing as civilly as he could the envy of *Fabius*, which withstood such a gallant enterprise, he proposed the matter again unto the senate. Much alteration there was about the manner of his proceeding, forasmuch as it was noised abroad, that if he could not bring the senate to his mind, he would carry it by the people. This offended many of the antients, who resented in this honourable man a little spice of that arrogance, which in following ages grew to be much hotter in those that had commanded long abroad. But in conclusion, *Scipio* referred himself wholly unto the senate's good-will and pleasure ; whereby he obtained thus much, that the isle of *Sicily* might be appointed unto him for his province, with leave to pass over into *Afric*, if he found it expedient.

Want of money, and no great liking to his voyage, made the *Roman* senate have little care to furnish out *Scipio* to the war, by him intended upon *Afric*. Herewithal it fell out, that *Mago*, coming on the sudden from the *Baleares* to *Genoa*, and winning the town, bred a fear of no less terrible invasion upon *Italy*, than that which *Asdrubal* had lately made. He could not indeed raise any great army of the *Ligurians*, for that he found them distracted with civil wars. Therefore he was driven to make choice of his party, and to help those whom he thought fittest for his turn, against the others. This troublesome business, though it occupied more of his time than he could willingly have spared ; yet it got him reputation by his victories, and made the und steady *Gauls* ready to enter into his pay. Hereupon the dispersed legions of the *Romans*, that, under proconsuls and pretors, lay ready to be employed where need should require, were directed unto the borders of *Lombardy*, and *Liguria*, there to make head against *Mago*. But all his menaces passed away in

in vapour: for a fleet, either coming to his aid from *Carthage*, or by him sent thither (the report is uncertain) laden with the booty that he had taken, fell into the hands of the *Roman* pretor that governed in *Sardinia*. This did much disable him; and though after a while there came letters from *Carthage*, together with store of money, heartning him in his proceedings; yet some impediments which he found, and that fatal voyage of *Scipio* into *Afric*, disturbed all, and made him be recalled home.

Against *Hannibal* was nothing done this year. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the *Roman* historians have been pleased to take notice; only it is said, that he spent the summer by the temple of *Juno Lucina*, where he raised an altar, with a huge title of all that he had performed, graven in *Punic* and *Greek* letters. Such account of winnings pass'd, is commonly in gamesters that are at the height of their fortune, a cause of remission and carelessness; in those that are upon the losing hand, a cause both of the same for the present, and shortly after of dejection, when they find a notable change. A great pestilence, infecting both the *Carthaginian* and the *Roman* camp, is said to have been the occasion of this year's idleness; which fell out not much amiss for the city of *Rome*, that was marvelously impoverished by this war; and had already tried the utmost way to defray the charges, which grew insupportable. To relieve the present necessity, it was well thought upon, that a great part of *Campania* (not many years since confiscated) should be sold, or let out; in which bargain, that the city might receive no loss, the tenth part of the fine was ordained as a reward unto the detectors of lands concealed.

Of this, or other money, none was given to *Scipio*; neither was he allowed to make press of soldiers for his *African* voyage; neither did he over-much labour to obtain it. That which the senate refused, the people did for him; or rather, they did it for themselves, that were therein wiser than the senate. It is usually found in counsels of state, that the busy, or obstinate heads of a few, do carry all the rest: And many times men make a surrender of their own judgments, to the wisdom that hath gotten it self a name, by giving happy direction in troubles fore-pass'd. Therefore he, that reposeth himself upon the advice of many, shall often find himself deceived; the counsel of those many, being wholly directed by the temper of a few, that over-throw the rest. *Q. Fabius* was accounted the oracle of his time, for his wary nature sort'd well with the business that fell out in the chief of his employment. Unto him therefore *Q. Fulvius* adhered, with other of the senators, that were grown old in following one course, from whence they could not shift, as the change of times required. But the people (who, though they could not well advise and deliberate, yet could well apprehend) embraced the needful resolution of *Scipio*; in such sort, that besides his *Roman* forces, he had from divers parts of *Italy* about seven thousand volunteers. He had also provision from the several towns; corn, iron, canvas for sails, axes, beard-hooks, hand-mills, and the like implements; fir for building of ships, many thousands of targets, helmets, and spears of all kinds; every place furnishing him with that commodity which it best could afford. Unto this willingness of the people, the diligence of *Scipio* was correspondent. In the compass of forty-five days, he had both sell'd his timber, built and launched twenty *Triremes*, and ten *Quinqueremes* galleys, where-with he transported his army into *Sicily*. In *Sicily* he found, besides other forces, two legions that had

served at *Cannæ*, which were old soldiers; and (as he himself well knew) not guilty of the overthrow, for which they had long undergone a heavy censure. They had served under *Marcellus*, and *Lævinus*, at the taking of many cities and strong places; in which regard, they were like to be of good use to him in *Afric*, where would be store of such employment. For, increasing the number of his horse, he press'd three hundred *Sicilians*, all wealthy young men, and such as loved well their ease. These he afterwards discharged from the war, highly to their contentment; but with condition, that they should deliver their horse and arms to as many *Roman* gentlemen, which he brought over with him for the purpose. Whilst he was providing to have things in a readiness for *Afric*, the banished *Locrians* that followed the *Roman* side, made him acquainted with an intelligence, whereby they hoped to recover their city. Some handicraftsmen, that wrought for the *Carthaginians* in one of the citadels of *Locri* (for there were two in the town) being taken prisoners by the *Romans*, promised to betray the place, if they might be ransomed, and rewarded. *Scipio*, being advertised of this, gave order to have the attempt made by night, which happily succeeded, and that citadel was surprized. The other citadel was strongly defended by the *Carthaginian* garrison, which sent to *Hannibal* for aid. The *Romans*, in like sort, fearing lest their own paucity should make them too weak for *Hannibal*, craved help of the consul *Scipio*. The townsmen were doubtfully affected; but the best, and most of them, inclining to the *Romans*, kept *Hannibal* out, whom the coming of *Scipio* caused thence to depart; and caused likewise the *Carthaginian* garrison to abandon the other citadel. Many outrages were committed by the *Roman* soldiers, that were left by *Scipio* in custody of the town. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the *Locrians* unto the *Roman* senate, not only against those of the garrison, but much more against *Pleminius* the captain, who gave bad example, and was worse than all the rest. Besides many murders, robberies, rapes, and other villanies, the temple of *Proserpina*, that had a great fame of sanctity, was spoiled by these barbarous thieves. The *Locrians* therefore advised the senate to make present amends to the gods for this sacrilege; saying, that the like had never been committed, without notorious vengeance by her taken upon the authors. The senate gave good ear to this complaint, comforted the *Locrians*, and redressed the injuries done unto them; sent for *Pleminius*, with the other principal offenders, whom they cast into prison, and used according to their deserts: as also they restored unto *Proserpina* her money twice told. But old *Q. Fabius* was not herewithal contented. He laid much of the blame upon *Scipio*, that had placed such a man in *Locri*; and had not carefully hearkned to the complaints made against him, but suffered him to run on in these his wicked courses. By the sharp invective that *Fabius* made, others took courage to speak what they pleased, as well against the demeanor of *Scipio*, as against the dissoluteness of his army, which lay, as they said, idle in *Sicily*; neither mindful of any service toward, nor fit for it, if need should require. Finally, things were so far urged, that ten legates were sent over into *Sicily*, together with the pretor appointed for that island, two of the *Tribunes*, and one of the *Aidiles*, who should examine these matters; and either cause the general to return into *Italy*, or continue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all was, they found him so well prepared against *Carthage*, as that they hastened him on his

his journey, and gave him high commendations at their return.

Scipio had already employed *Lælius* in *Afric*, rather to make discovery, than to work any other great effect of war. He took a great booty, and struck no little terror into the *Carthaginians*, who law their affairs to be upon terms of change. But the greatest fruit of his journey was, that, speaking with *Masanissa*, he well inform'd himself of the state of *Afric*; and knew what was to be expected of those two kings, that had promised to join with the *Romans* at their landing.

Concerning *Masanissa*'s revolt from the *Carthaginians*, and his compact made underhand with the *Romans*: * *Livy* doth profess, that there was no such evident cause thereof at the present; but that the long continuance of his faith and constancy, in following times, must help to prove, that this his change was not without some good cause. But *Appianus* (an historian, far inferior to *Livy*, both in worth and time) gives one reason so probable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carries with it a great appearance of necessary truth. Only the doubt is, how it could any way come to pass, that the knowledge of such a matter should have escaped the diligence of *Livy*, if it had been true; unless we should believe, that he wilfully forbore to rehearse a tragedy, the sorrow whereof would cause men to think amiss of *Scipio*. Howsoever it was, thus * *Appian* tells it, and many circumstances of things done, confirm it. *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gisco*, had a fair daughter, whom both king *Syphax* and *Masanissa* loved. *Masanissa*, being brought up at *Carthage*; and being withal a goodly gentleman of person, and excellent in qualities, was chosen by *Asdrubal* to be his son-in-law. When the virgin was betrothed unto him, he went into *Spain*, and there did great service. But afterwards, the *Carthaginian* senate thought the marriage of *Asdrubal*'s daughter to be a matter of state, and bestowed her upon *Syphax*, without standing to acquaint her father or *Masanissa* therewith. This they did, for that *Syphax* was the more mighty prince; and for that the indignity of the repulse had made him become their enemy. Hereof *Masanissa* was advertised, and forthwith entered into intelligence with *Scipio*, secretly, as he thought; yet not so secretly, but that some notice was taken of it, which would have cost him his life, had he not, with great circumspection, conveyed himself home into his father's kingdom. Thus far forth we may believe *Appianus*, all the narration well cohering with things pass'd and following; only it seems, that howsoever *Sophonisba*, the daughter of *Asdrubal*, was promised by the *Carthaginians* unto *Syphax*; yet since this their courtesy proceeded from fear, he thought it wisdom to continue and increase the same their fear, by making fair promises to the *Romans*, until *Asdrubal* had sent for his daughter from *Carthage*, and the marriage was consummated. In other matters concerning the war it self, wherein *Appian* differs much from *Livy*, and from *Polybius*, whom (as appears by the broken pieces of his works remaining) *Livy* did follow; it will be no offence, to take little heed unto his reports.

Masanissa was the son of *Gala*, a king of the *Numidians*, whose father dying, the crown descended, by order of the country, unto *Desales* the brother, not unto *Masanissa* the son. But this uncle of *Masanissa* shortly died, and his elder son, who took possession of the kingdom, was vanquished, and slain in battel by a rebel, that made himself pro-

tector over the younger, which was a child. The traitor fortified himself against *Masanissa*, whose return he feared, by alliances with the *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*. But all would not serve: he and his pupil were dispossessed of their estates by *Masanissa*, that was a skilful warrior, and well-beloved for the memory of his father *Gala*. The *Carthaginians* in reason should have been glad that *Masanissa*, who had done them notable service, was thus confirmed in his estate, had they not been guilty of the injury by them done unto him, whilst his uncle or cousin reigned, and he seemed unlikely to stand them in any stead. But *Syphax*, by their procurement; and perhaps by his own malice towards his corival, warred upon him; and, over-charging him with numbers, drove him out of his kingdom. Nevertheless *Masanissa* still retained the hearts of his people, and thereby remained strong enough to infest both *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*; though he was often put in distress by great forces that were sent against him. He therefore keeping much about the lesser *Syrtis*, between the borders of the *Carthaginians* and the nation of the *Garamants*, expected the coming of the *Romans*; yet so, as he made long roads over all the country, even as far as to *Hippo*; and, when *Lælius* arrived thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him to hasten on *Scipio* to the invasion of *Afric*.

But *Syphax*, in whose great aid and succour was reposed more hope of good success, than could be expected from the good-will of poor *Masanissa*, sent an embassy into *Sicily* about the same time, which was little pleasing unto *Scipio*. He excused himself of his promise lately made, and signified his alliance with the *Carthaginians*; adding, that he could not chuse but fight for the defence of *Afric*, wherein he was born and reigned; and for the defence of his beloved wife's country, if it were invaded. Nevertheless he promised to remain a neuter, so long as the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* held war abroad far enough from *Afric*, as hitherto they had done. This message hastned *Scipio* in his expedition, much more than any persuasion could have done. For the promised assistance of *Syphax* had not a little advanced his enterprise, in procuring both the assent of the senate, and the forwardness of many adventurers. Lest therefore the failing of this hope should work too great a change in common opinion, he thought it the best way, to prevent all discourse, and set the war undertaken immediately on foot. The ambassadors he dismissed in all haste, with letters to their king, wherein he willed him to consider, that what he had promised, he had also sworn; and therefore should do well to make it good. Having sent them away, he called his soldiers together, and bade them make ready for the voyage, which he intended no longer to defer. For, said he, *Masanissa* hath been with *Lælius*, and *Syphax* hath newly sent to me, greatly wondering upon what I should thus stay, and saying, that they will provide for themselves, if I fail their expectation, by tarrying any longer. This fine tale prevented all further inquisition, that might else have been made concerning the message of these ambassadors, whose followers had been seen walking up and down *Syracuse*. And, lest any thing should afterwards break out, that might hinder the business, *Scipio* immediately sent about his fleet unto *Lilybæum*; and requesting by letters *M. Pomponius*, that was pretor in *Sicily*, to meet him there, hastned thither with his army. At *Lilybæum* he agreed with the pretor about the division of the legions

* Liv. l. 28.

Appian. Alex. de Bell. Punic. c. Liv. l. 29.

between them ; which to leave behind for defence of the island ; and which to carry with him into *Afric*. What numbers he transported, it is not certain ; some historians reckoning only ten thousand foot and twenty-two hundred horse ; others increasing them to thirty-five thousand horse and foot. Concerning his directions for embarking, and other matters belonging to their course, I hold it needless to set them down ; since they were points of ordinary care ; and which, it is like, that neither he, when he took his voyage into *Spain*, nor others, upon like occasions, have omitted ; they being also word for word, set down by an historian, who borrowed them from *Livy*, and fitted them to a prince of later age.

This *Roman* army landed in *Afric*, near unto a foreland, then called the *Fair Promontory* ; which, how far it was from *Carthage*, or toward what point of the compass, I cannot precisely affirm ; because it is uncertain whether it were that cape or head-land, which bore the name of *Mercury*, and lay to the north-east of *Carthage* ; or whether that of *Apollo*, which lay northerly from *Carthage*, and by west. The coming of *Masanissa* unto *Scipio*, at his first arrival, helps to confirm the opinion of *Xylander*, who thinks the *Fair Promontory* to have been the same that was also called *Mercury's Cape* ; since, with little difficulty, *Masanissa* might come thither from the lesser *Syrtis*, whereabout was his common abiding. But so far as without any memorable impediment, soon after his arrival, *Scipio* encamped before *Utica*, that stood westward from *Carthage*, beyond the river *Bagradas* ; it may rather seem that he landed within the promontory of *Apollo*, whence the way to *Utica* was not long. This is also strongly proved, for that out of *Carthage* were sent the next day five hundred horse, to trouble him in his disembarking. Neither was it so hard for *Masanissa*, that roved about the country with a troop of horse, to find out the *Romans*, though they landed far from the place to the which he usually resorted, like as before he had met with *Laelius* at *Hippo*, that was farther off, as it would have been for *Scipio*, with his army and carriages, to overcome the trouble of a long journey, and fetch a great compass to *Utica* by land, when he might have disembarked nearer unto it. Nevertheless it may pass as a conjecture, that *Scipio* came first of all from *Emporia*, a plentiful region about the lesser *Syrtis* ; since he gave charge to the masters of his ships, at the setting forth from *Lilybæum*, to shape their course for that coast. The country thereabout was very rich, and fit for sustenance of an army ; neither were the inhabitants warlike, or well provided to make resistance. Thus much perhaps *Masanissa* had signified unto *Laelius*, when he spake with him at *Hippo* ; thinking that the *Romans*, howsoever they made brave promises, would not come strong enough to fight at head. But when he saw their fleet and army to be such, as not only served to invade the lands of *Carthage*, but threatened a conquest of the city, and whole estate ; then might he better advise them to set sail for *Utica*, and make war upon the enemies at their own doors.

The *Carthaginians* had at that time neither any captain of great worth at home, nor better army than of raw soldiers, that were levied, or to be levied in haste. *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gisco*, the same that had lately been chased out of *Spain* by *Scipio*, was their best man of war. And good enough perhaps he was thought by *Hanno*, and his fellows, of whose faction he was ; or if ought were want-

ing in him, yet his riches and nobility, together with the affinity of king *Syphax*, made him passable. He was at that present with the king his son-in-law, working him (no doubt) against the *Romans* ; when letters were brought from *Carthage*, both to *Syphax* and to him, informing them of the invasion ; entreating the one of them to give assistance, and commanding the other to make his repair unto the city, where he was chosen general. But ere these could be ready, *Scipio* had beaten the troop of *Carthaginian* horse, that were sent out of the city to disturb his landing, and slain *Hanno*, a young gentleman that was their leader. He had also taken and sacked a town of the *Carthaginians*, wherein, besides other booty, he took eight thousand prisoners ; all which he conveyed aboard his hulks, or ships of burden, and sent them back loaded into *Sicily*. He took likewise a town called *Salera*, which he held and fortified. In *Salera* lay another *Hanno*, with four thousand *Numidian* horse, whose service being fitter for the field, than for defence of walled places, made *Scipio* to perceive the unskillfulness of their leader, that had thus housed them. Wherefore he sent *Masanissa* before him, who rode up to the gates, and, by making a bravado, trained out the improvident *Hanno* so far, that he drew him unto a place where the *Romans* lay in wait for him. The victory was easily gotten, and *Hanno* either taken or slain. With those that fled, the *Romans* entered pell-mell into the town, which presently they made their own. Thence went *Scipio* to *Utica*, a city of great importance, ^a of which mention hath been formerly made, and sat down before it. Forty days he spent about it, assailing it both by land and sea, and using all his engines of battery, whereof he had plenty ; yet was in no likelihood of prevailing. And now the summer was quite spent, so that it was time for him to chuse a place, and fortify his winter-camp, which must be well stored the year following. Whilst thus necessity urged him to leave *Utica*, and shame of taking the repulse in his first great enterprize, rather than any hope of better success, caused him to stay there : *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* gave him the honour of a fair pretence to leave the siege. *Asdrubal* had made a levy of thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, yet adventured not with this ill-trained army to draw near unto the *Romans*, before the coming of *Syphax*. *Syphax* brought with him unto *Carthage* fifteen thousand foot and ten thousand horse ; which joining unto the forces of *Asdrubal*, they marched bravely towards *Scipio*, who thereby took occasion to dislodge. He chose for his winter-camp the banks of an inlet, that had good harbour for his navy. His foot-men he lodged on a promontory, joining to the continent by an arm of land : his horse-men he bestowed upon lower ground, on the other shore : in the bottom of the creek he moored his ships, and there he quartered the mariners, with all that belonged unto the fleet. The whole camp he strongly fortified, and so attended the season of the year, when it should serve him again to fight. Of cattle, and other booty, *Masanissa* had brought in great store, by driving the country, before the coming of *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*. Corn also he had gotten some ; and great store was sent him from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. Likewise apparel for his soldiers, was sent from home, or from *Sardinia* ; though scarce enough to serve turn, for that it was a matter of more cost. The ships that brought these things,

^a Lib. 5. cap. 2. § 3.

he freighted homewards with such part of his booty, as he could best spare ; especially with captives, to be sold for slaves. *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped near unto *Scipio* : not so strongly fortifying themselves, as did the *Romans* ; either for that they wanted the severe institution, which the *Romans* used in discipline of war ; or for that they presumed upon their multitude, against which they found in *Scipio* no disposition to issue forth of his strength, and fight. So the winter passed without action.

When spring drew near ; *Scipio* thought it good to assay his old friend the *Numidian* king, if perhaps he might be won by persuasions to forsake the *Carthaginians*. It was considered, that those *Barbarians* were naturally unconstant ; and particularly, that *Syphax* had given proof before this of his much levity. It might therefore be hoped, that having wearied himself, by lodging a whole winter in the camp : and being peradventure no less weary with satiety of his wife, who had caused him to enter into this war : he might be moved with a little entreaty, to withdraw himself home into his kingdom, and rest a *Neuter*. But it is not unlikely, that such a friend as this king had been highly entertained and honoured in the city of *Carthage*, which was near at hand, as often as during this winter it had pleased him, or as he had been invited, to make a step thither and repose himself a while : his wife queen *Sophonisba* lying also there at the same time, to cherish him in his resolution. Howsoever it were, *Syphax* did only make an overture of peace : propounding it as reasonable, That *Hannibal* should be recalled out of *Italy* by the *Carthaginians* : and that the *Romans* in like sort should quietly depart out of *Africa* ; and so make an end of the war, wherewith now both *Africa* and *Europe* were disquieted. Unto this would not *Scipio* at the first give ear : yet being pressed earnestly by many messages from *Syphax*, and desiring to continue the intercourse of ambassadors : he began to make a shew, as if he would consider of the motion. He was given to understand by those whom he had sent unto the king, that their enemies had their camps without any great defence of earth, full of wooden cabins, and covered with boughs : and that the *Numidians*, such of them as came first with *Syphax*, used coverings of mats and reeds ; others that came later, had thatched their lodgings with dry boughs and leaves : under which they lay carefully without their trenches. Upon this advertisement he bethought himself, that it would not be hard for him to set their camps on fire ; and thereby give them a notable overthrow. Without help of some such stratagem, he foresaw that it would be a work of great difficulty for him, to proceed in his wars when time should serve. It was a plain open country wherem he lay : and the enemies had great advantage of him in number, especially in horse ; which upon such ground, could not be resisted by the *Roman* legions. The longer therefore that he thought upon the matter, the more needful he found it for himself, to make some sudden attempt upon their camp. To this end he sent many ambassadors, under pretence of treating about the peace ; but indeed of purpose to discover all that concerned the intended surprise. With these ambassadors he sent, as attendants, many old soldiers disguised like slaves ; that wandering (as it were) idly up and down the camp, might observe the ways and entrances, with whatsoever was needful. When he had learned as much as he desired : upon the sudden he sent word to *Syphax*, that it was vain to

hold any longer treaty, forasmuch as he could not get the consent of his council of war ; without whose approbation, all that himself could do was no more than the good will of one man. This he did, to the end, that without any breach of faith, he might put his design in execution. The truce being thus cut off : *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* were very pensive ; as having lately persuaded themselves, that their trouble was almost at an end. But since it could be no better, they began to devise, by what art they might draw *Scipio* out of his camp ; and provoke him to battle in those plains. This if they could do, they hoped to make his council of war repent as greatly the refusal of peace, as did *M. Atilius* after the like presumption. But if he should refuse to come forth of his trenches, what else remained than to besiege him ? which they themselves were well able to do by land ; and the *Carthaginian* fleet should do by sea, that was making ready for the purpose. By such discourses these two comforted themselves ; recompensing in conceit the loss of their hopes past, with that of victory to come. But herein they were extremely and worthily disappointed : for that, consulting about the future, they provided not against present danger ; but continued in the same negligence, which was grown upon them by the long discourse of peace. As for *Scipio*, he was not idle but made preparation out of hand ; as it were to do somewhat against *Utica*. Two thousand soldiers he had made ready ; and appointed to take the same piece of ground, whereon he lay against *Utica* before. This he did ; partly to keep secret that which he had in hand, lest being suspected by his own soldiers, the enemy might happen to have notice of it ; partly to hinder those of *Utica* from setting upon the few, that he purposed to leave behind him in his camp. He caused his men that night to sup well and betimes ; that they might be ready for the journey. After supper, he appointed such companies as he thought fit, unto the defence of his camp ; all the rest of the army he led forth, about nine of the clock at night. The *Carthaginians* lay from him seven miles and an half : whom he purposed to undertake himself with the one half of his army : the other half he committed unto *Lælius* and *Masanissa*, whom he sent before him to set upon the camp of *Syphax*, that was farther off. It was his meaning that the camp of *Syphax* should be on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the *Carthaginians*. For the fire might seem to have taken hold by casualty upon the *Numidians*, that lay farther off : whereas, if it first appeared in the camp of *Asdrubal*, it would be suspected as the doing of enemies ; and give *Syphax* warning to look unto himself. To this end therefore *Scipio* marched fair and softly : that *Lælius* and *Masanissa*, who had a longer journey, and were to fetch a compass about for fear of being discovered, might have time to get before him, and do their feat. It was about two or three of the clock in the morning, when the camp of *Syphax* began to blaze : which not only the *Numidians*, but their king himself, imputed unto casualty ; as thinking themselves safe enough from enemies, for that the *Carthaginian* lay interposed between them and the danger. Wherefore, as if there were no more to do, some, starting half asleep ; and others, that had siven up late a drinking ; ran out of their cabins to quench the fire. But so great was the tumult, that they neither could rightly understand in what case they were ; nor give any remedy to the mischance, as it was supposed. Many were smothered, and burnt in the flame, which grew greater and greater :

greater : many, leaping into the trenches for fear of the sudden mischief, were trampled to death by the multitude, that followed them. They that escaped the fire fell upon the enemies sword, which was ready to receive them. Especially *Masanissa*, that best knew the country, did great execution upon them; having laid all the ways, by which he foresaw that they would seek to escape. The *Carthaginians* perceiving this fire, thought none other than that it was a pitiful mischance: so that some ran out to help the poor *Numidians*; carrying only what would serve to quench the fire. Others ran up to the rampart: where, fearless of any danger towards themselves, they stood beholding the greatness of the flame, and lamenting the misfortune. This fell out right as *Scipio* would have it. He therefore lost no time: but setting upon those that were running towards the *Numidians*, he killed some, and pursued the rest back into their camp; which in a little while he made to burn as bright, as did that of *Syphax*. *Asdrubal* seeing this, and knowing that the *Romans* were there, did not stand to make resistance, but shifted only for himself, and escaped with a few of his horse about him. If *Hannibal*, or any of the *Barchine* faction, had been taken in such a manner: it is more than probable, that old *Hanno* would have judged him worthy to be crucified. It would then have been said, that with less than one half of thirty-thousand men, he might at least have given some bad recompence, to them that were taking pains in kindling these fires, had he not been only careful how to save his own fearful head. Nevertheless *Polybius* acknowledgeth, and it is most likely to have been true, That if *Asdrubal*, or any of those about him, would have striven to shew valour, when the camp was once on fire: he should not thereby have done any manner of good; because of the tumult and consternation. I shall not need to tell what a fearful thing it was, to hear the cries of so many thousands that perished by fire and sword, or to behold the cruel flame that consumed them; which (as *Polybius* affirms) none *that hath being* is able to describe. It is enough to say, that of those many thousands very few did escape, which accompanied *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* in their several ways to flight. Besides these, also there were some scatterers, especially of the *Numidians*, that saved themselves in the dark: but they were not many; as after shall appear. Surely it must needs have been very hard to tell, how many were burnt or otherwise made away; and what numbers escaped in the dark of night. Wherefore *Livy*, who, in the rest of this relation, as often elsewhere, doth follow *Polybius*, may seem to have followed some less worthy author, and him no good arithmetician, in calling up the sum. For he reckons only two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to have escaped; forty thousand to have perished by sword or fire; and above six thousand to have been taken prisoners: the whole number of all which together, is far short of ninety three thousand, which were in these two camps.

Asdrubal, putting himself into the next town that was very strongly fortified; thought there to find the *Romans* work; until the *Carthaginians* at good leisure might repair their army. He had with him no more than two thousand foot, and five hundred horse; which he thought sufficient to defend the town, if the townsmen would not be wanting to themselves. But he found the inhabitants of the place very earnest in contention, whe-

ther it were better to fight or to yield. Unto this disputation, he well foresaw that the arrival of *Scipio* would soon give an end. Wherefore, lest they should lay hold upon him, and seek the victor's favour by delivering him up; he shrunk away betimes, and made all haste to *Carthage*. As for the town, which he left, it opened the gates to *Scipio*, at his first coming: and thereby preserved it self from all manner of loss. The two next towns, adjoining would needs be valiant, and make countenance of war: but their strength not being answerable, they were soon taken by *Scipio*; who abandoned them to the pleasure of his soldiers. This being done, he returned to the siege of *Utica*.

The *Carthaginians* were sore troubled, as they had good reason; when, instead of either peace or victory, which they lately hoped for, they heard news of such a lamentable overthrow. Necessity enforced them to make hasty provision for the future: but how to do it, few of them saw any means. Some gave advice to crave peace of *Scipio*; others to send for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*: but the most, and they which finally prevailed, were of opinion, that notwithstanding the loss of this army, they might well defend themselves against the *Romans*, by raising new forces; especially, if *Syphax* would not leave them. It was therefore concluded, that they should bend all their care this way: levying in all haste another army; and sending ambassadors to deal with *Syphax*, who lay then at a town called *Abba*, not passing eight miles from *Carthage*. Immediately the same their unfortunate commander, *Asdrubal* the son of *Gesco*, was employed to make new levies of men: and queen *Sophonisba* went forth with ambassadors to her husband *Syphax*; who having gathered together as many as he could of his subjects that had escaped from the late slaughter, was thinking to return into his own kingdom. *Sophonisba* laboured so with her husband, that at length she won him to her own desire. And it fell out at the same time that four thousand *Spaniards*, waged by the *Carthaginians*, were brought over to serve in *Africa*. Of these were made such brave reports; as if their courage, and the arms which they used, were not to be resisted. Even the multitude within *Carthage* believed these tales, and were more glad than they had cause to be; which is great wonder, since in one age, the whole country of *Spain* had been twice conquered; first by the *Carthaginians* themselves, and after by the *Romans*. But with *Syphax* these tales prevailed much: which the *Carthaginian* ambassadors helped with a lie; saying, that there were come ten thousand of these terrible *Spaniards*. Upon this confidence the people of *Carthage* and their friends gathered such spirit, that in thirty days they made up an army consisting well near of thirty thousand men; reckoning the *Spaniards*, and *Syphax* with his *Numidians*, in the number. So they encamped in a region called *the great Fields*, about five days journey from *Utica*. *Scipio* hearing of this, came from *Utica* thither, to visit them: leaving behind him his impediments, with some part of his army, to make a shew of continuing the siege. Two or three days, after the meeting of both armies, passed away in skirmishes, without any great thing done. It had now been time for *Asdrubal* to follow the example of the *Roman*, *Fabius*; and seek to weary out the enemy by delays. But either (which is likely) he was a far worse commander, or else it was not in his power to give such directions as best pleased himself. The fourth

day the armies met in battel : wherein the *Romans* were marshalled by *Scipio* after their wonted manner ; having their *Italian* horse in their right wing ; and *Masanissa* with his *Numidians* in the left. On the contrary side, *Asdrubal* and his *Carthaginians* had the right wing ; *Syphax* the left, and the *Spaniards* the battel. The victory was gotten without many blows : for the untrained followers of *Syphax* and *Asdrubal*, could not sustain the first charge of the *Italians*, or of *Masanissa*. Only the *Spaniards* fought a long time, even till they were all in a manner slain : rather as men desperate, and not hoping for mercy, since they were thus come over to fight against *Scipio*, who had otherwise deserved of them ; than upon any likelihood or conceit of victory. This their obstinacy was beneficial unto those that fled ; for that it hindered the *Romans* from making any great pursuit. Hereby *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* escaped : *Asdrubal*, to *Carthage* ; and *Syphax* home, to his own kingdom : whither his wife was either gone before, or immediately followed him.

Scipio, having thus gotten the mastery of the field, took counsel about the prosecution of the war. It was resolved upon, as the best course, that he himself, with part of the army, should attempt the cities round about him : and that *Masanissa*, with his *Numidians*, and *Laelius*, with some of the *Roman* legions, should follow after *Syphax*, not permitting him to take rest within his own kingdom, where easily else he might repair his forces, and put them to new trouble. This advice it seems that *Masanissa* gave : who knew best the quality of the *Numidians* ; and what good might be done among them, by the reputation of a victory. The least that could be expected, was his restitution into his own kingdom, usurped by *Syphax* : which to accomplish, it no less concerned the *Romans* at the present, than it did himself. According to this order concluded, *Laelius* was sent away with *Masanissa* : and *Scipio* stayed behind ; carrying the war from town to town. Many places yielded for fear : many were taken by force : and all the subjects of *Carthage* wavered in their fidelity ; as if the time was now come, wherein they might take notice of those unreasonable burdens, which their proud masters had laid upon them, for maintenance of the war in *Spain* and *Italy*. What to do in this case, the *Carthaginians* could hardly resolve. Fortune was their enemy : they had lost their armies, and many of their towns : neither durst they make bold to trouble their own subjects with any violent exaction of men or money ; who nevertheless of their own free will were likely to give little help. Very much it grieved them, to send for *Hannibal* out of *Italy* : yet since there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good army ; it was decreed, that ambassadors should be forthwith sent to call him home. Some there were that gave advice, to set out a fleet against that of *Scipio* ; that rode before *Utica*, weakly manned, and easy to be taken, whilst *Scipio* himself was busied in the inland countries. Some were of opinion, that it should be their principal care, to fortify by all means the city of *Carthage* : upon the safety whereof, they said, all depended ; adding, that whilst they were true, and at unity amongst themselves, they might well enough subsist, and expect those opportunities, with which fortune (doubtless) would present them. These counsels were not rejected : but order was forthwith taken, both for all things concerning the defence of the city, and for the attempt upon the *Roman* fleet at *Utica*. Nevertheless it was consider-

ed, that hereby they should only protract the war : without any way advancing their own affairs towards likelihood of victory ; no, though it should fall out, that all the ships at *Utica* might be taken or destroyed. Wherefore the determination held concerning *Hannibal*, that he should immediately come over into *Afric*, as the last refuge of *Carthage*. The council was no sooner broken up, than all the senators betook themselves to the execution of that which was decreed : some to the fortification of the town : some to make ready the fleet : and some, appointed thereunto, forthwith to embark themselves for *Italy*. In this their trepidation, *Scipio* comes to *Tunis*, a city in those days very strong ; and standing in prospect almost of every part of *Carthage*. This place, or rather some defensible piece adjoining, he easily took ; the garrison forsaking it, and running away, as soon as he drew near. But whilst he was about there to encamp, and fortify himself against the city ; he might perceive the *Carthaginian* fleet setting forth, and making towards *Utica*. What this meant, he readily conceived : and stood in great fear, lest his own ships, that were very ill prepared for sea-fight (as being heavily laden with engines of battery, and wholly disposed in such order, as was most convenient for assaulting the town) should make bad resistance, against a fleet appointed for that special service. Wherefore he halted away towards *Utica*, to assist with his presence in this needful case. It fell out well, that he had sent his carriages, and all the great booty which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to *Tunis*. For had not he now made great expedition, he should have come too late. Neither could he indeed have been there in due time ; if the *Carthaginians* had used such diligence as was convenient. But they rested one night in harbour by the way : and at their coming to *Utica*, they tarried a while to make a bravado : presenting themselves in order of battel, as if the *Romans* would have put forth to sea against them. But *Scipio* had no such intent : he thought it would be sufficient, if he could preserve his galleys. As for the pleasure of their bravery at sea ; it should little avail the *Carthaginians* ; if they got nothing by it, and lost their whole estate by land. Wherefore he took his ships of burden, and, lashing them together with cables, in four ranks, one behind another, made a fourfold bridge over the channel of the haven : whereon he placed a thousand of his choice men, with store of darts, and other casting weapons, to make defence. Some open spaces he left ; whereat his frigats, and other small vessels might run out, and back again, upon any advantage or need : but these he covered with planks ; using the masts and yards of his ships instead of raters, to join all together, that his men might help one another, and the bridge it self not be torn asunder. Scarce was this work finished, when the *Carthaginians*, seeing none issue forth against them, came into the haven. The fight between them and the *Romans*, that were in the hulks, was rather like to the assaulting of a wall, than to any sea-fight. For they that stood upon the bridge, had sure footing, and threw their weapons downwards with their whole strength and violence ; which the *Carthaginians* out of their galleys, that were lower and unsteady, could not do. But the *Roman* frigats and long-boats, adventuring forth from behind the bridge, were greatly over-borne by the force of the galleys ; and were one occasion of that small loss which followed. They that stood upon the bridge, were neither able to relieve them : nor yet could freely bestow their weapons among the *Carthagini-*

ans, as before, for fear of hurting these their friends, that were entangled and mixed among the enemies. The *Carthaginians* had brought with them grappling-hooks, hanging at iron-chains. These they threw upon the masts and yards, which served as arches to join the bridge together: then rowing backwards, they tore all asunder, in such sort, that one ship followed another, and all the first rank was broken, or defaced. The defendants had no other way, than to save themselves as hastily as they could, by shifting into the next rank of ships, that lay behind them untouched. Neither did the *Carthaginians* trouble themselves any further in this laborious work; but having haled away six ships of burden, and towed them out of the haven, returned home to *Carthage*. Their welcome was greater than their victory: because among so many grievous losses, only this exploit had succeeded well; though it were of small importance.

Whilst things thus passed about *Carthage*, *Lælius* and *Masanissa*, in their journey against *Syphax*, found as good success as could be desired. The fame of the victories already gotten, restored *Masanissa* to his kingdom, without further contention: the *Masæyli* his subjects, joyfully receiving him; and forsaking the usurper. But here they stayed not: neither indeed would *Syphax* permit them to be quiet. He had such abundance of men and horses, that he felt not greatly the losses past: and therefore being solicited by *Asdrubal* and *Sophonisba*, he prepared again for war. But beside the instigation of his beloved wife; the loss of the *Masæyli* would let him take no rest: neither was it the purpose of *Lælius* and *Masanissa*, to give him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no less unwillingly from from that which they have gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance: but to think all alike their own, whereof they are in possession; be the title unto some part never so unjust. Hereunto alludes the fable of the young kite: which thought that she had vomited up her own guts; when it was only the garbage of some other fowl, that she had hastily swallowed, and was not able to digest. But whether or no *Syphax*, like the young kite, believed the kingdom of the *Masæyli* to be part of his entrails: *Lælius* and *Masanissa* will shortly give him somewhat, that shall make him cast his gorge. For to this purpose chiefly are they come so far. It concerned the *Romans* to dispossess (if it might be) that king; whose false and hollow friendship towards them, had been converted into strong enmity: as also to set in his place another, who might do them such good offices, as *Syphax* had lately done unto the *Carthaginians*. How easily this might be effected, *Masanissa* knew best: as being well acquainted with the nature of those countries; wherein, even to this day, though there be many strong towns, yet the fortune of a battle is enough to translate the kingdom from one competitor to another. So they met with *Syphax*: who came against them with no less an army than his former, and marshalled in the *Roman* order; according to the skill which he had learned of the *Roman* centurion, long ago sent unto him out of *Spain*, from *Cn. Scipio*. But though he could teach his men, how to march in order; yet could he not teach them to fight courageously. They were a rabble of all sorts, gathered up in haste: and few of them had seen war before. Encamping near unto the *Romans*, it fell out, as commonly, that some troops of horse on both sides, encountered one another in the mid-way: and they that had the worst, were seconded by other of their sel-

lows. By continuance of the skirmish, more and more were drawn out from either camp: so that at length *Syphax*, unwilling to dishearten his men, by taking any foil at their first meeting with the enemy, came up with all his horse, which were the best part of his forces, and therewith overcharged *Masanissa*, whose numbers were far less. But whilst he was prosecuting his hope of victory: some *Roman* squadrons of foot came against him through their own troops of horse; which fell to the sides, and made a lane for them. So their battle standing now more firm than a little before; *Syphax* was unable, though he laboured much in vain, to make them give ground. *Masanissa* likewise, and his troops, grew confident upon this assistance: and charging afresh the enemy, that could not make way forward, caused him to give back. Herewithal the legions came in sight: which so terrified the *Numidian* horse, that they began presently to disband. Fain would *Syphax* have stayed them from flight: and to that end, made head in person against the *Romans*; with hope, that his men would be ashamed to leave him. But it fell out unhappily, that he was cast from his horse, which received a wound; and so taken prisoner. Of others that were slain or taken, the multitude was not great. It sufficed, that they forsook the place, and fled: and that their king, upon whom all depended, was in the *Roman's* hand. *Masanissa* told *Lælius*, that this victory should make an end of the *Numidian* war, if presently they hasted away to *Cirta*, the chief city of the kingdom; whither he himself desired to be sent before with the horse, carrying *Syphax* along with him. Hereunto *Lælius* agreed. *Masanissa* coming to *Cirta*, before any news of the king's mischance was there arrived, called out the chief of the city to parley: wherein by many fair promises and threats, but especially by shewing unto them *Syphax* bound, he prevailed so far, that the gates were forthwith opened unto him; and every one strove to get his favour, that was like to be their king hereafter. Among the rest, queen *Sophonisba* yielded her self into his hands; and vehemently besought him, that she might not be delivered up unto the *Romans*. Her youth, and excellent beauty, so commended her suit, that *Masanissa* forthwith granted it: and to make good his promise, married her himself that very day: thereby to prevent *Lælius* and *Scipio* from determining otherwise of her, since she was his wife. But *Lælius*, when he came thither, took the matter heinously; so that at first he would have haled her away, together with *Syphax* and other prisoners, and have sent her unto *Scipio*. But being over-entreated by *Masanissa*, he suffered the matter to rest a while as he found it, and referred all to *Scipio's* discretion: to whom he sent away *Syphax*, and other captives immediately; following shortly after himself, with *Masanissa*, when they had done what was needful in the kingdom.

At the coming of *Syphax* there was great joy in the *Roman* camp: the mighty armies which he had lately brought into the field; and his entertainment of *Scipio* and *Asdrubal*, both at one time, when *Rome* and *Carthage* together sought his friendship, with such other commemoration of his past and present fortune; ministering to every one a large argument of discourse. *Scipio* demanded of him, what had moved him, not only to forsake the *Roman* friendship, but to make war upon them unprovoked. He briefly answered, that his wife had moved him so to do; calling her a fury, and a pestilent creature: and saying, that *Masanissa* was no wiser than himself; since he had now taken

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ken the same woman to his wife, who would shortly draw him to the same courses. Hereat *Scipio* was greatly troubled: and stood in great doubt, lest this perilous woman should deprive him of *Masanissa*, as she had done of *Syphax*. It was not long, ere *Masanissa* and *Lælius* came unto him: both of whom together he lovingly welcomed; and highly commended in publick, for their notable service in this expedition. Then taking *Masanissa* apart, he brake with him, as touching *Sophonisba*: letting him understand, that the *Romans* had title to her head; and that she was a mischievous enemy of theirs. Wherefore he entreated him to moderate his affection: and not to deface the memory of his great services already done, (for which he should be highly rewarded, to his own contentment) by committing a great offence upon little reason. *Masanissa* blush'd, and wept: and finally promised to be governed by *Scipio*; whom he nevertheless entreated, to think upon his faith given to *Sophonisba*, that she should not be delivered into the *Roman* power. So he departed to his own tent, where, after some time spent in agony, he called unto him a servant of his, that had the custody of his poison (which princes used then to have in readines, against all mischances that might make them unwilling to live:) and tempering a potion for *Sophonisba*, sent it unto her with this message; that gladly he would have had her to live with him as his wife: but since they, who had power to hinder him of his desire, would not yield thereto, he sent her a cup, that should preserve her from falling alive into the hands of the *Romans*; willing her to remember her birth and estate, and accordingly to take order for her self.

At the receipt of this message and present, she only said, That if her husband had no better token to send unto his new wife, she must accept of this; adding, that she might have died more honourably, if she had not wedded so lately before her funeral. And herewithal she boldly drank off the poison. Thus *Livy* reporteth. But *Appian* varies from this: and sets it down agreeably to that which hath been spoken before, concerning the pre-contract between *Masanissa* and *Sophonisba*. He saith, that after the taking of *Syphax*, ambassadors from *Cirta* met with *Lælius* and *Masanissa* upon their way thither, yielding up their city, and the king's palace: and that *Sophonisba*, for her own private, sent messengers to excuse her marriage with *Syphax*; as made against her will, by compulsion of those in whose power she was. *Masanissa* readily admitted of this excuse; and accepted her to wife. But when *Scipio* had received information from *Syphax*, how cunning in persuasion *Sophonisba* was; and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of *Carthage*: he fell out about her with *Masanissa* at his return; and challenged her, as a part of the booty belonging to the *Romans*. *Masanissa* said, she was his own wife, and unto him betrothed many years before. But *Scipio* would not hear of this: or if it were true, yet he said, it was no reason, that *Masanissa* should keep her in possession, as long as it was disputable, unto whom she might appertain. Wherefore he willed him first of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claim unto her; wherein he should have no wrong. Herewithal he sent to fetch her away: and *Masanissa* accompanied the messengers, as it were to deliver her; but making her acquainted with the necessity, gave unto her a

cup of poison, wherewith she ended her life, before they came that should have apprehended her. So he shewed unto the *Romans* her dead body, which he royally interred. The sudden violence of *Masanissa*'s love, and the ready consent of *Sophonisba* to marry with him, add not so much credit unto this relation of *Appian*, as doth the want of all other evident cause (which ^a *Livy* notes) of the sudden falling out between him and the *Carthaginians*, under whom he had been trained up, and done them great service. Howsoever it were, *Scipio*, hearing of this tragical accident, sent for *Masanissa*, and comforted him as well as he could, lest his melancholy should lead him to some inconvenience. Having therefore gently rebuked him for his rashness, he brought him forth in presence of the army; where, extolling his noble acts, and shewing how highly he had deserved of the city of *Rome*, he proclaimed him king; and gave unto him a crown of gold, with other royal ornaments. This was indeed the ready way to divert his thoughts from the sad remembrance of that which was pass'd, unto the more chearful contemplation of good fortune, that began to smile upon him.

This was the first time that the *Romans* took upon them to create or proclaim a king. Which honour, though *Masanissa* well deserved, yet would not the title have redounded unto his great benefit; neither should he have been much beholden to them for it, if he had not, by their means, recovered possession of his country, together with the greatest part of *Syphax*'s dominions. It seems not unlikely, that had he remained a neuter in these wars, and sustained himself, with his troop of horse, in such sort as he did before the coming of the *Romans*, he might nevertheless have recovered his proper inheritance, by the love of his own subjects, without other help, when *Syphax* had once or twice been vanquished. As for the enlargement of his kingdom, it was not more than he deserved; neither were the *Romans* then in case to make a conquest of *Numidia* for themselves, neither could they have wished a fitter opportunity, than of such a man, upon whom to bestow it, that was their assured friend, and passable withal among the *Numidians*, as being (for the *Masseyli* were a *Numidian* tribe) a great prince of the same nation. Yet this liberality of the *Romans* was noised abroad as very glorious; and the *Romans* themselves, in a politick sort of gravity, took highly upon them; as if even their saluting him by the name of king, had been a matter of great consequence. He thrived indeed well after it, and by their maintenance, waxed mighty in times followings, encroaching upon his neighbours on all sides; but most of all upon the state of *Carthage*, whereat they were little displeased. Hence it grew, that *Vermina*, the son of *Syphax* (of whom we shall shortly speak more) which held some piece of his father's kingdom, desiring friendship of the *Romans*, and promising by all means to deserve their love, requested therewithal, that they would call him king. But though it were so, that never any before him had made this a matter of suit; yet the *Roman* senate was *punctilious* herein; and answered very gravely, ^b that it was not their custom to give the honour of that appellation, save only unto such kings as had greatly deserved of their city. Thus they made it a matter of state, and in process of time grew so proud of this their imaginary prerogative, that they imputed as a singular benefit unto

^a Lib. 28.^b Liv. l. 31.

kings, that no way depended upon them, the salutation by ^a *that name*, though it were not accompanied with any other favour or profit thence redounding.

S E C T. XIX.

The Carthaginians desire truce, and break it.

THE *Carthaginians* were extremely dismayed, when they heard of the great calamity that was befallen their good friend *Syphax*, and understood that *Masaniſſa*, their mortal enemy, had got possession of his kingdom. To increase their fear, *Scipio* returned again to *Tunis*, in view of their city, where he made an end of that fortification which he had begun at his last being there. The *Carthaginians* had neither forces, nor courage to withstand him; but their hearts so failed them, that they sent forth unto him thirty ambassadors, princes of the city, which were their privy-council, to make suit for peace. These being admitted into the presence of *Scipio*, did not only prostrate themselves on the ground, but kissed the feet of him, and of those that sat in council with him.

Answerable to this base adoration, was their speech that followed. They confessed themselves to have unjustly broken the peace between them and *Rome*, and to have deserved whatsoever punishment it should please the *Romans* to inflict upon them. Yet they humbly besought *Scipio*, and the rest, that, in common regard of those misfortunes whereto all men are subject, they would shew mercy unto the city of *Carthage*, and let it remain as a monument of their clemency; which, by the folly of her citizens, had now twice deserved to be overthrown. Herewithal they did not forget to lay the blame upon *Hannibal*, who, without their appointment, had begun the war; and was maintained in his doings by a faction, without the goodliking of the whole city. By this it appears, that these ambassadors were no *Barchines*, but rather, that they were *Hanno*, and the choice of his company, who had now their long desired work in hand, of suing unto the *Romans* for peace. Whatsoever they were, it must needs be that they were most intolerant men over those that were subject unto their power; for they would not have made such adoration to the *Romans*, in their own necessity, unless they themselves had expected the like, where they had the advantage.

It was not unknown to *Scipio*, or to his assistants, in what poor case the city of *Rome* then was, and how unable to defray the charges of continuing the war. Neither were the *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding the loss of so many armies, in such ill case, as the *Romans* themselves had very lately been. For they had money enough wherewith to wage more men: they had a city far stronger than *Rome*, and they had the sea free. But they wanted the *Roman* resolution, and therefore distrusted the walls of *Carthage*, though *Utica*, a weaker city, had all this while held out against *Scipio*, and could not yet be forced by him and his army, though so often victorious in the field. *Scipio* therefore accepted their submission, and told them, that though he came into *Africa* to make a conquest, and not a peace; yet having the conquest, as it were, in his hand, he would not deny to grant them the peace which they desired; for thereby should all nations understand, that the people of *Rome* did follow the rule of justice, both in making war, and in concluding it. The conditions which he imposed upon them,

were these: that they should render up unto him all the prisoners that they had taken, together with all the renagadoes and fugitive slaves: that they should withdraw their armies out of *Italy* and *Gaul*; that they should not meddle in *Spain*, nor yet in any island between *Italy* and *Africa*: that they should deliver up all their ships of war, save twenty; and that they should pay a great sum of money, with certain hundred thousand bushels of wheat and barley. To consider of these articles, he gave them three days; and when they had approved them, he granted a truce, that they might send ambassadors unto the *Roman* senate.

This done, *Masaniſſa* was dismissed, and went home into his kingdom, as if the war had been already at an end. *Syphax* was a little before sent with *Lælius* unto *Rome*, where the fame of these victories filled men with joy, and gave hope that the long endured miseries would be shortly at an end. Wherefore all the temples were set open, and an holy-day appointed for thanksgiving and supplication to their gods. *Lælius* was accompanied with ambassadors from king *Masaniſſa*, who, gratulating the happy success of the *Romans* in their *African* war, and giving thanks unto the senate for the benefits done by *Scipio* unto their master, made request for the *Numidians*, such as were now his subjects, and prisoners in *Rome*, that they might be bestowed upon him; who, by rendering them to liberty, should do an act very plausible, that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his reign. The *Roman* senate were not behind with *Masaniſſa* in compliment; but shewing themselves to be highly pleased with all that *Scipio* had done, and should do for him; they called him king again; released his *Numidians* that were captives; and sent him two purple cassocks, that had each of them one gold button; with such other presents, as in time of their poverty, might serve to testify their good-will. Scarcely were these and *Lælius* gone from *Rome*, when the news came that ambassadors from *Carthage* were arrived to desire peace. These ambassadors were not admitted into the city, but were lodged without; until *Lælius*, being sent for, came back from *Ostia*, to be present when their demands were to be heard. Then was audience given them in the temple of *Bellona*, that stood in the suburbs. The errand of these ambassadors was peace; but the meaning of them, and of their city, was only to win time, and get respite from war, until *Hannibal* and *Mago* should come out of *Italy*, either to chase the *Romans* out of *Africa*, or to obtain peace for *Carthage*, by terror of their great names and armies, upon more easy conditions. Wherefore they made an idle discourse of the league that was concluded between them and *Luſtātius Catulus*, at the end of the former war. This league, they said, all things well considered, did still remain in force; neither had there since been any war at all between the people of *Rome* and the *Carthaginians*. For it was only *Hannibal*, that, without any leave from *Carthage*, had of his own head besieged and ras'd the town of *Saguntum*: and after that, adventured in like sort, without commission, to pass the *Alps*, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of *Italy*. This being so, their message was none other, than to desire that the league, before spoken of, made in the time of *Catulus*, might hereafter stand in force, as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to do. The senators had cause to wonder at this tale, hearing these ambassadors make (as it were) a jest of a war, that had been so

^a Cæsar's Com. Lib. 1.^b Excerpt. à Polyb. lib. 15. Liv. lib. 30

terrible. Wherefore they asked them a great many questions concerning that peace made by *Lucretius*, and other passages following, between the two cities. But they excused themselves by their age (for they were all young men) and said, that those things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, that all was but collusion, and that they sought no other than to gain time, until they might repair the war. Wherefore they were sent home in company of *Lælius*, without any conclusion at all of peace; and, in effect, without answer. This notwithstanding, we find in ^a *Polybius*, that the senate receiving advertisement from *Scipio*, of that which had passed between him and the *Carthaginians* in this treaty of peace, approved the conditions by him propounded; and gave him licence thereupon to proceed unto conclusion. This may, with good reason, be believed; since it was not unknown, that if the war continued, all these goodly hopes must rest upon the uncertain hope of one battle between *Hannibal* and *Scipio*; wherein, if fortune should be averse to them, their forces in *Africa* were no better than quite lost.

Matters thus hanging in suspense, before the *Carthaginian* ambassadors came back from *Rome*, a fleet out of *Sicily*, wherein were two hundred ships of burden, and thirty galleys, being bound for *Africa*, to victual the *Roman* camp, was overtaken by foul weather at sea; and, hardly escaping wreck, was dispersed, and driven a-ground in divers parts of the bay of *Carthage*, even in view, and under command of the city. There was at that time, as we find in ^b *Appian*, and may gather out of *Polybius*, a great dearth of victuals in *Carthage*; which caused the people to cry out upon their magistrates, that they should not let such a booty escape them; saying, that the danger of famine was greater and worse than of breaking truce. Whether it were so that hunger urged them, or that they yielded to their own greedy desires, the multitude in *Carthage* understood (as it seems) that all this discourse of peace in hand, was no better than mere mockery; and therefore cared not for observation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. ^c It was the manner in *Carthage*, as likewise in *Alexandria*, for all the rascality, together with women and boys, to be meddling in uproars; the clamours of the boys being in such tumults no less violent than of the men. Wherefore it is no marvel, if little regard were had of reason, or of honour, in any such commotion. A fleet was sent out under *Asdrubal*, to gather up the dispersed *Roman* ships of burden (for the galleys, by force of oars, recovered the station whereto their camp adjoined) and bring them into *Carthage*, which was done. *Scipio* was hereat much offended, not only for the loss, and for that the town was thereby relieved; but for that by this breach of truce, he foresaw the intention of the *Carthaginians* to renew the war, and put him to more trouble. Wherefore he sent ambassadors unto them, both to require satisfaction for the injury done, and to deter them from entertaining any other hope, than in the peace which they had so much desired. These gave the *Carthaginians* to understand, that letters were come from *Rome* unto *Scipio*, with allowance to conclude the peace upon those conditions which he had propounded. But (said they) *we hold it strange, that ye, who so lately have cast your selves to the ground before us, and kissed our feet, after an unusual manner of humility, confessing your selves to have perfidiously broken the league that was between us, and thereby to have de-*

served such punishment as is due unto rebels, should so soon forget what ye then uttered, and run headlong again into the same crimes, for which ye acknowledged your selves worthy to be destroyed, having only recourse unto our mercy. We are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which ye repose in Hannibal, that thus emboldens you. Yet were it not amiss, that ye should consider, how long he hath been pent up in a corner of Italy, among the Brutians, where he is in a manner besieged, and unable to stir; so that ye are like to find his help wanting in your greatest need. Or let it be supposed, that he were now in Africa, and ready to give us battle; yet should it well agree with your wisdom, to doubt what might befall; remembering that he is a man, and not invincible. Now if it should happen that he were overcome, what refuge have ye left unto your selves against hereafter? What gods will ye either swear by, to be believed, or call upon in your misery? What words, and lamentable gesture will ye henceforth use to move compassion; Surely ye have already wasted all your forces of persuasion, and shall not again deceive us, if ye refuse the grace, whercof at this present ye are capable. It is no marvel though the *Carthaginians* were angry, when they heard themselves upbraided with the base demeanor of their ambassadors. For it was not the general opinion of the city, that the truce was broken by themselves, though it had pleased *Hanno*, or such as were of his faction, to gratify the *Romans* with all manner of submission; and to renounce not only their hope of the future, but all justification of matters pass'd. And indeed it seems that the *Roman* ambassadors were very much delighted in the rehearsal of that point, which was yielded unto them, as knowing that thereon depended the justice of the quarrel. But the *Carthaginians* took this in so ill part, that hardly could they refrain from doing violence unto the men who had used unto them such insolent speeches. Yet the fury of the multitude was in some sort appeased, either by *Hanno*, whom *Appian* (I know not why) calls *Hanno the great*; or by the very reverence due unto the place of those that had uttered such liberal words. So they were dismissed in friendly sort, though it were without answer to their proposition. There were also two galleys appointed for their safe convoy home, though with little intent of good unto their persons. *Asdrubal* was then in the mid-way, as men sailed from *Carthage* towards *Utica*. He, whether only desirous to please the multitude, of whose disposition he was informed; or whether directed by publick order, to cut off these ambassadors in their way homeward, lay waiting for them behind a cape that was a little beyond the mouth of the river *Bagradas*. Their convoy having brought them on the way as far as to the mouth of *Bagradas*, wished them a good voyage, and so took leave of them, as if they had been then in safety, since the *Roman* camp was even in sight. The ambassadors took this in ill part, not as fearing any danger toward; but thinking themselves too much neglected, soasmuch as their attendants did so abruptly leave them. But no sooner had they doubled the cape, than *Asdrubal* fell upon them in such manner, as they might well discern his purpose, which was to have stemmed them. They rowed hard therefore, and being in a quinqueme, that had more banks of oars than had any galley of *Asdrubal*, they slipped away, and made him over-shoot himself. Yet he gave them chase, and had well near surpris'd them; but they discovered some *Roman* companies on the shore over-

^a Excerpt. à Polyb. l. 15.^b App. de bello Punico.^c Excerpt. à Polyb. l. 15.

against them, and therefore adventured to run their vessel a-ground; whereby they saved their own lives, though a great part of their company were slain, or hurt. This practice of the *Carthaginians* was inexcusable; and for the same cause perhaps were the citizens heartned in such a dishonourable attempt, by those that were desirous to continue the war, that thereby they might be driven to study nothing else than how to get the victory, as having none other hope remaining. Yet likely it is, that the same fear which had caused them to make such earnest suit for peace, would also have caused them to be better advised, than thus to abandon all hope of treaty, had they not been given to understand that *Hannibal* was already landed in *Afric*, in whom they reposed no small confidence; but verily persuaded themselves that he would change their fortune, and teach the *Romans* to hold themselves contented with more easy conditions than were those that *Scipio*, in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded.

S E C T. XX.

In what sort Hannibal spent the time after the battel of Metaurus. The doings of Mago in Italy. Hannibal and Mago called out of Italy. How the Romans were diversly affected by Hannibal's departure.

EV E R since the loss of that battel at *Metaurus*, *Hannibal* remained in the country of the *Bruttians*, waiting for another supply from *Carthage*. The *Roman* consuls, that succeeded unto *Claudius* and *Livius*, by whom *Asdrubal* was overcome and slain, were contented to be quiet all their year. Neither did *Licinius*, the colleague of *Scipio*, ought worthy of remembrance against *Hannibal*, being hindered by the pestilence that was in his army. *Sempronius* the consul, who followed *Licinius*, and *Cn. Servilius Sæpe*, who followed *Sempronius*, were earnestly bent to have done somewhat; but their diligence was in a manner fruitless. In some skirmishes with *Hannibal* they had the better; in some the worse; and a few poor towns they got from him, as it were, by stealth; his care being more to preserve his army, than to keep those places that were weak.

The *Romans* had at this time so many great pieces of work in hand, that their chief enemy was become not the chief part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent upon *Afric*, wherein they were at no small charges to maintain the army, which (as was hoped) should bring the war to a short and happy conclusion. They stood nevertheless in much fear of *Mago*, the brother of *Hannibal*, who took exceeding pains among the *Ligurians* and *Gauls* to raise an army, wherewith to kindle anew the war in *Italy*, that began to wax cold. *Mago* solicited also the *Ætrurians*, and found them so ready to stir in his behalf, that if he could have entered their country strong, it might have proved no less needful for *Scipio* to return home out of *Afric*, than shortly it was for *Hannibal* to make speed unto the defence of *Carthage*. These dangers caused the *Romans* to employ one of their consuls, or proconsuls, with an army, among the *Ætrurians*; another among the *Gauls*; and a third among the *Ligurians*; forasmuch as it was uncertain upon which side *Mago* would break out. Being thus busied, it is no wonder though they forbore to over-charge *Hannibal* with any great power.

As for *Mago*, when things were in some readiness for his setting forwards, he met in the country of the *Insubrians*, which is about *Milan*, with *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* proconsul, and *P. Quin-*

tilius Varus, one of the pretors. With these he fought a battel, wherein though his virtue shewed it self worthy of his father and brethren, yet his fortune was *Carthaginian*. The fight continued a long while doubtful, in such sort, that the *Roman* commanders began to distrust the issue. Wherefore *Quintilius* the pretor, taking unto him all the *Roman* horse, thought to have shaken the enemies to pieces. The legions at the same time gave a loud shout, and strained themselves hard, as if at that brunt the victory should have been carried before them. But *Mago* opposed his elephants to the horse, the service of those beasts being fitter for such use, than against the squadrons of foot. The figure, scent, and braying of these elephants, did so affright the horse, that they started aside, and were scattered over the field, their riders being unable to manage them. Hereby the *Numidians* got advantage upon them, whose manner of fight was more available against those that were loose, than against the troops that were close and thick. Then fell the elephants upon the legions, which entertained them after the accustomed manner, with a shower of darts, and killed four of them, causing all the rest to give back. This notwithstanding, the same legions were so vehemently pressed by the enemy, that, more for shame of running away, than by any great force to make resistance, they held their ground. The proconsul therefore brought up those forces, which he had kept unto the last, to succour where need should most require. Against these *Mago* employed some of his *Gauls*, whom he had in readiness for the like occasion. But these *Gauls* discharged their parts very ill; they were soon beaten off, and recoiled so hastily, that they brought fear upon all the rest. When *Mago* saw that his men began to shrink, he put himself in the head of his army, and held them so well to it, that, keeping their order, they made a fair retreat, with their faces towards the enemy. But at length he received a grievous wound in his thigh, whereof shortly after he died. He was taken up, and carried out of danger by some of his own men: the rest of them, after little further resistance, provided every one for himself. So the *Romans* obtained victory, not without great cost, as purchasing the death of about five thousand enemies, with the loss of twenty-three hundred of the pretor's army, besides those that died of the proconsul's legions; also besides divers colonels, captains, and gentlemen of mark, that fell in this hot piece of service. Neither were there any prisoners taken; whereby it may seem that the enemies did not fall to rout, before they had recovered some ground that might assure them from pursuit. However it were, this victory would have much more imported for the assurance of *Italy*, if the state of *Carthage* could longer have permitted these valiant sons of *Amilcar* to abide therein. But *Mago*, withdrawing himself (by easy journies, because of his wound) into *Liguria*, found there some hostages from *Carthage* attending him, who gave him to understand the pleasure of their city, which was, that both he and *Hannibal* should presently repair home with all their forces, not staying any longer to think upon the conquest of *Italy*, since *Carthage* it self was ready to be lost. He obeyed this commandment, and embarked shortly his army; but died of his wound about *Sardinia*, in the way homewards.

About the same time *Hannibal* received the like command from *Carthage* to return into *Afric*. He heard it with great impatience, gnashing his teeth, and groaning, and hardly keeping in the tears, that were ready to burst out; whilst the ambassadors were

were delivering their errand. When their message was done, he told them, that *this was yet plain dealing*. For, said he, *They that now directly bid me come home, have long ago done their best to hale me out of Italy; though more closely and crookedly they went to work, by stopping the supply that should have enabled me to manage the war here*. Scipio therefore shall not need to brag, that he hath drawn me home by the heels; it is Hanno that hath wrought this noble feat, and overwhelmed the house of the Barchines, for lack of other means to do it, with the ruin of Carthage. He had before prepared a fleet in readiness, doubting that, which after came to pass; wherein he embarked, besides his own men, as many of the *Italians* as were content to be partakers of his fortune. Many there were that shrunk back from him, and refused to do service in this expedition: of whom such as he could take he slew, not sparing those that fled into the temple of *Juno Lucina*, which had been held an inviolable sanctuary unto that day. He was indeed then wholly transported with rage, and departed out of *Italy* no less passionate, than men are wont to be when they leave their own countries to go into exile. He looked back unto the shore; accusing both gods and men, and cursing his own dulness, in that he had not led his army from *Cannæ*, hot and bloodied as it was, directly unto the walls of *Rome*. With such vexation of spirit he quitted the possession of *Italy*, wherein he had lived almost half his time.

If it could have been foretold unto the *Romans*, in the first beginning of this war, with what exceeding joy in times following they should entertain the news of *Hannibal's* departure out of *Italy*: they would (I think) less earnestly have pressed the *Carthaginians* to send him over thither. When sure advertisement was brought into the city, that *Hannibal* was gone with all his army, an holy-day was appointed for thanksgiving unto their gods, and extraordinary great sacrifices publicly made for joy of such happy tidings. Yet old *Q. Fabius* was of opinion, that the danger did still remain the same, though the place were changed; for that *Hannibal*, at his coming into *Afric*, would find *P. Scipio* other manner of work, than he had been troubled with at any time before; and would do greater matters in his own country, than ever he was able to perform abroad in a land of strangers. The remove of the war from their own doors, and the conceit of that victory for which they hoped, was enough to make them presume further than at other times they would have done. When therefore the *Saguntine* ambassadors brought unto them a great mass of gold and silver, together with some agents of the *Carthaginians*, taken by them in *Spain*: only the *Carthaginian* prisoners were accepted; the treasure was rendered back unto the *Saguntines*, that had surprised it. Upon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of those monies that had been borrowed in time of more necessity from private men. Hence also proceeded the severe chastisement laid upon those twelve colonies, that, for want either of means, or of goodwill, had refused to give aid to the *Romans*. They were commanded, and enforced to give double the number of foot to that which they had been wont to set out for the wars, with a proportion of horse answerable to the very most of their ability. So confident were the *Romans* grown (though their wealth were not as yet suitable to the greatness of their spirit) upon the good success of the battle of *Metaurus*, and the hopes which they reposed in *Scipio*. All this notwithstanding, when they considered more nearly of that which might happen; and were

informed, that the terrible army, whereof *Italy* had been few days since discharged, was landed safe in *Afric*, they began to revolve a thousand fearful matters in their heads, and to stand in doubt lest *Q. Fabius* (who died about the same time) would be found a true prophet. For, bethinking themselves of that which might comfort them in their hopes, they found in the victories against *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* no specialty of such great worth; as might promise the like success against another manner of general, followed by other manner of men than were either of those two. The *Numidian* king had been wont to bring into the field a rascally multitude of half-scurillions, that were good for nothing, being himself a fit captain for such soldiers. Likewise *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gisco*, was well thought of by the *Carthaginian* senate; but otherwise, one that in the field was only good at saving himself by a swift retreat. But now there came an army of men, hardened from their childhood with incredible patience, fleshed many hundred times in *Roman* blood, and wearing the spoils not only of good soldiers, but brave captains, by them slain. Such talk used the people of *Rome*, saying, that *Scipio* was like to meet in battle with many, that had slain *Roman* pretors, yea, and consuls, with their own hands; with many, that had been first in getting over the trenches of several *Roman* camps, or in winning the tops of walls at the siege of towns; briefly, that he should now be opposed by an army as good as had ever served in war, and following the dreadful name of *Hannibal*.

S E C T. XXI.

Hannibal in Afric prepares to fight with Scipio; treats with him about peace in vain; loseth a battle at Nadagara, and persuades the Carthaginians to sue for peace. Of the peace granted from Rome to Carthage.

H*Annibal* disembarked his army at *Leptis*, almost an hundred miles from *Carthage*, eastward from the headland of *Mercurj*, and somewhat more than one degree to the south. He was ill-provided of horse, which it was not easy for him to transport out of *Italy*. Therefore it behoved him to land, as he did, somewhat far from the enemy, that he might furnish himself with this and the like needful helps against the day of battle. From *Leptis* he passed on to *Adrumetum*, and so along through the inland country, gathering friends unto him by the way. *Tychæus*, a *Numidian* prince, and a familiar friend of *Syphax*, was said to have in those days the best horses of service that were to be found in *Afric*. Him therefore did *Hannibal* allure unto his party, making him understand, that if the *Romans* got the victory, it should be easy for *Masaniſſa*, by their countenance and help, to oppress both him, and as many other of the neighbour princes as hindered his prospect. This argument, and the fame of him that used it, prevailed with *Tychæus*, who shortly after brought unto the *Carthaginian* two thousand horse. *Appian* further adds, that *Mezetullus* (the same who had made himself protector over *Masaniſſa's* cousins, and was head of a family, and adverse to the *Numidian* kings of that race) brought unto *Hannibal* another thousand horse; as likewise that *Vermina*, the son of *Syphax*, holding a great part of his father's kingdom, began at the same time to assail the places that yielded obedience to *Masaniſſa*. This *Vermina*, as we find in *Livy*, came with more than sixteen thousand men (for he lost more than so many) to succour *Hannibal*, when it was too late.

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The *Carthaginians* were at this time in such hard estate, or (at least) so impatient of the state wherein they were; that they could not attend the leisure of those preparations, which would have made the victory assured. When they considered the worth of *Hannibal*, and the greatness of his acts: it offended them to think, that they had been so base, as to make humble suit unto the *Romans* for peace; whilst they had such a brave champion alive, to maintain their cause by war. But when they bethought themselves of their own sufferings, which, for want of *Roman* magnanimity to endure them, appeared greater than indeed they were: then cried they out earnestly, that it was no time to linger, but presently to fight; that so they might see an end of these troubles, either good or bad. And to this purpose, they sent their mandates to *Hannibal*: requiring him, without any further protraction, to do what he could do out of hand. *Hannibal* made answer, that they were his good lords, and had power to dispose of him and his army: but since he was general of their forces, he thought it reasonable, that they should suffer him to do as a general ought to do; and to choose his own times. Nevertheless, to give them satisfaction, he made great marches to *Zama*; and there encamped.

The breach of truce, made by the *Carthaginians*: the violence done to his ambassadors: and the news of *Hannibal's* being landed in *Afric*; made *Scipio* to understand the resolution of the *Carthaginians*, which was, not to yield unto any conditions unprofitable for themselves, as long as they were able to make resistance. Wherefore he sent unto *Masaniſſa*: and informed him of all that was fallen out; praying him to come away with speed, and lay all other business a-part. Ten *Roman* companies, of horse and foot together, *Masaniſſa* had with him; that were lent unto him by *Scipio*, to do him service in the establishing and enlarging of his kingdom. But he well understood, that those, and many more besides all his own forces, would little avail him; if *Hannibal* should drive the *Romans* out of *Afric*. Wherefore taking such order as he could upon the sudden, for the safety of his own kingdom; with four thousand horse, and six thousand foot, he made all haste unto *Scipio*.

Soon after the beginning of these new troubles, the *Carthaginian* ambassadors that had been at *Rome*, returned back under the conduct of *Laelius* and *Fulvius*: who brought them safe into the *Roman* camp. There when they arrived, and understood what had lately passed, especially how their citizens had behaved themselves towards the *Roman* ambassadors: they made little doubt, how their own heads should answer for such notorious outrage. To confirm them in this opinion, *M. Babiſus*, one of the late ambassadors that had been in *Carthage*, being left by *Scipio* to take charge of the camp, laid hands upon them, and detained them; sending word unto his general, who was gone abroad to make war in the country, that he had them in his power, and that now the *Carthaginians* might be repaid in their own coin, for the injury by them lately done. *Scipio* was very glad to hear of this; and commanded *Babiſus* to use them with all possible courtesy, and send them safe home. By this doing he brake the hearts of his enemies; and caused them to acknowledge themselves (which was a great victory) far less honourable than the *Romans*. This notwithstanding, he made more cruel war upon them than before: ta-

king their towns by force; and putting them to sack, without hearkning to any composition. It was the manner of the *Romans*, as often as they took a town by assault, to put all that came in their way to the sword, whatsoever they were, without regard. This they did, to make themselves terrible: and the better to work such impression in the minds of those, with whom they had to do, they used oftentimes to kill the very dogs and other beasts, that ran athwart them in the streets; hewing their bodies asunder, as men delighted in shedding of blood. This being their practice at other times: it is likely, that now they omitted no piece of cruelty; when they meant to give proof of their vehement indignation, and revengeful minds, for the injuries received. Hence it partly grew, that the *Carthaginians* were so earnest in pressing *Hannibal* to fight.

Hannibal being encamped at *Zama*, sent forth his scouts and spies to discover where the *Romans* lay; what they were doing; and as much as might be of their demeanour. Some of these were taken, and brought unto *Scipio*: who, instead of trussing them up, gave them free leave to view his camp at pleasure; appointing one to conduct them up and down, and shew them whatsoever they desired. This done, he gave them liberty to depart; and sent them away safe unto their general. *Hannibal* understanding this, admired the bravery and courage of his enemy: with whom on the sudden he grew desirous to have an interview, and personal conference; and signified so much unto him, by a messenger sent of purpose. Of this motion the *Roman* liked well: and returned answer, that he would meet him shortly in place convenient. The next day *Masaniſſa* came with his army: whom *Scipio* taking with him removed unto a town called *Nadagara*; near unto which he sat down, in a place otherwise commodious, and close by a water that might opportunely serve his camp. Thence he sent word unto the *Carthaginian*, that the time and place did fitly serve, if he had ought to say to him. *Hannibal* thereupon removed from *Zama*, and came within four miles of the enemy: where he encamped well to his own good liking in all things else; excepting that his men were driven to take much pains, in fetching their water somewhat far off. Then was order taken for their meeting: and the two generals, each of them with a troop of horse, rode forth of their camps, till they came unto a piece of ground, which was before well searched, for fear of ambush. There they will their followers to stand off: and themselves, with each of them one interpreter, encountered each other in the mid-way between their companies. They remained a while silent, viewing one the other with mutual admiration. Then began the *Carthaginian*, saluting the *Roman*, to deliver his mind to this effect: That it had been better both for *Carthage* and *Rome*, if they could have limited and contained their ambition within the shores of *Afric* and of *Italy*; for that the countries of *Sicily* and of *Spain*, about which their fathers and themselves had striven, were no sufficient recompence for so many fleets as had been lost, and for so much blood as had been shed, in making those costly purchases. But since things pass'd could not be recalled: He said, that it was meet for them to consider, unto what extreme dangers their own cities had been exposed, by the greedy desire of extending their empires abroad; and that it was even time for them now at length, to make an end of their

obstinate contention, and pray the gods to endow them with greater wisdom hereafter. And to such peaceable disposition, he affirmed that his own years, and long trial of fortune both good and evil, had made him inclinable. But much he feared, that *Scipio*, by want of the like experience might rather fix his mind upon uncertain hopes, than upon the contemplation of that mutability, whereunto all human affairs are subject. Yet (said he) *mine own example may peradventure suffice to teach thee moderation.* For I am that same *Hannibal*, who after my victory at *Cannæ* won the greatest part of Italy: and devised with my self, what I should do with your city of Rome; which I hoped verily to have taken. Once I brought mine army to your walls, as thou hast since brought thine to ours of Carthage: but now, see the change! I stand here entreating thee to grant us peace. This may serve as a document of fortune's instability. I have fought with thy father *Scipio*: he was the first of the Roman generals, that ever met me in the field. I did then little think; that the time would come, that I should have such business, as now at the present, with his son. But this is even one of fortune's pageants, whereof she hath many. And thou mayest have experience of the like in thy self, who knows how soon? Think upon *M. Atilius*. If he would have harkened unto such persuasions, as I now use to thee; he might have returned home to Rome an happy man. And so mayest thou do now, if any reasonable offer will give thee satisfaction. How sayest thou? Canst thou be contented, that all Spain, Sicily, Sardinia, and whatever islands else are situate between Italy and Afric, be abandoned by the Carthaginians for ever; and left unto the Romans to bear dominion therein? Thou shalt have glory enough by effecting thus much, and the Romans may well be glad of such a bargain. As for us: our own quiet shall henceforth give us contentment. And the same contentment of ours, shall make us faithfully observe the peace with you. But if thou thinkest all too little; I must desire thee to ponder well how great an hazard thou must undergo, for the obtaining of a very little more, than that which thou mayest have without contention. It is now in thine own power, to lay hold of good fortune, if it please thee: slay but till to-morrow night, and thou mayest take such fortune, as it shall please the gods. The issue of battle is uncertain, and many times beguileth expectation. Men and steel we shall each of us bring into the field: but of the victory, neither of us hath the assurance. Let us therefore without more ado make peace: And do not tell me, that some false hearted citizens of ours dealt fraudulently of late in the like treaty: It is I *Hannibal* that now desires peace with thee; which I would never do, if I thought it not expedient for my country. And thinking it expedient I will always maintain it: like as I have maintained unto my power, as long as the gods did not envy me, the war by me begun. Hereunto *Scipio* made answer, That it was no ambitious desire of ruling in Sicily and in Spain, which had moved the Romans to enter into this or the former war: but that the defence of the *Mamertines*, and afterwards of the *Saguntines*, their confederates, had caused them to put on those arms; which the gods by the final issue of the wars had approved, and would approve to be most just. As for the mutability of fortune: he said, that he was not thereof ignorant; and that without any note of insolence, or over-weening, he might well refuse the conditions offered. For was it not plain, that all these countries, with which the Carthaginians now so willingly departed were already won from them by

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the Romans? If, said he, these conditions had been propounded whilst as yet ye detained some part of Italy, they might peradventure not have been rejected. But as the case now stands, I see no reason why I should remit unto you any one piece of those my former demands; to which the Carthaginians have yielded already, and thought me to deal graciously in being so moderate. Rather I say, that the injuries which they have done me since, have made them unworthy of obtaining peace upon so friendly terms. But I cannot blame thee, *Hannibal*, though thou wouldst be glad to make thy citizens understand, from how much of their burden they are by thy means eased. Only thou must think, that in like sort it concerns me in honour, not to let them be gainers or savers by the wrongs which they have done of late. Thou knowest well, that, besides those offers which thou here hast made, they were well contented to restore unto us ransom-free all prisoners that they have of ours; to pay us five thousand talents; to deliver up their gallies; and to deliver hostages for assurance of fair dealing. And must they now be discharged of all this, by their breach of truce; their spoiling of our fleet; and their violating our ambassadors? Not so. But if they can be contented, besides all this, to make such amends as I shall require, for these injuries newly done; then will I take advice with my council what answer to give you; otherwise, you may even prepare for war, and blame your own selves, for that I have denied you peace.

Hereupon they brake off; and returned each to his own camp, with no other news than war; bidding their soldiers prepare for a battel, wherein should be decided the quarrel between Rome and Carthage. The next morning at break of day they issued into the field: a notable match, and such as hath very seldom been found; whether we regard the generals; their armies; the two cities that contended, or the great importance of the battel at hand. *Scipio* ordered his men after the Roman manner: placing first the *Haslari*, divided into their maniples, or small batalions, with reasonable distance between them: Not far behind these followed the *Principes*, likewise divided; and so after them the *Triarii*. But herein *Scipio* altered a little the ordinary custom of the Romans: he placed not the maniples of his *Principes* opposite unto the void spaces between the *Haslari*, that to the *Haslari*, as was usual, might fall back between the *Principes*; but he placed them directly one behind another, as it were in file. This he did because of the elephants; whereof *Hannibal* had many. For of those beasts the danger was less, whilst there was open way to let them through. Therefore he took such order, that when they had passed through the spaces between the first battalions, they should not come upon the *Principes* in front. Unto his *Velites*, or those of the light armature, that were to begin the fight, he gave direction, that when they found themselves to be overcharged, either by the enemies, or (which was most to be feared) by the elephants, they should run back through those lanes that were between the maniples, and that those which were swiftest, or otherwise best able, should continue on their flight, until they were got behind all their own army; thereby leaving room enough unto those that were wounded, or cast behind, to save themselves on the void ground, that was betwixt the first and second, or the second and third battalions, without cloying up the way between the maniples which he desired to keep open. His Italian horse he placed in the left wing under *C. Lælius*. In the right wing was *Masanissa* with his *Numidians*. He himself riding up and down, exhorting his men to do valiantly; using

using words not many, but very forcible. He bade them remember what they had atchieved, since their coming into *Afric*. He told them, that if this day were theirs, the war was at an end: and that their victory in this war, should make them lords of all the world; for that afterwards, none would be found able to resist them. On the contrary; if they were beaten, he asked them whither they would fly. They were far from home, yea, and far from their own standing camp: neither was there any place in *Afric*, that would give them shelter; if they fell into the *Carthaginians* hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but death or victory; unless they would live like wretched slaves under most merciless enemies. In such necessity, he said, that they which consider themselves to be, and take resolution answerable thereunto, have never been known to fail of getting victory.

Hannibal on the other side placed his elephants, that were more than fourscore, in front of his battel. Next behind these, he made his vanguard all of mercenaries, *Ligurians*, *Gauls*, *Balæes*, and *Moors*. Then followed his battel; which was of *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, more interested in the quarrel than were those mercenaries, though not so good soldiers; but to help (if it might be) their want of courage, they had with them four thousand *Macedonians*, lately sent from king *Philip*. More than the space of a furlong behind these came his rearward consisting of those brave soldiers which had served him in his *Italian* wars; and were the only men, in whom he reposed any confidence. Opposite to *Lælius*, in his own right wing he bestowed the *Carthaginian* horse. *Tychæus* and the *Numidians* he placed in his left wing against *Masanissa*. He was indeed far too weak for the enemy in horse, both in number and in good-nels. For *Tychæus* and *Mezetullus* had no more than three thousand; and those not so well exercised, as were the four thousand of *Masanissa*. The *Carthaginians* also were no more, nor none other than such as could be levied in the haste of a few days; and the remainder of those that had of late been often vanquished, and accustomed to fly. But it was no time for *Hannibal*, neither had he perhaps authority, to make these his companions alight and serve on foot, setting better men in their saddles. All that he could have done, was to stay a little longer, and expect more help. Had *Vermin* the son of *Syphax* come thither, as he did in few days after, with sixteen thousand and upwards, the most of them horse; the advantage of number might have served well to supply all other defect. Yet since the lords of *Carthage* would brook no delay: *Hannibal* must be fain to comfort himself, with the hope that he reposed in his old *Italian* soldiers; whose virtue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more strongly opposed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their several conditions: promising unto the mercenaries bountiful rewards, threatening the *Carthaginians* with inevitable servitude, if they lost that day; but especially animating his old fellow-soldiers, by the many victories which they had obtained against far greater numbers. He bade them to look upon the enemies; and make an estimate, whether they were any thing like so many, as that large army which they had slaughtered at *Cannæ*. He willed them to remember, that it was one *P. Scipio*, even the father of this man, whom they had first of all compelled to run away. He told them that these legions which they yonder beheld, were, for the most part of

them, the very worst of the *Roman* soldiers; even such, as for their daftardly flight out of sundry battels could no longer be trusted to bear arms in their own country. As for the rest, they were young men, the sons of cowards, and bred up in the continual fear of those weapons, by which their fathers were daily slain or chased. Wherefore he entreated these his old companions, upon whose virtue he meant wholly to repose himself, that they would this day strive to make good their honour; and to purchase the fame of *Men invincible*.

Such exhortations used the two generals before the fight. When they drew near together, the *Numidian* horsemen on both sides began to skirmish. The trumpets, and other instruments of war, sounded to battel: and *Hannibal* commanded his elephants to break upon the *Romans*. Of these elephants (as they were always an uncertain kind of help) those that stood near unto the point of the left wing, turned back for fear, and ran upon their own *Numidian* horse; which they affrighted and disordered. *Masanissa* espying this, gave charge upon the same *Numidians*; and not suffering them to rally themselves, drove them quite out of the field. The rest of those beasts made a great spoil of the *Roman* *Veites*, whom they followed into the spaces between the maniples: but without any harm to the battalions themselves; which gave them open way, according as *Scipio* had well provided. Divers of them receiving many wounds, and growing therewith furious could no longer be governed: but ran back upon the right point of their own battel, and beyond that into the open field. Herewithal they disordered the *Carthaginian* horse which were in that wing: against whom they gave to *Lælius* the same advantage, that *Masanissa* had against the *Numidians*; which he used in like sort. In the mean while the battels of foot advanced, and drew near together with a slow and stately pace, till they were almost within a weapon's cast: at what time they gave a shout and ran one at the other. The mercenaries for a time seemed both in audacity, and in quickness, to have the better of the *Romans*; wounding many, and doing more harm, than they took. But the *Roman* discipline, after a while, prevailed against the boisterous violence of these untrained *Barbarians*. Whereunto it helped not a little, that the battel of the *Principes*, following somewhat near after the *Hastati*, encouraged their fellows; and showed themselves ready, if need were, to relieve them. Contrariwise, the mercenaries received no manner of help or comfort, from those that should have seconded them. For the new levied *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, when they saw their hired soldiers give back, did also themselves retire. This caused the *Ligurians*, *Gauls*, and the rest, to think themselves betrayed: whereupon they inclined unto flight. The *Carthaginian* battel was herewith more terrified than before, so as it refused to give way unto the mercenaries for their safe retreat: and yet withal forbore to make head against the enemies, that pursued them. It was no time to ask them what they meant by this; fear and indignation caused those that were at once chased by the *Romans*, and betrayed, as they thought, by their own allies, to turn their arms with an hostile fury against both the one and the other. There were many of the *Carthaginians* beaten down and slain, though their own indifferency, by their own mercenaries. The *Roman* *Hastati* in like sort, fighting with desperate men in a throng, had their backs to fall to work, that the *Principes* were fain to come up unto them, and help to overbear this great number of

of enemies, that were together by the ears among themselves. In this place was made a great slaughter, both of the mercenaries and of the *Carthaginians*; which hindering one another, could neither fight, nor easily fly. Such of them as escaped, ran towards *Hannibal*, who kept his ground, and would not stir one foot to help or save these run-aways. He caused his men to bend their pikes at those of his own side, that would have rushed upon him, whom he thereby compelled to turn aside beyond his battel, and save themselves in the open field. The ground, over which the *Romans* were now to march, ere they could meet with *Hannibal*, was covered with such thick heaps of dead bodies and weapons, and so slippery with blood; that *Scipio* began to stand in great doubt lest the order of his battalions should be dissolved in passing that way. In such case, if he should fight with that warlike army which he saw before him, remaining yet entire, and without fear expecting him, he might be well assured to receive a notable overthrow. He caused therefore the *Haslari* to make a stand there where they were, opposite unto the main battel of the *Humbrians*. Then drawing up his *Principes* and *Triarii*, he placed them, when they had overcome the bad way, all in one front with the *Haslari*, and made of them his two cornets. This done, he advanced towards *Hannibal*, who entertained him after another manner than ever he had been received in his life before. All the day's work, till now, seemed to have been only a matter of pastime, in regard of the sharp conflict that was maintained between these notable soldiers. The *Romans* were encouraged, by their having prevailed all the day before: they were also far the more in number. But these old soldiers of *Hannibal* were fresh, and (perhaps) the better men. They fought with such obstinate resolution, that no man gave back one foot, but rather chose to die upon the ground whereon he stood. So that after a long time, it was uncertain which part had the worse, unless it may seem that the *Romans* were beginning to shrink; forasmuch as the return of a *Masaniissa* and *Laelius*, from pursuit of the enemy's horse, is said to have been *most happy*, and in a *needful time*. These upon the sudden charged the *Hannibalsians* in rear, and over-bearing them by mere violence, compelled them to fall to rout.

In this battel there died of the *Romans* fifteen hundred and upwards; on the *Carthaginian* side above twenty thousand, besides as many that were taken; of whom *Sopater*, captain of the *Macedonians*, was one. The singular skill that *Hannibal* showed in this his last fight, is highly commended by *Polybius*; and was acknowledged, as *Livy* reports, by *Scipio* himself. But the enemies were too strong for him in horse; and being enjoined, as he was, by the state of *Carthage*, to take battel with such disadvantage, he could work no marvels. He saved himself, with a few horse, and flaid not in his journey, till he came to *Abnumtum*. Thence was he sent for to *Carthage*, from which he had been about thirty-six years. At his coming into the senate, he said plainly, that there was none other way left, than to take such peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the *Carthaginians*, not knowing what other count to take, resolv'd to send ambassadors again, and try the favour of *Scipio*, whose arms they could not now resist.

Scipio having spoiled the enemy's camp, returned back to *Utica*, where he found *P. Lentulus* newly arrived, with fifty galleys, and an hundred ships of burden. With this fleet, and that which he had

before, he thought it best to make towards *Carthage*; rather of purpose to terrify the city, than with any hope to take it. His legions he committed unto *Cn. Octavius*, whom he willed to meet him thereby land. Then sending *Laelius* away to *Rome*, with news of the victory, he set sail from *Utica* towards *Carthage*. He was encountered on the way by ten ambassadors from the city, who bearing up with the admiral galley, began to use the piteous gesture of suppliants. But they received none other answer, than that they should meet him at *Tunis*, where he would give them audience. So rowing along before the city, and viewing it more in bravery, than with meaning to attempt it; he returned back to *Utica*, and called back *Octavius* thither, with whom, in person, he set forwards to *Tunis*. As they were in their journey thither, they heard the news that *Vermina*, the son of *Syphax*, was coming with an army of more horse than foot, to the succour of those that were already vanquished. This *Vermina* seems to have been both careless of getting intelligence how things passed, and very defective in all other duties requisite in the commander of an army. Part of the *Roman* foot, with all their power of horse, was sent against him; which did not only beat him, but so compass him in, that he hardly escaped himself with a few; leaving fifteen thousand of his followers dead behind him, and twelve hundred taken prisoners. If this good company had been with *Hannibal* at *Nadgarum*, they should have been far better conducted, and might well have changed the fortune of the day, which the *Carthaginian* lost by default of horse. But God had otherwise determined. It is not to be doubted that this victory, though it were no great access unto the former, yet served well to daunt the *Carthaginians*, and imprint in them the greater fear of *Scipio*. When he came to *Tunis*, there met him thirty ambassadors from *Carthage*, whose behaviour, though it was more piteous than it had been before, yet procured it less commiseration, by reason of their late false dealing, after they had in like sort humbled themselves. Nevertheless it was considered, what a long and laborious work it would prove, to besiege the mighty city of *Carthage*. And particularly *Scipio* stood in great doubt lest the honour of this war, if it were protracted, should be taken out of his hands, and given to one of the consuls. *Cn. Servilius Sulpio*, that consul who had charge of the war against *Hannibal*, at such time as he departed out of *Italy*, was hold to pass over into the isle of *Sicily* (as it were in chase of *Hannibal*, by him terrified and driven away) with a purpose thence to have proceeded into *Africa*, and taken from *Scipio* the command of the army there. But a dictator was chosen of purpose to restrain the ambition of this consul *Servilius*. After him followed *Tiberius Claudius*, who made suit for the same province of *Africa*, and was therein so earnest, that though neither the senate nor people would grant him his desire; yet he needs would be going, procuring only leave of the senate, that he, being consul, might join with *Scipio*, were it with no more than equal authority. But ere he could have his fleet, and all things in a readiness for the journey, when no time was to further him, winter came on, and he was only told at sea with foul weather; fell upon the coast of *Meturia*, and afterwards, by *Sardinia*, where his consulship expired; and so he returned home a private man. Then came the joyful news to *Rome* of the victory obtained against *Hannibal*, and that the war was now even at an end. Yet was *Lentulus*,

the new consul, so passionate in desiring *Afric* for his province, that he said he would suffer nothing to pass in the senate, until he had first his will. Much ado there was about this, and after many contentions, both in the senate and before the people, at last it was ordered, that if peace were granted, it should be granted by *Scipio*; if the war continued, *Scipio* should have command therein by land, and the consul at sea. The ambition of these men, caused *Scipio* to give the more favourable answer unto the *Carthaginian* ambassadors. He willed them to consider what they had deserved, and in regard thereof, to think themselves well dealt withal, in that he was contented to leave unto them their liberty, and their own laws, without appointing any governor over them, or garrison to hold them in subjection; leaving also unto them their possessions in *Afric*, such as they were at the beginning of this war. As touching the rest, he was at a point, that, before he either granted them peace or truce, they should make satisfaction for wrongs which they had done whilst the late treaty was in dependance. Hereunto, if they would yield, then required he, *That immediately they should deliver up unto the Romans all prisoners, fugitives, and renegadoes, that they had of theirs; likewise all their galleys, excepting ten, and all their elephants: That they should make no war at all thenceforth out of Afric, neither yet within Afric, without licence of the Romans: that the countries, towns, goods whatsoever, belonging anywise unto Masanissa, or to any of his ancestors, which were in their possession, should be all by them restored unto him: that they should find corn for the Roman army, and wages for their auxiliaries, during the time of truce, until the peace were fully concluded: that they should pay ten thousand talents of silver, in the term of fifty years, by two hundred talents a year: and that for observance of conditions, they should give an hundred hostages, such as Scipio would chuse, being none of them under fourteen years of age, nor above thirty.*

With these conditions the ambassadors returned home, and reported them unto the city. They were very displeasing, and therefore one *Gisco* stood up to speak against them, and exhorted the people, who gave good attention, that they should not condescend unto such intolerable demands. But *Hannibal*, perceiving this, and noting withal what favourable audience was given to this vain orator by the unquiet, yet unwarlike multitude, was bold to pull him down from his standing by plain force. Hereat all the people murmured, as if their common liberty were too much wronged by such insolence of this presumptuous captain. Which *Hannibal* perceiving, rose up, and spake unto them, saying, that they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwise than the customs of the city would allow; forasmuch as he had been thence absent ever since he was a boy of nine years old, until he was now a man of forty-five. Having thus excused himself of the disorder, he discoursed unto them concerning the peace, and persuaded them to accept it, as wanting ability to defend themselves, had the demands of the enemy been yet more rigorous. Finally, upon good advice, they resolved to yield unto the conditions propounded by *Scipio*, to whom they payed out of hand twenty-five thousand weight of silver, in recompence of dangers and injuries by them done to his fleet and ambassadors. *Scipio* granted them truce for three months, in which time they might negotiate with the state of *Rome* about confirmation of the league. But herewithal he gave injunction, that they should neither in the mean while send ambassadors any-where else, nor yet dismiss any ambassa-

dors to them sent, without first making him acquainted what they were, and what their errand was.

At this time *Hanno*, and they of his faction, were become wise and honourable men, by the miseries whereinto *Carthage* was fallen, through their malicious counsels. *Asdrubal*, surnamed *the Kid*, a venerable man, and a great friend of *Hanno*, was chief of the embassies which they sent to *Rome* for obtaining peace. They went thither in company of *Scipio's* ambassadors, who related unto the senate and people these joyful news. About the same time arrived at *Rome* ambassadors from *Philip* king of *Macedon*, who, together with the *Carthaginians*, were fain to wait a-while for audience, till the election of new consuls, then in hand, was finished, and order taken for the provinces of them, and the new pretors. Then were the *Macedonian* ambassadors called into the senate, who first answering unto some points, wherein the *Romans* had lately signified unto their king, that they found themselves grieved, returned the blame upon those *Greeks* themselves that had made their complaint at *Rome*. Then accused they *M. Aurelius*, who being one of the three ambassadors that had lately been sent from *Rome* unto king *Philip*, tarried in *Greece* behind his fellows; and there levying men, made war upon the king, without any regard at all of the league that was between him and the *Romans*. Further, they desired of the senate, that one *Sopater*, a *Macedonian* gentleman, with other of their countrymen, that had lately served *Hannibal* for pay; and being taken prisoners in *Afric*, were kept in bonds by *Scipio*, might be released, and delivered unto them. Unto all this *M. Furius*, whom *Aurelius* had sent to *Rome* for that purpose, made a sharp answer. He said, that the *Greeks*, which were confederate with *Rome*, endured so many injuries at the hands of *Philip*, that *M. Aurelius* was fain to stay behind, to help them as he might; which else were like to be brought under the king's subjection. As for *Sopater*, he affirmed him to be one of the king's council, and very inward with him; one that served not for money, but carried money with him, and four thousand men, sent from the king to the aid of *Hannibal*. About these points, when the *Macedonian* ambassadors could make unto the senate no good answer, they were willed to return, and tell their master, that war he sought, and war he should find, if he proceeded as he had begun. For in two main points, he had broken the league that was between him and the *Romans*: first, in that he had wronged their confederates; and secondly, in that he had aided their enemies against them with men and money.

These quarrels with *Philip*, that promised to open a way into *Greece*, and the eastern countries, helped well the *Carthaginian* ambassadors in their solicitation of peace. They appeared a very reverend company when they entered into the senate; and *Asdrubal*, above the rest, was much respected, as one, whose good offices had kept the *Romans* from necessity of sending ambassadors to *Carthage* upon the like errand. He liberally granted, that the justice of the quarrel had been wholly on the *Roman* side, saying, that it was the fault of some violent men, through which the peace was broken. Yet could he not altogether excuse the city, that had been too vehement in the prosecution of bad counsel. But if *Hanno* and himself might have had their wills, the *Carthaginians*, even at the best of their fortune, should have granted the peace which they now desired. Herewithal he commended the moderation of the *Romans*, as no further
argument

argument of their valour, by which always they had been victorious. To the same effect spake the rest of the ambassadors, all of them entreating to have the peace ratified; though some with more lamentable words than others, according to the diversity of their style. They had patience enough to endure such reproof of perjury, as they themselves might have laid upon the *Romans*, if their diligence and fortune had been such as the *Romans* was. Among the rest, when one of the senators demanded by what gods they would swear to keep the peace hereafter; *Asdrubal* made answer, *Even by the same gods that are so severe unto those that violate their leagues.*

Lentulus the consul, interposing the authority of his office, would have hindered the senate from proceeding unto conclusion of peace; for that hereby he was like to lose the honour which he purposed to get by making war in *Afric*. But the matter was propounded unto the people, in whom rested the sovereign command of *Rome*, and by them referred wholly unto the pleasure of the senate. So it was decreed that *Scipio*, with ten delegates sent unto him from *Rome* of purpose, should make a league with the *Carthaginians*, upon such conditions as seemed best, which were none other than the same which he had already propounded. For this favour, the *Carthaginian* ambassadors humbly thanked the senate, and craved licence that they might visit their countrymen which were prisoners in *Rome*; afterwards, that they might ransom, and carry home with them some that were their especial friends, of whom they gave in writing almost two hundred names. Whereupon the senate ordained that two hundred of those prisoners, which the ambassadors would chuse, should be sent over into *Afric*, and be freely restored to liberty by *Scipio* when the peace was fully concluded. So they took leave, and returned home, in company of the ten delegates that were appointed by the senate to join with *Scipio* in commission.

At their coming into *Afric*, the peace was given, and accepted, without any controversy or disputation. The prisoners, fugitives, and renegadoes, were delivered up to *Scipio*; likewise the galleys and the elephants. *Scipio* took more vengeance upon the renegadoes than upon the fugitives; and upon those of the *Romans* than upon the *Latins*, or other *Italians*. The *Latins* he beheaded, the *Romans* he crucified. About the first payment of their money, the *Carthaginians* were somewhat troubled: for though perhaps their common treasury could have spared two hundred talents for the present, yet since the pension was annual, and to continue fifty years, it was thought meet to lay the burden upon the citizens. At the collection of the sum there was piteous lamentation, as if now the *Roman* yoke had begun to pinch them; so as many, even of the senators, could not forbear weeping. Contrariwise, *Hannibal* could not refrain from laughter: for which, when he was check'd by *Asdrubal* *Hedus*, and told, that it worst of all befecmed him to laugh, since he had been the cause why all others did weep; he answered, *That laughter did not always proceed from joy; but sometimes from extremity of indignation. Yet, said he, my laughter is more seasonable, and less absurd, than your tears. For ye should have wept when ye*

gave up your ships and elephants, and when ye bound your own hands from the use of arms, without the good leave of the Romans first obtained. This miserable condition keeps us under, and holds us in assured servitude: but of these matters ye had no feeling. Now, when a little money is wrung out of your private purses, ye have thereof some sense. God grant that the time come not hereafter, wherein ye shall acknowledge, that it was the very least part of your misery for which ye have shed these tears. Then discoursed *Hannibal* to those, who, tasting the bitter fruits of their own malicious counsel, repented when it was too late; and, instead of cursing their own disorders, which had bred this grievous disease, accused that physician, whose noble endeavours had been employed in procuring the remedy.

Scipio, being to take leave of *Afric*, produced *Masaniissa*, and magnified him in presence of the army with high commendations, not undeservedly. To him also he consigned over those towns of king *Syphax*, which the *Romans* at that present held; wherein, to say truth, he gave him but his due, and that which otherwise he knew not well how to bestow. But the love of the *Romans* and friendship of *Scipio*, was fully answerable now, and hereafter, to all the deservings of this *Numidian* king. About *Carthage* there rested no more to be done. Wherefore the *Romans* embarked themselves for *Sicily*, where, when they arrived at *Lilybæum*, *Scipio*, with some part of his army, took his way home to *Rome* by land, and sent the rest before him thither by sea. His journey through *Italy* was no less glorious than any triumph, all the people thronging out of the towns and villages to do him honour as he passed along. He entered the city in triumph: neither was there ever before or after any triumph celebrated with so great joy of the people, as was this of *Scipio*; though, in bravery of the pomp, there were others in time shortly following that exceeded this. Whether *Syphax* were carried through the city in this triumph, and died soon after in prison; or whether he were dead a-while before, it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be avowed, that it was a barbarous custom of the *Romans* to insult over the calamities of mighty princes, by leading them contumeliously in triumph, yea, though they were such as had always made fair and courteous war. But hereof we shall have better example, ere the same age pass. It was neither the person of *Syphax*, nor any other glory of the spectacle, that so much beautified the triumph of *Scipio*, as did the contemplation of that grievous war pass'd, whereof the *Romans* had been in a manner *without hope that ever they should set Italy free*^a. This made them look cheerfully upon the author of so great a conversion, and filled them with more joy than they well could moderate. Wherefore they gave to *Scipio* the title of the *African*, styling him by the name of that province, which he had subdued. This honourable kind of surname, taken from a conquered province, grew afterwards more common, and was usurped by men of less desert, especially by many of the *Cæsars*, who sometimes arrogated unto themselves the title of countries, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if such glorious attributes could have made them like in virtue unto *Scipio the African*.

^a Excerpt. à Polyb. l. 16.

C H A P. IV.

Of Philip the father of Perseus, king of Macedon; his first acts, and war with the Romans, by whom he was subdued.

S E C T. I.

How the Romans grew acquainted in the East countries, and desirous of war there. The beginning of many princes, with great wars, at one time. The Etolians overrun Peloponnesus. Philip, and his Associates, make war against the Etolians. Alteration of the state in Sparta. The Etolians invade Greece and Macedon, and are invaded at home by Philip.

OF the great similitude found in worldly events, the limitation of ^a *matter* hath been assigned as a probable cause. For since nature is confined unto a subject that is not unbounded; the works of nature must needs be finite, and many of them resemble one the other. Now in those actions, that seem to have their whole dependence upon the will of man, we are less to wonder, if we find less variety: since it is no great portion of things which is obnoxious unto human power; and since they are the same affections, by which the wills of sundry men are over-ruled, in managing the affairs of our daily life. It may be observed in the change of empires, before those times whereof we now write, how the *Affyrians* or *Chaldeans* invaded the kingdom of the *Medes*, with two hundred thousand foot, and threescore thousand horse: but failing in their intended conquest, they became subject within a while themselves unto the *Medes* and *Persians*. In like manner *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, fell upon the *Greeks*, with such numbers of men, as might have seemed irresistible. But after that the *Persians* were beaten home, their empire was never secure of the *Greeks*: who at all times of leisure from intestine war devised upon that conquest thereof, which finally they made under the great *Alexander*. If *Nabuchodonosor*, with his rough old soldiers, had undertaken the *Medes*: or *Cyrus*, with his well-trained army, had made the attempt upon *Greece*; the issue might, in human reason, have been far different. Yet would it then have been expedient for them, to employ the travel and virtue of their men, rather than the greatness of their names, against those people; that were no less valiant, though less renowned, than their own. For the menacing words used by *Cyrus*, and some small displeasures done to the *Greeks* (in which kind it may be, that *Nabuchodonosor* likewise offended the *Medes* and *Persians*) were not so available to victory, as to draw on revenge in the future. Great kingdoms, when they decay in strength, suffer, as did the old lion, for the oppression done in his youth; being pinched by the wolf, gored by the bull; yea, and kick'd by the ass. But princes are often carried away from reason, by misunderstanding the language of fame: and despising the virtue, that makes little noise, adventure to provoke it against themselves; as if it were not possible that their own glory should be sold by any

of less noted excellence. Against the same stone, whereat *Xerxes*, and before him (as I take it) *Evilmerodach*, had stumbled; *Pyrrhus*, the *Epirot*, had dash'd his foot. He was not indeed the king of all *Greece*; though most of mark, and a better soldier than any other *Greekish* king, when he entered into war against the *Romans*. This war he undertook, as it were, for his mind's sake: having received no injury; but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the *Greeks* that served under him, to prevail so easily against the barbarous *Romans*, that they should only serve as a step to his further intended conquests, of *Sicily* and *Afric*. But when the *Romans*, by their victory against *Pyrrhus*, had found their own virtue to be of richer metal, than was the more shining valour of the *Greeks*: then did all the bravery of the *Epirot* (his elephants, and whatsoever else had served to make him terrible) serve only to make the *Romans*, in time following, to think more highly of themselves.^b For since they had overcome the best warrior in *Greece*; even him, that, being thus beaten by them, could in a year after make himself lord of *Greece* and *Macedon*: what should hinder them from the conquest of all those unwarlike provinces, which in compass of twelve years a *Macedonian* king of late memory had won? Certainly there was hereunto requisite no more, than to bring to their own devotion, by some good means, the whole country of *Greece*: all the rest, this done, would follow of it self. How to deal with the *Greeks*, *Philip* and *Alexander* had shewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learn, by getting more acquaintance with the nation.

When therefore the first *Punic* war was ended, which followed soon after the wars of *Pyrrhus*, and of the *Tarentines*: then were the *Romans* at good leisure to hearken after news in *Greece*; and to entertain any good occasion, that should be on that side presented. They had also then a strong fleet: and were become, though not otherwise very skilful mariners, yet good lighters at sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wished, that the *Illyrian* queen *Tenta* made at the same time cruel war upon the *Greeks*: wasting their country, and sacking their towns, only because they were unable to resist, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrel, if the *Romans* were desirous to enter, the queen was not slow to give them a cause. And their happy accomplishing of that war which they made with *her*, was, in their own opinion, a matter not unworthy to make their patronage to be desired by the *Greeks*. But no such thing happened: though they sent ambassadors, as it were, to offer themselves; by signifying, that for the love of *Greece* they had undertaken this *Illyrian* war. Thus began the first acquaintance betwixt the *Greeks* and *Romans*: which afterwards increased very hastily, through the indiscretion of king *Philip* the *Macedonian*; whose business with

^a Plut. in vita Scipionis.

^b The king of Spain's pretended invincible navy, being beaten out of the British seas, invited us to touch at Spain: and having lost the greatest fleet that ever the Spaniards gathered together, we never made account of any of his preparations after that time.

^c Lib. 5. ch. 2. §. 7.

them being now the subject of our story, it is meet that we should relate (though somewhat briefly) the beginning of his reign, and his first actions.

It was like to prove a busy time in the world, when, within the space of four years, new kings began to reign in most of all the countries known; and three of them young boys, in three of the greatest kingdoms. This happened from the third year of the hundred thirty ninth *Olympiad*, unto the third of the *Olympiad* following. For in this time died *Seleucus Ceraunus* king of *Asia* and *Syria*, in whose room succeeded his brother *Antiochus*, afterwards call *the Great*. *Ptolemy Philopator* succeeded in the kingdom of *Egypt* unto his father *Euergetes*. And *Philip*, the son of *Demetrius*, being sixteen or seventeen years old, received the kingdom of *Macedon*, together with the patronage of the *Acheans* and most of the *Greeks*; by the decease of his uncle *Antigonus Dofon*, that was called the *Tutor* or *Protector*. About the same time also was the like change in *Cappadocia*, *Lacedemon*, and the countries about mount *Taurus*. For *Ariarathes* then began his reign in *Cappadocia*. *Lycurgus* found means to make himself king over the *Lacedemonians*, whose common-weal, since the flight of *Cleomenes*, had continued in a manner headless; and *Achæus*, a kinsman of *Antiochus*, but a rebel unto him, occupied the regions near unto mount *Taurus*, and kept a while the state of a mighty king. Lastly, in the second and third years of the hundred and fortieth *Olympiad* it was, that open war brake out between *Rome* and *Carthage*; and that *Hannibal* began his great invasion upon *Italy*. Those troubles of the western world, which were indeed the greatest, we have already followed unto an end: of *Antiochus*, *Ptolemy*, and the rest, we shall speak hereafter, when the *Romans* find them out.

Philip, soon after the beginning of his reign, came into *Peloponnesus*; greatly desired of the *Acheans*, and many others his dependants. That country, having freed it self by the help of *Antigonus* from the danger (accounted great) of an easy subjection unto *Cleomenes*; was now become no less obnoxious to the *Macedonian*, than it should have been to the *Spartan*; and therewithal it lay open unto the violence of the *Etolians*, who despised even the *Macedonian* kings, that were patrons thereof. The *Etolians* were no men to be idle; nor were much addicted to any other art, than war. Therefore wanting employment, they fell upon the *Messenians* that were their own clients, and (excepting the *Eleans*, that were anciently of their consanguinity) the only good friends which they had at the present in *Peloponnesus*. Their invasion was no less unexpected, than it was unjust: whereby with greater ease they made spoil of the country; finding none prepared to make resistance. The *Acheans* were called by the *Messenians* to help: which they did the more willingly; because the *Etolians*, passing without leave through their territory, had (as was their manner) done what harm they listed. Old *Aratus* could ill abide these *Etolians*; as both knowing well their nature, and remembering the injuries, wherewith most ungratefully they had requited no small benefits done to them by the *Acheans*. He was therefore so hasty to fall upon this their army, that he could hardly endure to stay a few days until the time of his own office came; being chosen pretor of the *Acheans* for the year following. * But his anger was greater than his courage: and he shewed himself a man

fitter (as hath been already noted of him) for any other service, than leading of an army. He suffered them to pass quietly along with their booty, through a part of the country, wherein he might easily have distressed them; and afterwards pressed them so near, when they had recovered ground of advantage, that they easily defeated all his army. So they departed home rich, and well animated to return again. As for the *Acheans*; they got hereby only the friendship of the *Messenians*: with whom, by licence of king *Philip*, they made confederacy. Shortly after, the *Etolians* invaded *Peloponnesus* again; having no more to do, than to pass over the narrow streights of the *Corinthian* bay, called now the gulph of *Lepanto*, where they might land in the country of the *Illeans*. There joined with them in this their second invasion a great number of the *Illyrians*: who neglecting that condition imposed upon them by the *Romans*, of setting out no ships of war unto the coast of *Greece*; made bold to seek adventures again, and did great mischief. ^b *Demetrius Pharius*, a creature of the *Romans*, commanded a part of these *Illyrians*: who shortly repented him of this his voyage; which caused him to lose his kingdom, as is shewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, and fell upon the islands of the *Cyclades* in the *Egean* sea: whence returning, he did some good offices for king *Philip* or his friends. The rest of the *Illyrians* under *Scerdilidas*, or *Scerdiletus*, having gotten what they could elsewhere by roving at sea, accompanied the *Etolians* into *Peloponnesus*: who made greater havoc in the country now, than in their former expedition; and returned home without finding any resistance.

Of these things great complaint was made unto *Philip*, when he came to *Corinth*. And because men were desirous to satisfy themselves with some speedy revenge: there were that urged to have some grievous punishment laid upon the *Lacedemonians* who were thought under-hand to have favoured the *Etolians*, in meer despight of the *Acheans* and *Macedonians*, by whom themselves had lately been subdued. It is true, that the *Lacedemonians* had been so afflicted: and (which was worse) at the arrival of *Philip*, they flew such friends of his, as having checked their inclination, seemed likely to impeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durst they well commit themselves to judgment: but entreated the king, that he would abstain from coming to them with an army: since their town was lately much disquieted with civil discord, which they hoped soon to appease, and meant always to remain at his devotion. *Philip* was easily satisfied with this: not for that he (or rather old *Aratus*, who then wholly governed him) did misunderstand the *Lacedemonians*: but for that a greater work was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at *Corinth*, in presence of the king, the ambassadors of the *Acheans*, *Boeotians*, *Epirots*, and *Acarnanians*: all complaining upon the *Etolians*; and desiring to have war decreed against them, by common assent. *Philip* sent his letters unto the *Etolians*: requiring them to make ready their answer in some convenient time; if they could alledge any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a diet should be holden at *Rhium* for that purpose: whither if it pleased him to come or send, he should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The king prepared to have been there at the day. But when the *Etolians* under-

* Lib. 5. ch. 2 §. 6. ibid.

^b Chap. 3. §. 1.

stood this for certainty, they adjourned the council unto a further time: saying, That such weighty matters ought not to be handled, save in the great parliament of all *Ætolia*. This trick of law notwithstanding, open war was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were, to shew how well they had deserved it, made election of *Scopas* to be their pretor, that was author of these invasions made on *Peloponnesus*; and the only man, in a sort, upon whom they must have lay'd the blame of these actions, if they would have shifted it from the publick.

After this, *Philip* went into *Macedon*; where he prepared busily for the war against the year following. He also assayed the *Illyrian*, *Scerdilaidas*, with fair words and promises: whom he easily won from the *Ætolian* side, forasmuch as the *Ætolians* had couzened him of his share, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like sort the *Acbeans*, who had first of all others proclaimed the war in their own country, sent unto the *Acaruanians*, *Epirots*, *Messenians*, and *Lacedemonians*: requesting them forthwith to declare themselves, and to denounce war unto the *Ætolians*; without staying (as it were) to await the event. Hereunto they received divers answers, according to the qualities of those with whom they dealt. The *Acaruanians*, a free-hearted and valiant, though a small nation, and bordering upon the *Ætolians*, of whom they stood in continual danger; said, That they could not honestly refuse to shew their faithful meaning in that war, which was concluded by general assent. The *Epirots*, that were more mighty, were nevertheless more cunning and reserved: so that they stood upon a needful point; and desired to be held excused, until *Philip* (of whose meaning they needed not to have made any doubt) should first proclaim the war. The *Messenians*, for whose cause the war was undertaken, excused themselves, by reason of a town which the *Ætolians* held upon their borders; and said, that they durst not be over-bold, until that bridle were taken out of their mouths. As for the *Lacedemonians*; the chief of them studied only how to manage the treason, for which their city had been so lately pardoned: and therefore dismissed the ambassadors of the confederates without any answer at all. They had three years together continued subject against their wills to the *Macedonians*, expecting still when *Cleomenes* should return out of *Egypt* to reign over them again; and maintain, as he was wont, the honour of their city. In this regard they chose not any kings; but were contented with the rule of *Ephori*. Of these there were some, that thought the publick safety to consist, in holding their faith with the *Macedonian* that had preserved them: And hereto they referred all their councils; being perhaps a little moved with respect of the benefit, which might redound unto themselves, by adhering firmly to those which at the present bore rule over them. Others, and those the greater part, were still devising, how to make all ready for *Cleomenes* against his return; and therefore sought to join with the *Ætolians*, which were the most likely to give him strong assistance. The *Macedonian* faction had the more authority, and durst more freely speak their minds: but the contrary side was the more passionate; and spared not by murders, or any other violent courses, to set forward their desire. Neither did it suffice, that about these times there came certain report of *Cleomenes*'s death. For it was the liberty and honour of *Sparta*, which these intended: fancying unto themselves the glory of their ancestors in such ages past, as were not

like to come again. *Cleomenes* was, they knew, the most able man to restore them unto their greatness and lustre; which once he had in a manner performed: But since he was dead, and that, without injury to his well-deserving virtue, they might proceed to the election of new kings: kings they would have, and those of the race of *Hercules*, as in former times; for that without such helps, they must continue little better than subjects unto the *Macedonian*, and far less by him respected, than were the *Acbeans*. Thus were they transported, by contemplation of their own nobility and fame. Some of the most working spirits among them, procured the *Ætolians* to send an embassy to *Sparta*: which propounded the matter openly unto the people; whereof no one of the citizens durst have made himself the author. Much disputation and hot there was, between those of the *Macedonian* party and these their opposites: in such wise, that nothing could be concluded; until by massacre or banishment of all, or the chief, that spake against the *Ætolians*, the diversity of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a league was concluded between the *Lacedemonians* and the *Ætolians*: without all regard of the *Macedonians* or *Acbeans*; who had spared the city, when they might have destroyed it. Then also they went in hand with the election of new kings: wherein their diligence was so nice, and so regardful of their ancient laws, as touching the choosing of the one king; that we may justly wonder, how they grew so careless in making choice of the other. In the one of their royal families they found *Agefipolis* the son of *Agefipolis* the son of king *Cleombrotus*; and him they admitted to reign over them, as heir apparent to his grandfather. This *Agefipolis* was a young boy, standing in need of a guardian, and had an uncle, his father's brother, that was fit for the government. Yet because the law required, that the son, how young soever, should have his father's whole right and title: the *Lacedemonians*, though standing in need of a man, were so punctual in observation of the law; that they made this child their King, and appointed his uncle *Cleomenes* to be his protector. But in the other branch of the royal family, though there was no want of heirs: yet would not the people trouble themselves about any of them, to examine the goodness of his claim; but made election of one *Lycurgus*, who having no manner of title to the kingdom, bestowed upon each of the *Ephori* a talent, and thereby made himself be saluted king of *Sparta*, and a gentleman of the race of *Hercules*. This *Lycurgus*, to gratify his partisans, and to approve his worth by action, invaded the country of the *Argives*: which lay open and unguarded, as in a time of peace. There he did great spoil, and won divers towns; whereof two he retained, and annexed unto the state of *Lacedemon*. After such open hostility, the *Lacedemonians* declared themselves on the *Ætolian* side; and proclaimed war against the *Acbeans*.

Thus the beginnings of the war fell out much otherwise, than the *Acbeans* and their confederates had expected, when they first made preparation. *Philip* was not ready: the *Epirots* gave uncertain answer: the *Messenians* would not stir: all the burden must lie upon themselves and the poor *Acaruanians*, whom the *Ætolians*, by favour of the *Eleans*, could invade at pleasure, as they were like to do; and by help of the *Lacedemonians*, could assail on all parts at once. It was not long ere the *Ætolians*, passing over the bay of *Corinth*, surprised the town of *Ægona*: which if they could

could have held, they should thereby grievously have molested the *Acheans*; for that it stood in the mid-way between *Ægium* and *Sicyon* two of their principal cities, and gave open way into the heart of all their country. But as *Ægira* was taken by surprise: so was it presently lost again, through greediness of spoil; whilst they that should have made it their first care to assure the place unto themselves, by occupying the citadel and other pieces of strength, fell heedlessly to ransack private houses, and thereby gave the citizens leave to make head, by whom they were driven with great slaughter back unto their fleet. About the same time, another *Etolian* army landing among the *Eleans*, fell upon the western coast of *Achaia*; wasting all the territory of the *Dymeans* and other people, that were first beginners of the *Achean* confederacy. The *Dymeans* and their neighbours made head against these invaders; but were so well beaten, that the enemy grew bolder with them than before. They sent for help unto their pretor, and to all the towns of their society. In vain. For the *Acheans*, having lately been much weakened by *Cleomenes*, were now able to do little of themselves: neither could they get any strength of mercenaries; forasmuch as at the end of *Cleomenes*'s war, they had covetously withheld part of their due from those that served them therein. So through this disability of the *Acheans*, and insufficiency of their pretor; the *Dymeans*, with others, were driven to withhold their contribution heretofore made for the publick service; and to convert the money to their own defence. *Lycurgus* also with his *Lacedemonians*, began to win upon the *Arcadians*; that were confederate with *Philip* and the *Acheans*.

Philip came to the borders of the *Etolians*, whilst their army was thus employed afar off in *Peloponnesus*. The *Epirots* joined all their forces with him: and, by such their willing readiness, drew him to the siege of a frontier piece; which they desired to get into their own hands; for that, by commodity thereof, they hoped shortly to make themselves masters of *Ambracia*. There he spent forty days, ere he could end the business; which tended only to the benefit of the *Epirots*. Had he entered into the heart of *Etolia* at his first coming; it was thought that he might have had an end of the war. But it happens oft, that the violence of great armies is broken upon small towns and forts; and not seldom, that the importunity of associates, to have their own desires fulfilled, converts the preparations of great kings to those uses for which they never were intended; thereby hindering the prosecution of their main designs. Thus was our king *Henry* the eighth led aside, and quite out of his way, by *Maximilian* the emperor, to the siege of *Tournay*: at such time as the French King *Lewis* the twelfth, hearing that the strong city of *Terwin* were lost, and that of his cavalry, wherein rested his chief confidence, two thousand were beaten by the earl of *Essex* with seven hundred *English*; was thinking to withdraw himself into *Britain*, in fear that *Henry* would have come to *Paris*.

The stay that *Philip* made at *Ambracus*, did wondrously embolden the *Etolians*: in such sort, as their pretor *Scopas* adventured to lead all their forces out of the country; and therewith not only to over-run *Theffaly*, but to make impression into *Macedon*. He ran as far as to *Dium*, a city of *Macedon* upon the *Ægean* sea: which, being forsaken by the inhabitants at his coming, he took, and razed to the ground. He spared neither temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein,

but overturned all: and among the rest, he threw down the statues that were there erected, of the *Macedonian* kings. For this he was highly honoured by his countrymen at his return; forasmuch as thereby they thought their nation to be grown terrible, not only (as before) unto *Peloponnesus*, but even to *Macedon* it self. But this their pride was soon abated; and they rewarded shortly at home in their own country, for their pains taken at *Dium*. *Philip*, having dispatched his work at *Ambracus*, made a strong invasion upon *Etolia*. He took *Phoetia*, *Metropolis*, *Oeniade*, *Pæanium*, *Eleus*, and divers other towns and castles of theirs: of which he burnt some, and fortified others. He also beat the *Etolians* in sundry skirmishes; and wasted all the country over, without receiving any harm. This done, while he was about to make a cut over the streights into *Peloponnesus*, and to do the like spoil in the country of the *Eleans*, whereto he was vehemently solicited by the *Achean* ambassadors: news came out of *Macedon*, that the *Dardanians* were ready with a great army to fall upon the country. These *Dardanians* were a barbarous people, divided by mount *Hæmus* from the northern part of *Macedon*; and were accustomed to seek booty in that wealthy kingdom, when they found their own times. Having therefore intelligence, that *Philip* was about to make a journey into *Peloponnesus*; they proposed in his absence, which they thought would be long, to get what they could for themselves in his country; as had been their manner upon the like advantages. This made the king to dismiss the *Achean* ambassadors (whom he should have accompanied home with his army) and to bid them have patience until another year. So he took his way home: and, as he was passing out of *Acarnania* into *Epirus*, there came to him *Demetrius Pharius* with no more than one ship, that was newly chased out of his kingdom by the *Romans*. This *Demetrius* had lately shewed himself a friend to *Antigonus Dofon*, in the wars of *Cleomenes*: and returning in his last voyage from the *Cyclades*, was ready, at their first request, to take part with *Philip*'s captains. These, or the like considerations, made him welcome unto the *Macedonian* king: whose counsellor he was ever after. The *Dardanians* hearing of the king's return, brake up their army; and gave over for the present their invasion of *Macedon*, towards which they were already on their way.

All that summer following the king rested at *Larissa* in *Theffaly*, whilst his people gathered in their harvest. But the *Etolians* rested not. They avenged themselves upon the *Epirots*: whom for the harms by them and *Philip* done in *Etolia*, they requited with all extremities of war; among which, the most notable was the ruin of the most famous temple of *Dodona*. When winter grew on, and all thought of war until another year was laid aside: *Philip* stole a journey into *Peloponnesus*, with five thousand foot, and about four hundred horse. As soon as he was within *Corinth*, he commanded the gates to be shut, that no word might be carried forth of his arrival. He sent privily for old *Aratus* to come thither unto him: with whom he took order, when, and in what places, he would have the *Achean* soldiers ready to meet him. The enemies were then abroad in the country, with somewhat more than two thousand foot and an hundred horse; little thinking to meet with such opposition. Indeed they had little cause to fear: since the *Acheans* themselves were not aware that the king was in their land with his *Macedonians*; until they heard, that these two thousand *Eleans*,

Etolians,

Etolians, and their fellows, were by him surpris'd, and all made prisoners, or slain. By this exploit which he did at his first coming, *Philip* got very much reputation: and likewise he purchased both reputation and love, by divers actions immediately following. He won *Psophis*, an exceeding strong town, in the borders of *Arcadia*; which the *Eleans* and *Etolians* then held. He won it by assault at his first coming: wherein it much availed him, that the enemy, not believing that he would undertake such a piece of work at such an unseasonable time of the year, was careless of providing even such store of weapons, as might have served to defend it. The town was preserved by the king from sack; and given to the *Acheans* of his own mere motion, before they requested it. Thence went he to *Lasion*, which yielded for very fear; hearing how easily he had taken *Psophis*. This town also he gave to the *Acheans*. The like liberality he us'd towards others; that had ancient title unto places by him recovered. Then fell he upon the country of *Elis*, where was much wealth to be gotten: for that the people were addicted to husbandry, and lived abroad in villages; even such as were of the wealthier sort among them. So he came to the city of *Olympia*: where having done sacrifice to *Jupiter*, feasted his captains, and refreshed his army three days; he proceeded on the spoil of those that had taken pleasure to share with the *Etolians*, in the spoils of their otherwise deserving neighbours. Great abundance of cattle he took, with great numbers of slaves, and much wealth of all sorts: such as could be found in rich villages. Then fell he in hand with the towns whereinto a great multitude of the country people were fled. Some of these were taken at the first assault. Some yielded for fear. Some prevented the labour of his journey, by sending ambassadors to yield before he came. And some that were held with garrisons against their wills, took courage to set themselves at liberty, by seeing the king so near; to whose patronage thenceforth they betook themselves. And many places were spoiled by the *Etolian* captains; because they distrusted their ability to hold them. So the king won more towns in the country, than the sharpness of winter would suffer him to stay there days. Fain he would have fought with the *Etolians*: but they made such haste from him, that he could not overtake them, until they had covered themselves within the town of *Samicum*; where they thought to have been safe. But *Philip* assaulted them therein so forcibly, that he made them glad to yield the place; obtaining licence to depart, with their lives and arms. Having performed so much in this expedition, the king repos'd himself a while in *Megalopolis*; and then removed to *Argos*, where he spent all the rest of the winter.

Before the king's arrival in *Peloponnesus*, the *Lacedemonians* with *Lycurgus* their new king, had gotten somewhat in *Arcadia*; and threatn'd to do great matters. But when they were admonish'd, by the calamity that fell upon the *Eleans*, of the danger hanging over their own heads; they quit- ted their winnings, and withdrew themselves home. This *Lycurgus*, as he had no other right to the kingdom of *Sparta*, than that which he could buy with money: so was he neither free from danger of conspiracies made against him; nor from those jealousies, with which usurpers are commonly perplexed. There was one *Chilon*, of the royal blood, that thinking himself to have best right unto the kingdom, purpos'd to make way thereunto, by massacre of his opposites: and afterwards to confirm

himself, by propounding unto the multitude such reformation of the state as was most popular: namely, by making an equal distribution of all the lands among the whole number of the citizens, according to the ancient institution of that commonwealth. He won to his party some two hundred men; with whom he fell upon the *Ephori* as they were together at supper, and slew them all. Then went he to *Lycurgus's* house: who perceiving the danger, stole away and fled. It remained that he should give account of these doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their minds being not hereto predispos'd; they so little regarded his goodly offers, as even whilst he was using his best persuasions, they were consulting how to apprehend him. *Chilon* perceived whereabouts they went, and shifted presently away. So he lived afterwards among the *Acheans* a banished man, and hated of his own people. As for *Lycurgus*, he returned home: and suspecting thenceforth all those of *Hercules's* race, found means to drive out his fellow-king young *Age- sipolis*; whereby he made himself lord alone. His doings grew to be suspected, in such sort as once he should have been apprehended by the *Ephori*: But though his actions hitherto might have been defended; yet rather than to adventure himself into judgment, he chose to fly for a time, and so- journ among his friends the *Etolians*. His well known vehemency in opposition to the *Macedoni- ans*, had procured unto him such good liking among the people, that in his absence they began to consider the weakness of their own surmises against him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his estate. But in time following, he took better heed unto himself: not by amending his condition (for he grew a tyrant, and was so acknowledged) but by taking order, that it should not be in the power of the citizens to expel him when they list'd. By what actions he got the name of a tyrant: or at what time it was, that he chased *Age- sipolis* out of the city; I do not certainly find. Like enough it is, that his being the first of three usurpers, which followed in order one after another, made him to be placed in the rank of tyrants; which the last of the three very justly de- served. Whatsoever he was towards some private citizens: in the war against *Philip*, he behaved him- self as a provident man, and careful of his coun- try's good.

S E C T. II.

How Philip was misadvised by ill counsellors: who afterwards wrought treason against him, and were justly punished. He invadeth the Etolians a second time: and forceth them to sue for peace: which is granted unto them.

WHILST the king lay at *Argos*, deviling upon his business for the year following; some ambitious men that were about him studied so diligently for their own greatness, as they were like to have spoiled all that he took in hand. *Antigon- us Doson* had left unto *Philip* such counsellors, as to him did seem the fittest men for governing of his youth. The chief of these was *Apelles*; that had the charge of his person, and also the ordering of his treasures. This man seeming to himself a great politician, thought that he should do a notable piece of service to his prince; if he could reduce the *Acheans* unto the same degree of subjection, wherein the *Macedonians* lived. To bring this to pass; during the late expedition he had caus'd some of the *Macedonians* to thrust the *Acheans* out of their lodgings,

lodgings, and to strip them of the booty that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occasion fell out, he was bold to chastise some of that nation; causing his ministers to take and whip them. If any of them offered (as there were some of them that could not refrain) to help their fellows; them he laid by the heels, and punished as mutineers. Hereby he thought to bring it to pass by little and little, that they should be qualified with an habit of blind obedience, and think nothing unjust that pleased the king. But these *Acheans* were tenderly sensible in matter of liberty, whereof if they could have been contented to suffer any little diminution, they needed not have troubled the *Macedonians* to help them in the war against *Cleomenes*: they bemoaned themselves unto old *Aratus*, and besought him to think upon some good order, that they might not be oppressed by degrees. *Aratus* forthwith dealt earnestly with the king, as in a matter more weighty than at first it might seem. The king bestowed gracious words upon those that had been wronged, and forbade *Apelles* to follow the course begun. Hereat *Apelles* was inwardly vexed, though he dissembled his choler for a time. He thought so well of his own project, that he could not endure to lay it aside; being perhaps unable to do the king any valuable service in business of other nature. He purposed therefore hereafter to begin at the head, since, in biting at the tail, the fish had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise be, than that among the *Acheans* there were some who bore no hearty affection to *Aratus*. These he enquired out, and, sending for them, entertained them with words of court; promising to become their especial friend, and commend them unto the king. Then brake he his purpose with the king himself, letting him know, that as long as he continued to make much of *Aratus*, he must be fair to deal precisely with the *Acheans*, and, as it were, by indenture, according to the letter of the contract; whereas if he would be pleased to give countenance unto those others whom he himself commended, then should the *Acheans*, and all other *Peloponnesians*, be quickly brought to conform themselves unto the duty of obedient subjects. By such persuasions, he drew the king to be present at *Arginum*, where the *Acheans* were to hold election of a new pretor. There, with much more labour than would have been needful in a business of more importance, the king, by fair words and threatnings together, obtained so much, that *Eperatus*, a very insufficient man, but one of *Apelles*'s new favourites, was chosen pretor, instead of one more worthy, for whom *Aratus* had laboured. This was thought a good introduction unto greater matters that should follow. The king from thence passed along by *Patras* and *Dyma*, to a very strong castle held by the *Eleans*, which was called *Tichos*. The garrison yielded it up for fear at his first coming, whereof he was glad; for that he had an earnest desire to bestow it upon the *Dymeans*, as he presently did.

The king thought it strange, that all this while he heard of no messengers from the *Eleans* to sue for peace: for at his departure out of their country the last winter, he had let loose one *Amphidamus*, a captain of theirs, that was his prisoner; because he found him an intelligent man, and one that undertook to make them forsake their alliance with the *Etolians*, and join with him upon reasonable terms. This, if they could be contented to do, he willed *Amphidamus* to let them understand, that he would render unto them freely all prisoners which he had of theirs; that he would defend them from all foreign invasion; and that they should hold their

liberty entire, living after their own laws, without paying any manner of tribute, or being kept under by any garrison. These conditions were not to be despised, if they had found credit as they might have done. But when *Philip* came to the castle of *Tichos*, and made a new invasion of their country, then began the *Eleans* (that were not before over-hasty to believe such fair promises) to suspect *Amphidamus* as a traitor, and one that was set on work for no other end, than to breed a mutual diffidence between them and the *Etolians*. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands upon him, and send him prisoner into *Ætolia*: but he perceived their intent, and got away to *Dyma*; in good time for himself; in better for *Aratus*. For the king (as was said) marvelling what should be the cause that he heard no news from the *Eleans*, concerning the offers which he had made unto them by *Amphidamus*; *Apelles*, his counsellor, thereby took occasion to supplant *Aratus*. He said, that old *Aratus*, and his son together, had such devices in their heads as tended little to the king's good; and long of them he said it was, that the *Eleans* did thus hold out; for when *Amphidamus* was dismissed home, the two *Arati* (the father and the son) had taken him aside, and given him to understand, that it would be very prejudicial to all *Peloponnesus*, if the *Eleans* once became at the devotion of the *Macedonian*; and this was the true cause, why neither *Amphidamus* was very careful in doing this message, nor the *Eleans* in hearkning to the king's offers. All this was a false lie, devised by *Apelles* himself, upon no other ground than his own malice. *Philip* had no sooner heard his tale, but in a great rage he sent for the two *Arati*, and bade *Apelles* rehearse it over again to their faces. *Apelles* did so, and with a bold countenance, talking to them as to men already convicted. And when he had said all the rest, ere either *Philip* or they spake any word, he added this clause, as it were, in the king's name: Since the king hath found you such ungrateful wretches, it is in his meaning to hold a parliament of the *Acheans*; and therein having made it known what ye are, to depart into *Macedon*, and leave you to your selves. Old *Aratus* gravely admonished the king, that whensoever he heard any accusation, especially against a friend of his own, or a man of worth, he should forbear a-while to give credit, until he had diligently examined the business. For such deliberation was kingly, and he should never thereof repent him. At the present, he said, there needed no more than to call in those that had heard his talk with *Amphidamus*; and especially him that had brought this goodly tale to *Apelles*. For it would be a very absurd thing, that the king should make himself author of a report in the open parliament of *Achaia*, whereof there was none other evidence than one man's *yea*, and another's *no*. Hereof the king liked well, and said, that he would make sufficient enquiry. So passed a few days, wherein, whilst *Apelles* delayed to bring in the proof, which he wanted, *Amphidamus* came from *Elis*, and told what had befallen him there. The king was not forgetful to examine him about the conspiracy of the *Arati*; which, when he found no better than a meer device against his honourable friends, he entertained them in loving manner, as before. As for his love to *Apelles*, though it was hereby somewhat cooled, yet by means of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remission therein could be discerned.

The restless temper of *Apelles*, having, with much vehemency, brought nothing to pass, began (as commonly ambition useth) to swell and grow venomous for want of his free motion. He betakes himself

himself to his cunning again, and, as before, being checked in his doings with those of the vulgar, he had prepared a snare for the *Arati*; so failing of them, he thinks it wisdom to lay for the king himself, and for all at once which were about him. In such manner sometime the spider thought to have taken the swallow, which drove away flies out of the chimney; but was carried (net and all) into the air by the bird that was too strong to be caught and held by the subtil workmanship of a cobweb. Of the four that, next unto *Appelles*, were left by *Antigonus* in chief place about *Philip*, *Taurion*, his lieutenant in *Peloponnesus*, and *Alexander*, captain of the guard, were faithful men, and such as would not be corrupted. The other two, *Leontius*, captain of the targuetiers, and *Megaleas*, chief of the secretaries, were easily won to be at *Apelles's* disposition. This politician therefore studied how to remove the other two from their places, and put some creatures of his own into their rooms. Against *Alexander* he went to work the ordinary way, by calumny and privy detraction. But for the supplanting of *Taurion* he used more fineness, loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of war, and one, whom, for his many virtues, the king might ill spare from being always in his presence. By such art he thought to have removed him, as we say, *out of God's blessing into a warm sun*. In the mean season, *Aratus* retired himself, and sought to avoid the dangerous friendship of the king, by forbearing to meddle in affairs of state. As for the new pretor of *Achaia*, lately chosen by such vehement instance of the king, he was a man of no dispatch, and one that had no grace with the people. Wherefore a great deal of time was lost, whilst *Philip* wanted both the money and the corn wherewith he should have been furnished by the *Acheans*. This made the king understand his own error, which he wisely sought to reform betimes. He perswaded the *Acheans* to rejoin their parliament from *Argium* to *Sicyon*, the town of *Aratus*. There he dealt with the old man and his son, perswading them to forget what was past, and laying all the blame upon *Apelles*, on whom thenceforth he intended to keep a more diligent eye. So by the travel of these worthy men, he easily obtained what he would of the *Acheans*. Fifteen talents they gave him out of hand, with great store of corn; and further decreed, that so long as he himself in person followed the wars in *Peloponnesus*, he should receive ten talents a month. Being thus enabled, he began to provide shipping, that so he might invade the *Etolians*, *Eleans*, and *Lacedemonians*, that were maritime people, at his pleasure, and hinder their excursions by sea.

It vexed *Apelles* beyond measure to see things go forward so well without his help, even by the ministry of those whom he most hated. Wherefore he entered into conspiracy with *Leontius* and *Megaleas*, binding himself and them by oath, to cross and bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the king should take in hand. By so doing, they thought to bring it to pass, that very want of ability to do any thing without them, should make him speak them fair, and be glad to submit himself to their directions. The king, it is like, had stood in some awe of them whilst he was a child; and therefore these wise men perswaded themselves, that, by looking big upon him, and imputing unto him all that fell out ill, through their own misgovernment of his affairs, they might rule him as a child still. *Apelles* would needs go to *Chalcis*, there to take order for the provisions which were to come that way out of *Macedon*: the other two staid behind

with the king, to play their parts; all more mindful of their wicked oath, than of their duty.

His fleet and army being in a readiness, *Philip* made countenance as if he would have bent all his forces against the *Eleans*; to whose aid therefore the *Etolians* sent men, little fearing that the mischief would have fallen, as soon after it did, upon themselves. But against the *Eleans*, and those that came to help them, *Philip* thought it enough to leave the *Acheans*, with some part of his and their mercenaries. He himself, with the body of his army, putting to sea, landed in the isle of *Cephalenia*, whence the *Etolians*, dwelling over-against it, used to furnish themselves of shipping, when they went to rove abroad. There he besieged the town of *Palæa*, that had been very serviceable to the enemy against him and his confederates; and might be very useful to him, if he could get it. Whilst he lay before this town, there came unto him fifteen ships of war from *Scerdilaidas*, and many good soldiers from the *Epirots*, *Acarmanians*, and *Messenians*. But the town was obstinate, and would not be terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts, save one, on which side *Philip* carried a mine to the wall, wherewith he overthrew two hundred foot thereof. *Leontius*, captain of the targuetiers, was appointed by the king to make the assault. But he, remembering his covenant with *Apelles*, did both wilfully forbear to do his best, and caused others to do the like. So the *Macedonians* were put to foil, and many slain; not of the worst soldiers, but such as had gotten over the breach, and would have carried the town, if the treason of their captain, and some by him corrupted, had not hindered the victory. The king was angry with this, but there was no remedy; and therefore he thought upon breaking up the siege. For it was easier to the townsmen to make up the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. Whilst he stood thus perplexed, and uncertain what course to take, the *Messenians* and *Acarmanians* lay hard upon him, each of them desirous to draw him into their own country. The *Messenians* alledged, that *Lycurgus* was busy in wasting their country, upon whom the king might come unawares in one day; the *Etesian* winds, which then blew, serving fitly for his navigation. Hereto also *Leontius* perswaded, who considered that those winds, as they would easily carry him thither, so would they detain him there perforce (blowing all the dog-days) and make him spend the summer to small or no purpose. But *Aratus* gave better counsel, and prevailed. He shewed how unfitting it were to let the *Etolians* overrun all *Thessaly* again, and some part of *Macedon*, whilst the king withdrew his army far off to seek small adventures. Rather, he said, that the time now served well to carry the war into *Etolia*, since the pretor was gone thence abroad on roving, with the one half of their strength. As for *Lycurgus*, he was not strong enough to do much harm in *Peloponnesus*; and it might suffice, if the *Acheans* were appointed to make head against him. According to this advice, the king sets sail for *Atolia*, and enters the bay of *Ambracia*, which divided the *Etolians* from *Acarmania*. The *Acarmanians* were glad to see him on their borders, and joined with him as many of them as could bear arms, to help in taking vengeance upon their bad neighbours. He marched up into the in-land country, and, taking some places by the way, which he filled with garrisons to assure his retreat, he passed on to *Thermum*, which was the receptacle of the *Etolians*, and surest place of defence in all extremities. The country round about was a great fastness, environed with rocky mountains of very narrow, steep,

and

and difficult ascent. There did the *Etolians* use to hold all their chief meetings, their fairs, their election of magistrates, and their solemn games. There also they used to bestow the most precious of their goods, as in a place of greatest security. This opinion of the natural strength, had made them careless in looking unto it. When *Philip* therefore had overcome the bad way, there was nothing else to do than to take spoil, whereof he found such plenty, that he thought the pains of his journey well recompensed. So he loaded his army, and, consuming all that could not be carried away, forgot not to raze a goodly temple, the chief of all belonging unto the *Etolians*, in remembrance of the like their courtesy shewed upon the temples of *Dium* and *Dodona*. This burning of the temple might (questionless) more for the king's honour, have been forborn. But perhaps he thought, as *Monsieur du Gournes*, the *French* captain, told the *Spaniards* in *Florida*, That *they which had no faith, needed no church*. At his return from *Thermum*, the *Etolians* laid for him, which that they would do, he believed before; and therefore was not taken unawares. Three thousand of them there were, that, lying in ambush, fell upon his skirts: but he had laid a counter-ambush for them of his *Illyrians*, who, staying behind the rest, did set upon the backs of the *Etolians*, whilst they were busily charging in the rear the army that went before. So, with slaughter of the enemy, he returned the same way that he came; and, burning down those places that he had taken before, as also wasting the country round about him, he safely carried all that he had gotten aboard his fleet. Once the *Etolians* made countenance of fight, issuing out of *Stratus* in great bravery. But they were beaten home faster than they came, and followed to their very gates.

The joy of this victorious expedition being every way compleat, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any sinister accident, it pleased the king to make a great feast unto all his friends and captains. Thither were invited among the rest *Leontius*, with his fellow *Megaleas*. They came, because they could not chuse; but their heavy looks argued what little pleasure they took in the king's prosperity. It grieved them to think, that they should be able to give no better account unto *Apelles*, of their hindering the king's business, since *Apelles* himself, as will be shewed anon, had played his own part with a most mischievous dexterity. The sorrow and indignation, which they could ill dissemble in their faces, broke out after supper, when they had warmed themselves with drink, into open riot. Finding *Aratus* on the way home to his tent, they fell to reviling him, throwing stones at him, so that they caused a great uproar; many running in (as happens in such cases) to take part with the one or the other. The king, sending to enquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had passed: which made him send for *Leontius* and his fellows. But *Leontius* was gotten out of the way; *Megaleas*, and another with him, came. The king began to rate them for their disorder; and they to give him forward answers; inasmuch as they said at length, that they would never give over till they had rewarded *Aratus* with a mischief as he deserved. Hereupon the king committed them to ward. *Leontius*, hearing of this, comes boldly to the king, with his targettiers at his heels, and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands upon *Megaleas*, yea, and to cast him into prison? Why, said the king, it was even I. This resolute answer, which *Leontius* had not expected, made him depart both sad and angry; seeing himself out-

frowned, and not knowing how to remedy the matter. Shortly after *Megaleas* was called forth to his answer, and was charged by *Aratus* with many great crimes. Among which were, the hinderance of the king's victory at *Palea*, and the compact made with *Apelles*; matters no less touching *Leontius*, that stood by as a looker on, than *Megaleas* that was accused. In conclusion, the presumptions against him were so strong, and his answers thereto so weak, that he, and *Crinon*, one of his fellows, were condemned in twenty talents: *Crinon* being remanded back to prison, and *Leontius* becoming bail for *Megaleas*. This was done upon the way homeward, as the king was returning to *Corinth*.

Philip dispatched well a great deal of business this year: for as soon as he was at *Corinth*, he took in hand an expedition against the *Lacedemonians*. These, and the *Eleans*, had done what harm they could in *Peloponnesus* whilst the king was absent. The *Acheans* had opposed them as well as they could, with ill success; yet so, as they hindered them from doing such harm as else they would have done. But when *Philip* came, he over-run the country about *Lacedemon*, and was in a manner at the gates of *Sparta*, ere men could well believe that he was returned out of *Aetolia*. He took not in this expedition any cities, but made great waste in the fields; and having beaten the enemy in some skirmishes, carried back with him to *Corinth* a rich booty of cattel, slaves, and other country-spoil. At *Corinth* he found attending him ambassadors from the *Rhodiens* and *Cbians*, that requested him to set *Greece* at quiet, by granting peace unto the *Etolians*. They had gracious audience, and he willed them to deal first with the *Etolians*, who, if they would make the same request, should not find him unreasonable. The *Etolians* had sped ill that year; neither saw they any likely hopes for the years following. The army, that they had sent forth to waste *Thessaly* and *Macedon*, found such opposition on the way, that, not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the mean season, they had been grievously afflicted, as before is shewed, by *Philip*, in the center of their own country. All *Greece* and *Macedon* was up in arms against them, and their weak allies the *Eleans* and *Lacedemonians*. Neither was it certain how long the one or other of these their *Peloponnesian* friends should be able to hold out; since they were not strong enough to keep the field, but had already suffered those miseries of war, which, by a little continuance, would make them glad each to seek their own peace, without regard of their confederates. Wherefore the *Etolians* readily entertained this negotiation of peace; and, taking truce for thirty days with the king, dealt with him by intercession of the same ambassadors, to entertain his presence at a diet of their nation, that should be held at *Rhium*; whither, if he would vouchsafe to come, they promised that he should find them conformable to any good reason.

Whilst these things were in hand, *Leontius* and *Megaleas* thought to have terrified the king, by raising sedition against him in the army. But this device sorted to no good effect. The soldiers were easily and quickly incensed against many of the king's friends, who were said to be the cause why they were not rewarded with so much of the booty, as they thought to belong of right unto them. But their anger spent itself in a noise, and breaking open of doors, without further harm done. This was enough to inform the king (who easily pacified his men with gentle words) that some about him were very false. Yea, the soldiers themselves, repenting of their insolence,

desired to have the authors of the tumult fought out, and punished according to their deserts. The king made shew, as if he had not cared to make such inquisition. But *Leontius* and *Megaleas* were afraid, lest the matter would soon come out of it self, to their extreme danger. Wherefore they sent unto *Apelles*, the head and architect of their treason; requesting him speedily to repair to *Corinth*, where he might stand between them and the king's displeasure. *Apelles* had not all this while been wanting to the business, undertaken by him and his treacherous companions. He had taken upon him, as a man that had the king's heart in his own hand: and thereby was he grown into such credit, that all the king's officers in *Macedon* and *Thessaly* addressed themselves unto him; and received from him their dispatch in every business. Likewise the *Greeks*, in all their flattering decrees, took occasion to magnify the virtue of *Apelles*; making slight mention (only for fashion sake) of the king: who seemed no better than the minister and executioner of *Apelles's* will and pleasure. Such was the arrogance of this great man, in setting himself out unto the people: but in managing the king's affairs, he made it his especial care, that money, and all things needful for the publick service, should be wanting. Yea, he enforced the king, for very need, to sell his own plate, and household vessels: thinking to resolve these, and all other difficulties, by only saying, *Sir, be ruled wholly by me, and all shall be as you would wish*. Hereto if the king would give assent, then had this politician obtained his heart's desire. Now taking his journey from *Chalcis* in the isle of *Eubœa*, to the city of *Corinth*, where *Philip* then lay: he was fetch'd in with great pomp and royalty, by a great number of the captains and soldiers; which *Leontius* and *Megaleas* drew forth to meet him on the way. So entering the city with a goodly train, he went directly to the court, and towards the king's chamber. But *Philip* was well aware of his pride, and had vehement suspicion of his falshood. Wherefore one was sent to tell him, that he should wait a while, or come another time; for the king was not now at leisure to be spoken with. It was a pretty thing, that such a check as this made all his attendants forsake him, as a man in disgrace; in such sort, that going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him, save his own pages. After this, the king vouchsafed him now and then some slender graces: but in consultations, or other matters of privacy, he used him not at all. This taught *Megaleas* to look unto himself, and run away betimes. Hereupon the king sent forth *Taurion*, his lieutenant of *Peloponnesus*, with all the targettiers, as it were to do some piece of service; but indeed of purpose to apprehend *Leontius* in the absence of his followers. *Leontius*, being taken, dispatched away a messenger presently to his targettiers, to signify what was befallen him: and they forthwith sent unto the king in his behalf. They made request, That if any other thing were objected against him, he might not be called forth to trial before their return: as for the debt of *Megaleas*, if that were all the matter, they said, that they were ready to make a purse for his discharge. This affliction of the soldiers made *Philip* more hasty than else he would have been, to take away the traitor's life. Neither was it long, ere letters of *Megaleas* were intercepted, which he wrote unto the *Etolians*; vilifying the king with opprobrious words; and bidding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out a while, for that *Philip* was even ready to sink under the burden of his

own poverty. By this the king understood more perfectly the falshood, not only of *Megaleas*, but of *Apelles*; whose cunning head had laboured all this while to keep him so poor. Wherefore he sent one to pursue *Megaleas*, that was fled to *Thebes*. As for *Apelles*, he committed both him, his son, and another that was inward with him, to prison; wherein all of them shortly ended their lives. *Megaleas* also, neither daring to stand to trial, nor knowing whither to fly, was weary of his own life, and slew himself about the same time.

The *Etolians*, as they had begun this war upon hope of accomplishing what they listed in the non-age of *Philip*: so finding that the vigour of this young prince, tempered with the cold advice of *Aratus*, wrought very effectually towards their overthrow; they grew very desirous to make an end of it. Nevertheless, being a turbulent nation, and ready to lay hold upon all advantages: when they heard what was happened in the court, the death of *Apelles*, *Leontius*, and *Megaleas*, together with some indignation thereupon conceived by some of the king's targettiers; they began to hope a-new, that these troubles would be long lasting, and thereupon brake the day appointed for the meeting at *Rhium*. Of this was *Philip* nothing sorry. For being in good hope throughly to tame this unquiet nation: he thought it much to concern his own honour, that all the blame of the beginning, and continuing the war, should rest upon themselves. Wherefore he willed his confederates, to lay aside all thought of peace, and to prepare for war against the year following; wherein he hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified he his *Macedonian* soldiers, by yielding to let them winter in their own country. In his returning homeward, he called into judgment one *Ptolemy*, a companion with *Apelles* and *Leontius* in their treasons: who was therefore condemned by the *Macedonians*, and suffered death. These were the same *Macedonians*, that lately could not endure to hear of *Leontius's* imprisonment: yet now they think the man worthy to die, that was but his adherent. So vain is the confidence, on which rebels use to build, in their favour with the multitude.

During his abode in *Macedon*, *Philip* won some bordering towns; from which the *Dardanians*, *Etolians*, and other his ill neighbours, were accustomed to make roads into his kingdom. When he had thus provided for safety of his own; the *Etolians* might well know what they were to expect. But there came again ambassadors from the *Rhodians* and *Chians*, with others from *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, and from the city of *Byzantium*, re-continuing the former solicitation about the peace. This fashion had been taken up in matters of *Greece*, ever since the kings that reigned after *Alexander* had taken upon them to set the whole country at liberty: no sooner was any province or city in danger to be oppressed, and subdued by force of war, but presently there were found intercessors, who pitying the effusion of *Greekish* blood, would importune the stronger to relinquish his advantage. By doing such friendly offices in time of need, the princes and states abroad sought to bind unto them those people, that were, howsoever weak in numbers, yet very good soldiers. But hereby it came to pass, that the more forward sort, especially the *Etolians*, whose whole nation was addicted to falshood and robbery, durst enter boldly into quarrels with all their neighbours: being well assured, that if they had the world, the love of *Greece* would be sufficient to redeem their quiet. They had, since the late treaty of peace, done what

what harm they could in *Peloponnesus*: but being beaten by the *Acheans*, and standing in fear to be more soundly beaten at home; they desired now, more earnestly than before, to make an end of the war as soon as they might. *Philip* made such answer to the ambassadors as he had done the former year; that he gave not occasion to the beginning of this war, nor was at the present either afraid to continue it, or unwilling to end it: but that the *Etolians*, if they had a desire to live in rest, must first be dealt withal, to signify plainly their determination, whereto himself would return such answer as he should think fit.

Philip had at this time no great liking unto the peace, being a young prince, and in hope to increase the honour which he daily got by the war. But it happened in the midst of this negotiation, that he was advertised by letters out of *Macedon*, what a notable victory *Hannibal* had obtained against the *Romans* in the battel of *Thiasymene*. These letters he communicated unto *Demetrius Pharius*: who greatly encouraged him to take part with *Hannibal*; and not to sit still, as an idle beholder of the *Italian* war. Hereby he grew more inclinable than before unto peace with the *Etolians*: which was concluded shortly in a meeting at *Naupactus*. There did *Agelaus*, an *Etolian*, make a great oration: telling how happy it was for the *Greeks*, that they might at their own pleasure dispute about finishing war between themselves, without being molested by the *Barbarians*. For when once either the *Romans*, or *Carthaginians*, had subdued one the other; it was not to be doubted, that they would forthwith look eastward, and seek by all means to set footing in *Greece*. For this cause he said it was good, that their country should be at peace within it self: and that *Philip*, if he were desirous of war, should lay hold on the opportunity, now fitly serving, to enlarge his dominion, by winning somewhat in *Italy*. Such advice could the *Etolians* then give, when they stood in fear of danger threatening them at hand: but being soon after weary of rest, as being accustomed to enrich themselves by pillage, they were so far from observing and following their own good counsel, that they invited the *Romans* into *Greece*; whereby

they brought themselves and the whole country (but themselves before any other part of the country) under servitude of strangers. The condition of this peace was simple, that every one should keep what they held at the present, without making restitution, or any amends for damages past.

SECT. III.

Philip, at the perswasion of Demetrius Pharius, enters into league with Hannibal, against the Romans. The tenor of the league between Hannibal and Philip.

THIS being agreed upon: the *Greeks* betook themselves to quiet courses of life; and *Philip*, to prepare for the business of *Italy*, about which he consulted with *Demetrius Pharius*. And thus passed the time away, till the great battel of *Canne*: after which he joined in league with *Hannibal*, as hath been shewn before. *Demetrius Pharius* bore great malice unto the *Romans*; and knew no other way to be avenged upon them, or to recover his own lost kingdom, than by procuring the *Macedonian*, that was in a manner wholly guided by his counsel, to take part with their enemies. It had otherwise been far more expedient for *Philip*, to have supported the weaker of these two great cities against the more mighty. For by so doing, he should perhaps have brought them to peace upon some equal terms; and thereby, as did *Hiero*, a far weaker prince, have both secured his own estate, and caused each of them to be desirous of chief place in his friendship. The issue of the counsel which he followed, will appear soon after this. His first quarrel with the *Romans*; the trouble which they and the *Etolians* did put him to in *Greece*; and the peace which they made with him for a time, upon conditions that might easily be broken: have been related in another place, as belonging unto the second *Punic* war. Wherefore I will only here set down the tenor of the league between him and *Carthage*: which may seem not unworthy to be read, if only in regard of the form it self then used; though it had been over-long to have been inserted into a more busy piece.

The OATH and COVENANTS,

Between *HANNIBAL*, General of the *Carthaginians*, and *XENOPHANES*, Ambassador of *PHILIP*, king of *Macedon*.

THIS is the league ratified by oath, which *HANNIBAL*, the general, and with him *MAGO*, *MYRCAL*, and *BARMOCAL*, as also the senators of *Carthage* that are present, and all the *Carthaginians* that are in his army, have made with *XENOPHANES*, the son of *CLEOMACHUS*, Athenian, whom king *PHILIP*, the son of *DEMETRIUS*, hath sent unto us, for himself, and the *Macedonians*, and his associates: before Jupiter and Juno, and Apollo: before the god of the *Carthaginians*, Hercules, and Iolaus: before Mars, Triton, Neptune: before the gods accompanying arms, the sun, the moon, and the earth; before rivers, and meadows, and waters; before all the gods that have power over *Carthage*;

before all the gods that rule over *Macedon*, and the rest of *Greece*; before all the gods that are presidents of war, and present at the making of this league. *HANNIBAL* the general hath said, and all the senators that are with him, and all the *Carthaginians* in his army: Be it agreed between you and us. That this oath stand for friendship and loving affection, That we become friends, familiar, and brethren, upon covenant, That the safety of the lords, the *Carthaginians*, and of *HANNIBAL*, the general, and those that are with him, and of the rulers and provinces of the *Carthaginians*, using the same laws, and of the *Uticans*, and as many cities and nations as obey the *Carthaginians*, and of the soldiers and associates, and of all towns and nations

with which we hold friendship in Italy, Gaul, and Liguria, and with whom we shall hold friendship, or make alliance hereafter in this region, be preserved by king PHILIP, and the Macedonians, and such of the Greeks as are their associates. In like manner shall king PHILIP, and the Macedonians, and other the Greeks his associates, be saved and preserved by the Carthaginian armies, and by the Uticans, and by all cities and nations that obey the Carthaginians, and by their associates and soldiers, and by all cities in Italy, Gaul, and Liguria that are of our alliance, or shall hereafter join with us in Italy. We shall not take counsel one against the other, nor deal fraudulently one with the other. With all readiness and good-will, without deceit or subtilty, we shall be enemies unto the enemies of the Carthaginians, excepting those kings, towns, and havens, with which we have already league and friendship. We also shall be enemies to the enemies of king PHILIP, excepting those kings, cities, and nations, with which we have already league and friendship. The war that we have with the Romans, have ye also with them, until the gods shall give us a new and happy end. Ye shall aid us with those things whereof we have need, and shall do according to the covenants between us. But if the gods shall not give unto you and us their help in this war against the Romans and their associates; then if the Romans offer friendship, we shall make friendship in such wise, that ye shall be partakers of the same friendship, with condition, that they shall not have power to make war upon you: neither shall the Romans be lords over the Corcyreans, nor over those of Apollonia, nor Dyrrachium, nor over Pharos, nor Dimalle, nor the Parthini, nor Atintania. They shall also render unto DEMETRIUS PHARIUS all those that belong unto him, as many as are within the Romans dominions. But if the Romans (after such peace made) shall make war upon ye or us; we will succour one another in that war, as either shall have need. The same shall be observed in war made by any other, excepting those kings, cities, and states, with whom we hold already league and friendship. To this league if we or ye shall think fit to add or detract, such addition or detraction shall be made by our common consent.

S E C T. IV.

How Philip yielded to his natural vices, being therein (soothed by Demetrius Pharius. His desire to tyrannize upon the free states his associates: With the troubles into which he thereby fell, whilst he bore a part in the second Punic War. He poisoneth Aratus; and grows hateful to the Achæans.

Hitherto Philip had carried himself as a virtuous prince. And though with more commendation of his wisdom, he might have offered his friendship to the Romans, that were like to be oppressed, than to the Carthaginians, who had the better hand; yet this his meddling in the Punic war, proceeded from a royal greatness of mind, with a desire to secure and increase his own estate; adding therewithal reputation to his country. But in this business he was guided (as hath been said) by Demetrius Pharius; who, looking thoroughly into his nature, did accommodate himself to his desires, and thereby shortly governed him, as he listed. For the virtues of Philip were not indeed such as they seemed. He was lustful, bloody, and tyrannical; desirous of power to do what he listed, and not otherwise listig to do what he ought, than so far forth, as by making a fair shew, he might breed in men such a good opinion of him, as should help to serve his turn in all that he took in hand. Be-

fore he should busy himself in Italy, he thought it requisite in good policy, to bring the Greeks, that were his associates, under a more absolute form of subjection. Hereunto Apelles had advised him before, and he had liked reasonably well of the course. But Apelles was a boisterous counsellor, and one, that, referring all to his own glory, thought himself deeply wronged, if he might not wholly have his own way, but were driven to await the king's opportunity at better times. Demetrius Pharius could well be contented to observe the king's humours; and guided, like a coachman, with the reins in his hand, those affections which himself did only seem to follow. Therefore he grew daily more and more in credit; so as, without any manner of contention, he supplanted Aratus, which the violence of Apelles could never do.

There arose about these times a very hot faction among the Messenians, between the nobility and commons; their vehement thoughts being rather diverted (as happens often after a foreign war) unto domestick objects, than allayed and reduced unto a more quiet temper. In process of no long time, the contention among them grew so violent, that Philip was entreated to compound the differences. He was glad of this, resolving so to end the matter, that they should not henceforth strive any more about their government; for that he would assume it wholly to himself. At his coming thither, he found Aratus busy among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his own secret purpose. Wherefore he consulted not with this reverend old man, but talked in private with such of the Messenians as repaired unto him. He asked the governors what they meant to stand thus disputing, and whether they had not laws to bridle the insolence of the unruly rabble. Contrariwise, in talking with the heads of the popular faction, he said it was strange that they, being so many, would suffer themselves to be oppressed by a few; as if they had not hands to defend themselves from tyrants. Thus, whilst each of them presumed on the king's assistance, they thought it best to go roundly to work, ere he were gone that should countenance their doings. The governors therefore would have apprehended some seditious orators, that were, they said, the stirrers up of the multitude unto sedition. Upon this occasion the people took arms; and, running upon the nobility and magistrates, killed of them in a rage almost two hundred. Philip thought, it seems, that it would be easy to worry the sheep, when the dogs, their guardians, were slain. But his falshood and double dealing was immediately found out. Neither did the younger Aratus forbear to tell him of it in publick, with very bitter and disgraceful words. The king was angry at this; but having already done more than was commensurable, or excusable; and yet further intending to take other things in hand, wherein he should need the help and countenance of his best friends, he was content to smother his displeasure, and make as fair weather as he could. He led old Aratus aside by the hand, and went up into the castle of Irbome, that was over Messene. There he pretend to do sacrifice, and sacrifice he did. But it was his purpose to keep the place to his own use; for that it was of notable strength, and would serve to command the further parts of Peloponnesus, as the citadel of Corinth, which he had already, commanded the entrance into that country. Whilst he was therefore sacrificing, and had the entrails of the beast delivered into his hand, as was the manner, he shewed them to Aratus, and gently asked him, whether the tokens that he saw therein did signify, that being now in possession of this

this place, he should quietly go out of it, or rather keep it to himself. He thought, perhaps, that the old man would have soothed him a little, were it only for desire to make amends for the angry words newly spoken by his son. But as *Aratus* stood doubtful what to answer, *Demetrius Pharius* gave this verdict: *If thou be a soothsayer, thou may'st go thy ways, and let slip this good advantage; if thou be a king, thou must not neglect the opportunity, but hold the ox by both his horns.* Thus he spake, resembling *Ithome* and *Acrocorinthus*, unto the two horns of *Peloponnesus*. Yet would *Philip* needs hear the opinion of *Aratus*, who told him plainly, that it were well done to keep the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith with the *Messenians*: but if, by seizing upon *Ithome*, he must lose all the other castles that he held, and especially the strongest castle of all, which was left unto him by *Antigonus*, which was his credit, then were it far better to depart with his soldiers, and keep men in duty, as he had done hitherto, by their own good-wills, than by fortifying any strong places against them, to make them of his friends become his enemies.

To this good advice *Philip* yielded at the present; but not without some dislike, thenceforth growing between him and the *Arati*, whom he thought more froward than becomed them, in contradicting his will. Neither was the old man desirous at all, to deal any longer in the king's affairs, or be inward with him: for as he plainly discovered his tyrannous purposes; so likewise he perceived, that in resorting to his house, he had been dishonest with his son's wife. He therefore staid at home, where, at good leisure, he might repent, that in despite of *Cleomenes*, his own countryman, and a temperate prince, he had brought the *Macedonians* into *Peloponnesus*.

Philip made a voyage out of *Peloponnesus* into *Epirus*, wherein *Aratus* refused to bear him company. In this journey he found by experience what *Aratus* had lately told him, that dishonest counsels are not so profitable in deed, as in appearance. The *Epirots* were his followers and dependants, and so they purposed to continue: but he would needs have them so to remain, whether they purposed it or not. Wherefore, to make them the more obnoxious unto his will, he seized upon their town of *Oricum*, and laid siege to *Apollonia*, having no good colour of these doings, but thinking himself strong enough to do what he listed, and not seeing whence they should procure friends to help them. Thus, instead of settling the country, as his intended voyage into *Italy* required, he kindled a fire in it which he could never quench, until it had laid hold on his own palace. Whilst he was thus labouring to bind the hands that should have fought for him in *Italy*, *M. Valerius*, the *Roman*, came into those parts; who not only maintained the *Epirots* against him, but procured the *Ætolians* to break the peace which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that war, the occurrents whereof we have related before, in place whereto it belonged. In managing whereof, though *Philip* did the offices of a good captain; yet, when leisure served, he made it apparent that he was a vicious king. He had not quite left his former desire, of oppressing the liberty of the *Messenians*, but made another journey into their country, with hope to deceive them, as before. They understood him better now than before, and therefore were not hasty to trust him too far. When he saw that his cunning would not serve,

he went by force; and calling them his enemies, invaded them with open war. But in that war he could do little good; perhaps, because none of his confederates were desirous to help him in such an enterprise. In this attempt upon *Messene*, he lost *Demetrius Pharius*, that was his counsellor and flatterer, not his perverter; as appears by his growing daily more nought in following times. The worse that he sped, the more angry he vexed against those that seemed not to favour his injurious doings. Wherefore, by the ministry of *Taurion*, his lieutenant, he poisoned old *Aratus*; and shortly after that, he poisoned also the younger *Aratus*; hoping that these things would never have been known, because they were done secretly, and the poisons themselves were more sure, than manifest in operation. The *Sicyonians*, and all the people of *Achaia*, decreed unto *Aratus* more than human honours; as sacrifices, hymns, and processions, to be celebrated every year twice, with a priest ordained unto him for that purpose; as was accustomed unto the heroes, or men, whom they thought to be translated into the number of the gods. Hereunto they are said to have been encouraged by an oracle of *Apollon*; which is like enough to have been true, since the help of the devil is never failing to the increase of idolatry.

The loving memory of *Aratus*, their patron and singular benefactor, could not but work in the *Acheans* marvellous dislike of that wicked king, which had made him thus away. He shall therefore hear of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counsel for themselves. At the present, the murder was not generally known or believed; neither were they in case to subsist, without his help that had committed it. The *Ætolians* were a most outrageous people, great darers, and shameless robbers. With these the *Romans* had made a league, whereof the conditions were soon divulged, especially that main point, concerning the division of the purchase which they should make; namely, that the *Ætolians* should have the country and towns, but the *Romans* the spoil, and carry away the people to sell for slaves. The *Acheans*, who, in times of greater quiet, could not endure to make straight alliance with the *Ætolians*, as knowing their uncivil disposition, were much more averse from them, when they perceived how they had called in the *Barbarians* (for such did the *Greeks* account all other nations, except their own) to make havock of the country. The same consideration moved also the *Lacedemonians* to stand off a-while, before they would declare themselves for the *Ætolians*, whose friendship they had embraced in the late war. The industry therefore of *Philip*, and the great care which he seemed to take of the *Acheans*, his confederates, sufficed to retain them; especially at such time as their own necessity was thereto concurrent. More particularly, he obliged unto himself the *Dymeans*, by an inestimable benefit, recovering their own after it had been taken by the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, and redeeming their people wheresoever they might be found, that had been carried away captive, and sold abroad for slaves. Thus might he have blotted out the memory of offences pass'd, if the malignity of his condition had not otherwhiles broken out, and given men to understand that it was the time, and not his virtue, which caused him to make such a shew of goodness. Among other foul acts, whereof he was not ashamed, he took *Polyratia*, the wife of the younger *Aratus*, and carried her into *Macedon*; little regarding how this might serve to confirm in

the people their opinion, that he was guilty of the old man's death. But of such faults he shall be told, when the *Romans* make war upon him the second time: for of that which happened in this their first invasion, I hold it superfluous to make repetition.

S E C T. V.

Of Philopœmen, general of the Achæans, and Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedæmon. A battel between them, wherein Machanidas is slain.

IT happens often, that the decease of one eminent man discovers the virtue of another. In the place of *Aratus* there stood up *Philopœmen*, whose notable valour, and great skill in arms, made the nation of the *Achæans* redoubtable among all the *Greeks*, and careless of such protection, as in former times they had needed against the violence of their neighbours. This is that *Philopœmen*, who, being then a young man, and having no command, did especial service to *Antigonus* at the battel of *Selasia*, against *Cleomenes*. Thenceforward until now, he had spent the most part of his time in the isle of *Crete*; the inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and seldom or never at peace between themselves, he bettered among them his knowledge and practice in the art of war. At his return home, he had charge of the horse, wherein he carried himself so strictly, travelling with all the cities of the confederacy, to have his followers well mounted and armed at all pieces; as also he so diligently trained them up in all exercise of service, that he made the *Achæans* very strong in that part of their forces. Being afterwards chosen pretor, or general of the nation, he had no less care to reform their military discipline throughout, whereby his country might be strong enough to defend it self, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend upon the help of others. He perswaded the *Achæans* to cut off their vain expence of bravery, in apparel, household-stuff, and curious fare, and to bestow that cost upon their arms; wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by so much were they like to prove the better soldiers; and suitable in behaviour unto the pride of their furniture. They had served hitherto with little light bucklers, and slender darts, to cast afar off, that were useful in skirmishing at some distance, or for surprises, or sudden and hasty expeditions; whereto *Aratus* had been most accustomed. But when they came to handy-strokes, they were good for nothing; so as they were wholly driven to rely upon the courage of their mercenaries. *Philopœmen* altered this, causing them to arm themselves more weightily; to use a larger kind of shield, with good swords, and strong pikes, fit for service at hand. He taught them also to fight in close order, and altered the form of their embatteling; not making the files so deep as had been accustomed, but extending the front, that he might use the service of many hands.

Eight months were spent of that year in which he first was pretor of the *Achæans*, when *Machanidas*, the tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, caused him to make trial how his soldiers had profited by his discipline. This *Machanidas* was the successor unto *Lycurgus*, a man more violent than his fore-goer. He kept in pay a strong army of mercenaries; and he kept them not only to fight for *Sparta*, but to hold the city in obedience to himself perforce. Wherefore it behoved him not to take part with the *Achæans*, that were favourers of liberty; but to strengthen

himself by friendship of the *Etolians*; who, in making alliances, took no further notice of vice or virtue, than as it had reference to their own profit. The people also of *Lacedæmon*, through their inveterate hatred unto the *Argives*, *Achæans*, and *Macedonians*, were in like sort (all, or most of them) inclinable to the *Etolian* faction. Very unwisely: for in seeking to take revenge upon those that had lately hindered them from getting the lordship of *Peloponnesus*, they hindered themselves thereby from recovering the mastery of their own city. This affection of the *Spartans*, together with the regard of his own security, and no small hope of good that would follow, suffered not *Machanidas* to be idle; but always made him ready to fall upon his neighbours backs, and take of theirs what he could, whilst they were enforced, by greater necessity, to turn face another way. Thus had he often done, especially in the absence of *Philip*, whose sudden coming into those parts, or some other opposition made against him, had usually made him fail of his attempts. At the present he was stronger in men than were the *Achæans*, and thought his own men better soldiers than were theirs.

Whilst *Philip* therefore was busied elsewhere, he entered the country of the *Mantineans*, being not without hope to do as *Cleomenes* had done before him; yea, and perhaps to get the lordship of *Peloponnesus*, as having stronger friends, and weaker opposition, than *Cleomenes* had found. But *Philopœmen* was ready to entertain him at *Mantineæ*, where was fought between them a great battel. The tyrant had brought into the field upon carts a great many of engines, wherewith to beat upon the squadrons of his enemies, and put them into disorder. To prevent this danger, *Philopœmen* sent forth his light armature a good way before him; so as *Machanidas* was fain to do the like. To second these, from the one and the other side came in continual supply, till at length all the mercenaries both of the *Achæans* and of *Machanidas* were drawn up to the fight, being so far advanced each before their own *Phalanx*, that it could no otherwise be discerned which pressed forward, or which recoiled, than by the rising of the dust. Thus were *Machanidas's* engines made unserviceable, by the interposition of his own men; in such manner, as the cannon is hindered from doing execution in most of the battels fought in these our times. The mercenaries of the tyrant prevailed at length, not only by their advantage of number, but (as ^b *Polybius* well observeth) by surmounting their opposites in degree of courage, wherein usually the hired soldiers of tyrants exceed those that are waged by free states. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant than they which live oppressed by tyranny; since the one, by doing their best in fight, have hope to acquire somewhat beneficial to themselves; whereas the other do fight (as it were) to assure their own servitude: so the mercenaries of a tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruits of his prosperity, have good cause to maintain his quarrel as their own; whereas they that serve under a free state, have no other motive to do manfully, than their bare stipend. Further than this, when a free state hath gotten the victory, many companies (if not all) of foreign auxiliaries are presently cast; and therefore such good fellows will not take much pains to bring the war to an end. But the victory of a tyrant, makes him stand in need of more helpers: because that after it he doth wrong to more, as having more subjects; and therefore stands in fear of more, that should

^a Excerpt. à Polyb. l. 11. Plut. in vita Philopœm.

^b Polyb. ibid.

seek to take revenge upon him. The stipendiaries therefore of the *Acheans*, being forced to give ground, were urged so violently in their retreat by those of *Machanidas*, that shortly they betook themselves to flight; and could not be stay'd by any persuasions of *Philopæmen*, but ran away quite beyond the battel of the *Acheans*. This disaster had been sufficient to take from *Philopæmen* the honour of the day; had he not wisely observed the demeanor of *Machanidas*, and found in him that error which might restore the victory. The tyrant, with his mercenaries, gave chase unto those that fled: leaving behind him in good order of battel his *Lacedemonians*; whom he thought sufficient to deal with the *Acheans*, that were already disheartened by the flight of their companions. But when this his rashness had carried him out of sight, *Philopæmen* advanced towards the *Lacedemonians* that stood before him. There lay between them athwart the country a long ditch, without water at that time; and therefore passable (as it seemed) without much difficulty, especially for foot. The *Lacedemonians* adventured over it, as thinking themselves better soldiers than the *Acheans*; who had in a manner already lost the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their own battel; and no sooner had the foremost of them recovered the further bank, than they were stoutly charged by the *Acheans*, who drove them headlong into the ditch again. The first ranks being broken, all the rest began to shrink: so as *Philopæmen* getting over the ditch, easily chased them out of the field. *Philopæmen* knew better how to use his advantage, than *Machanidas* had done. He suffered not all his army to disband and follow the chase: but retained with him a sufficient strength, for the custody of a bridge that was over the ditch, by which he knew that the tyrant must come back. The tyrant with his mercenaries returning from the chase, looked very heavily when he saw what was fallen out. Yet, with a lusty troop of horse about him, he made towards the bridge: hoping to find the *Acheans* in disorder, and to set upon their backs, as they were carelessly pursuing their victory. But when he and his company saw *Philopæmen* ready to make good the bridge against them; then began every one to look, which way he might shift for himself. The tyrant, with no more than two in his company, rode along the ditch-side; and searched for an easy passage over. He was easily discovered by his purple cassock, and the costly trappings of his horse. *Philopæmen* therefore leaving the charge of the bridge unto another, coasted him all the way that he rode; and falling upon him at length in the ditch itself, as he was getting over it, slew him there with his own hand. There died in this battel on the *Lacedemonians* side about four thousand: and more than four thousand were taken prisoners. Of the *Achean* mercenaries, probable it is that the loss was not greatly cared for; since that war was at an end, and for their money they might hire more when they should have need.

SECT. VI.

Philip leaving peace with Rome, and with all Greece, prepares against Asia. Of the kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and their lineages. Of the Galatians.

BY this victory the *Acheans* learned to think well of themselves. Neither needed they indeed

after a while (such was their discipline, and continual exercise) to account themselves in manner of war inferiour to any, that should have brought against them no great odds of number. As for the *Macedonian*, he made no great use of them: But when he had once concluded peace with the *Romans* and *Etolians*. He studied how to enlarge his dominions eastward; since the fortune of his friends, the *Carthaginians*, declined in the west. He took in hand many matters together, or very nearly together, and some of them not honest: wherein if the *Acheans* would have done him service; they must, by helping him to oppress others that never had wronged him, have taught him the way how to deal with themselves. He greatly hated *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, who had joined with the *Romans* and *Etolians* against him.

This *Attalus*, though a king, was scarce yet a nobleman, otherwise than as he was ennobled by his own, and by his father's virtue. His fortune began in *Philetærus* his uncle: who being gelded, by reason of a mishap which he had when he was a child, grew afterwards thereby to be more esteemed: as great men in those times reposed much confidence in eunuchs, whose affections could not be obliged unto wives or children. He was entertained into the family of *Docimus*, a captain following *Antigonus the first*; and after the death of *Antigonus*, he accompanied his master, that betook himself to *Lyfimachus* king of *Thrace*. *Lyfimachus* had good opinion of him; and put him in trust with his money and accompts. But when at length he stood in fear of this king, that grew a bloody tyrant: he fled into *Asia*, where he seized upon the town of *Pergamus*, and nine thousand talents belonging to *Lyfimachus*. The town and money, together with his own service, he offered unto *Seleucus the first*, that then was ready to give *Lyfimachus* battel. His offer was kindly accepted, but never performed; for that *Seleucus* having slain *Lyfimachus*, died shortly after himself, before he made use of *Philetærus* or his money. So this eunuch still retained *Pergamus* with the country about it; and reigned therein twenty years as an absolute king. He had two brethren: of which the elder is said to have been a poor carter; and the younger perhaps was not much better; before such time as they were raised by the fortune of this eunuch. *Philetærus* left the kingdom to the elder of these, or to the son of the elder called *Eumenes*. This *Eumenes* enlarged his kingdom; making his advantage of the dissension, between *Seleucus Calinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*, the sons of the second *Antiochus*. He fought a battel with *Hierax*, near unto *Sardes*; and won the victory. At which time, to animate his men against the *Gauls* that served under his enemy, he used a pretty device. He wrote the word *Victory* upon the hand of his soothsayer, in such colours as would easily come off: and when the hot liver of the beast that was sacrificed, had cleanly taken the print of the letters, he published this unto his army as a miracle, plainly fore-shewing that the gods would be assistant in that battel.

After this victory, he grew a dreadful enemy to *Seleucus*: who never durst attempt to recover from him, by war, the territory that he had gotten and held. Finally, when he had reigned two and twenty years, he died by a surfeit of over-much drink; and left his kingdom to *Attalus*, of whom we now intreat, that was son unto *Attalus* the

* Jul. Front. Strat. L. 1. C. 11.

youngest brother of *Philetærus*. *Attalus* was an undertaking prince, very bountiful, and no less valiant. By his own proper forces he restored his friend *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian* into his kingdom, whence he had been expelled. He was grievously molested by *Acheus*: who setting up himself, as king, against *Antiochus the great*, reigned in the lesser *Asia*. He was besieged in his own city of *Pergamus*: but by the help of the *Tectosagæ*, a nation of the *Gauls*, whom he called over out of *Thrace*, he recovered all that he had lost. When these *Gauls* had once gotten footing in *Asia*, they never wanted employment: but were either entertained by some of the princes reigning in those quarters; or interposed themselves, without invitation, and found themselves work in quarrels of their own making. They caused *Prusias* king of *Bithynia* to cease from his war against *Byzantium*. Whereunto when he had condescended; they nevertheless within a while after invaded his kingdom. He obtained against them a great victory; and used it with great cruelty, sparing neither age nor sex. But the swarm of them increasing, they occupied the region about *Hellepont*: where, in seating themselves, they were much beholden unto *Attalus*. Nevertheless, presuming afterwards upon their strength; they forced their neighbour princes and cities to pay them tribute. In the sharp exaction whereof, they had no more respect unto *Attalus* than to any that had worse deserved of them. By this they compelled him to fight against them; and he being victorious, compelled them to contain themselves within the bounds of that province, which took name from them in time following, and was called *Galatia*. Yet continued they still to oppress the weakest of their neighbours; and to fill up the armies of those that could best hire them.

The kings reigning in those parts, were the posterity of such as had saved themselves and their provinces, in the slothful reign of the *Persians*; or in the busy times of *Alexander*, and his *Macedonian* followers. The *Cappadocians* were very ancient. For the first of their line had married with *Atossa*, sister unto the great king *Cyrus*. Their country was taken from them by *Perdiccas*, as is shewed before. But the son of that king, whom *Perdiccas* crucified, espying his time while the *Macedonians* were at civil wars among themselves; recovered his dominion, and passed it over to his off-spring. The kings of *Pontus* had also their beginning from the *Persian* empire; and are said to have issued from the royal house of *Achæmenes*. The *Paphlagonians* derived themselves from *Pylæmenes*, a king that assisted *Priamus* at the war of *Troy*. These, applying themselves unto the times, were always conformable unto the strongest. The ancestors of *Prusias* had begun to reign in *Bithynia*, some few generations before that of the *Great Alexander*. They lay somewhat out of the *Macedonians* way: by whom therefore, having other employment, they were the less molested. *Calanus*, one of *Alexander's* captains, made an expedition into their country; where he was vanquished. They had afterwards to do with a lieutenant of *Antigonus*, that made them somewhat more humble. And thus they shuffled, as did the rest, until the reign of *Prusias*, whom we have already sometimes mentioned.

S E C T. VII.

The town of Cios taken by Philip, at the instance of Prusias king of Bithynia, and cruelly destroyed.

By this and like actions Philip grows hateful to many of the Greeks; and is warred upon by Attalus king of Pergamus, and by the Rhodians.

PRUSIAS, as a neighbour king, had many quarrels with *Attalus*, whose greatness he suspected. He therefore strengthened himself, by taking to wife the daughter of *Philip*; as *Attalus*, on the contrary side, entered into a strict confederacy with the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other of the *Greeks*. But when *Philip* had ended his *Ætolian* war, and was devising with *Antiochus* about sharing between them two the kingdom of *Egypt*, wherein *Ptolemy Philopater*, a friend unto them both, was newly dead, and had left his son *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a young child, his heir; the *Bithynian* entreated this his father-in-law to come over into *Asia*, there to win the town of the *Ciani*, and bestow it upon him. *Prusias* had no right unto the town, nor just matter of quarrel against it; but it was fitly seated for him, and therewithal rich. *Philip* came, as one that could not well deny to help his son-in-law: but hereby he mightily offended no small part of *Greece*. Ambassadors came to him, whilst he lay at the siege, from the *Rhodians*, and divers other states; entreating him to forsake the enterprize. He gave dilatory, but otherwise gentle answers, making shew as if he would condescend to their request; when he intended nothing less. At length he got the town, where, even in presence of the ambassadors, of whose solicitation he had seemed so regardful, he omitted no part of cruelty. Hereby he rendered himself odious to his neighbours, as a perfidious and cruel prince. Especially his fact was detested of the *Rhodians*, who had made vehement intercession for the poor *Ciani*; and were advertised by ambassadors of purpose sent unto them from *Philip*, that, howsoever it were in his power to win the town as soon as he listed; yet, in regard of his love to the *Rhodians*, he was contented to give it over. And by this his clemency, the ambassadors said, that he would manifest unto the world what slanderous tongues they were, which noised abroad such reports as went, of his falshood and oppressions. Whilst the ambassadors were declaiming at *Rhodes*, in the theatre, to this effect, there came some that made a true relation of what had happened; shewing that *Philip* had sacked and destroyed the town of *Cios*, and, after a cruel slaughter of the inhabitants, had made slaves of all that escaped the sword. If the *Rhodians* took this in great despite, no less were the *Ætolians* inflamed against him, since they had sent a captain to take charge of the town; being warned before by his doings at *Lyfismachia* and *Chalcedon* (which he had withdrawn from their confederacy to his own) what little trust was to be reposed in the faith of this king. But most of all others was *Attalus* moved with consideration of the *Macedonians* violent ambition, and of his own estate. He had much to lose, and was not without hope of getting much, if he could make a strong party in *Greece*. He had already, as a new king, followed the example of *Alexander's* captains, in purchasing with much liberality the love of the *Athenians*, which were notable trumpeters of other mens virtue, having lost their own. On the friendship of the *Ætolians* he had cause to presume, having bound them unto him by good offices, many and great, in their late war with *Philip*. The *Rhodians*, that were mighty at sea, and held very good intelligence with the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and many other princes and states, he easily drew into a straight alliance with him, by their hatred newly conceived against *Philip*.

Upon

Upon confidence in these his friends, but most of all in the ready assistance of the *Rhodians*, *Attalus* prepared to deal with the *Macedonian* by open war. It had been unseasonable to procrastinate, and expect whereto the doings of the enemy tended, since his desire to fasten upon *Asia* was manifest, and his falsehood no less manifest, than was such his desire. They met with him shortly not far from *Chios*, and fought with him a battel at sea, wherein, though *Attalus* was driven to run his own ship on ground, hardly escaping to land; though the admiral of the *Rhodians* took his death's wound; and though *Philip*, after the battel, took harbour under a promontory, by which they had fought; so that he had the gathering of the wrecks upon the shore: yet inasmuch as he had suffered far greater loss of ships and men, than had the enemy, and since he durst not in few days after put forth to sea, when *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* came to bay him in his port, the honour of the victory was adjudged to his enemies. This notwithstanding, *Philip* afterwards besieged, and won some towns in *Caria*; whether only in a bravery, and to despite his opposites, or whether upon any hopeful desire of conquest, it is uncertain. The stratagem, by which he won *Prinassus*, is worthy of noting. He attempted it by a mine, and finding the earth so stony, that it resisted his work, he nevertheless commanded the pioneers to make a noise under-ground; and secretly in the night-time he raised a great mount about the entrance of the mine, to breed an opinion in the besieged, that the work went marvellously forward. At length he sent word to the townsmen, that by his undermining, two acres of their wall stood only upon wooden props; to which, if he gave fire, and entered by a breach, they should expect no mercy. The *Prinassians* little thought that he had fetched all his earth and rubbish by night a great way off, to raise up those heaps which they saw, but rather that all had been extracted out of the mine. Wherefore they suffered themselves to be out-faced, and gave up the town as lost, which the enemy had no hope to win by force. But *Philip* could not stay to settle himself in those parts. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* were too strong for him at sea, and compelled him to make haste back into *Macedon*, whither they followed him all the way in manner of pursuit.

SECT. VIII.

The Romans, after their Carthaginian war, seek matter of quarrel against Philip. The Athenians upon slight cause proclaim war against Philip, moved thereto by Attalus, whom they flatter. Philip wins divers towns, and makes peremptory answer to the Roman ambassador. The furious resolution of the Abydeni.

THESE Asiatic matters, which no way concerned the *Romans*, yet served well to make a noise in *Rome*, and fill the people's heads, if not with a desire of making war in *Macedon*, at least with a conceit that it were expedient so to do. The *Roman Senate* was perfectly informed of the state of those eastern countries, and knew that there was no other nation than the *Greeks*, which lay between them and the bosom of *Asia*. These *Greeks* were factious, and seldom or never at peace. As for the *Macedonians*, though length of time, and continual doings in *Greece* ever since the reigns of *Philip* and *Alexander*, had left no difference between him and the naturals; yet most of them abhorred

his dominion, because he was originally, forsooth, a *Barbarian*: many of them hated him upon ancient quarrels; and they that had been most beholden unto him, were nevertheless weary of him, by reason of his personal faults. All this gave hope, that the affairs of *Greece* would not long detain the *Roman* armies; especially since the divisions of the country were such, that every petty estate was apt to take counsel apart for it self, without much regarding the generality. But the poor commonalty of *Rome* had no great affection to such a chargeable enterprize. They were already quite exhausted by that grievous war with *Hannibal*, wherein they had given by loan to the republick all their money; neither had they as yet received, neither did they receive until fifteen or sixteen years after this, their whole sum back again. That part of payment also which was already made, being not in present money, but much of it in land, it beloveth them to rest a-while, and bestow the more diligence in tilling their grounds, by how much they were the less able to bestow cost. Wherefore they took no pleasure to hear, that *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had sent ambassadors to solicit them against *Philip*, with report of his bold attempts in *Asia*: or that *M. Arelus*, their *Ambassador* in *Greece*, had sent letters of the same tenor to our Senate; and magnified his intelligence, by setting out the preparations of this dangerous enemy, that solicited not only the towns upon the continent, but all the islands in those seas; visiting them in person, or sending ambassadors, as one that meant shortly to hold war with the *Romans* upon their own ground. *Philip* had indeed no such intent; neither was he much too strong, either of himself, or by his alliance in *Greece*, to be resisted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, especially with the help of the *Stolians*, their good friends; and (in a manner) his own professed enemies. But such things must be published abroad, if only to predispose men unto the war, and give it the more honest colour.

Philip was a man of ill condition, and therefore could not thrive by intermeddling in the affairs of those that were more mighty than himself. He was too unskilful, or otherwise too unapt, to retain his old friends; yet would he needs be seeking new enemies. And he found them such as he deserved to have them; for he offered his help to their destruction, when they were in misery, and had done him no harm. It beloveth him therefore either to have strained his forces to the uttermost, in making war upon them; or, in desisting from that injurious course, to have made amends for the wrongs paid, by doing friendly offices of his own accord. But he, having broken that league of peace, which is of all other the most natural, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, unless they think themselves justly provoked, was afterwards too fondly persuaded, that he might well be secure of the *Romans*, because of the written covenants of peace between him and them. There is not any form of oath, whereby such articles of peace can be held inviolable, save only "by the water of *Styx*", that is, by necessity; which whilst it binds one party, or both, unto performance, making it apparent, that he shall be a loser, who flouts from the conditions; it may so long (and so long only) be presumed that there shall be no breach. Till *Hannibal* was vanquished, the *Romans* never hearkened after *Philip*; for necessity made them let him alone. But when once they had peace with *Carthage*, then was this river of *Styx* dried up; and then could they swear, as *Murcus* did in the comedy, by

* S. 1. 1. 1. Bacon de Sap. veterum.

b Plaut. Amphitr.

their own selves, even by their good swords, that they had good reason to make war upon him. The voyage of *Sopater* into *Afric*, and the present war against *Attalus*, were matter of quarrel as much as needed; or, if this were not enough, the *Athenians* helped to furnish them with more.

The *Athenians*, being at this time lords of no more than their own barren territory, took state upon them nevertheless, as in their ancient fortune. Two young gentlemen of *Acarnania*, entering into the temple of *Ceres*, in the days of *initiation* (wherein were delivered the mysteries of religion, or rather, of idolatrous superstition, vainly said to have been available unto felicity after this life) discovered themselves, by some impertinent questions, to be none of those that were initiated. Hereupon they were brought before the officers; and though it was apparent, that they came into the place by mere error, not thinking to have therein done amiss; yet, as it had been for some heinous crime, they were put to death. All their countrymen at home took this in ill part, and sought to revenge it as a publick injury, by war upon the *Athenians*. Procuring therefore of *Philip* some *Macedonians* to help them, they entered into *Attica*, who wasted it with fire and sword, and carried thence away with them a great booty. This indignity stirred up the high-minded *Athenians*, and made them think upon doing more than they had ability to perform. All which at the present they could do, was to send ambassadors to king *Attalus*, gratulating his happy success against *Philip*, and inreating him to visit their city. *Attalus* was hereto the more willing, because he understood that the *Roman* ambassadors, hovering about *Greece* for matter of *intelligence*, had a purpose to be there at the same time. So he went thither, accompanied, besides his own followers, with some of the *Rhodians*. Landing in the *Piræus*, he found the *Romans* there, with whom he had much friendly conference, they rejoicing that he continued enemy to *Philip*; and he being no less glad when he heard of their purpose to renew the war. The *Athenians* came forth of their city, all the magistrates, priests, and citizens, with their wives and children, in as solemn a pomp as they could devise, to meet and honour the king. They entertained the *Romans* that were with him in very loving manner; but towards *Attalus* himself, they omitted no point of observance, which their flattery could suggest. At his first coming into the city, they called the people to assembly; where they desired him to honour them with his presence, and let them hear him speak. But he excused himself, saying, that with an evil grace he should recount unto them those many benefits, by which he studied to make them know what love he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit that he should deliver in writing, what he would have to be propounded. He did so. The points of his declaration were; first, what he had willingly done for their sake; then, what had lately passed between him and *Philip*; lastly, an exhortation unto them, to declare themselves against the *Macedonian*, whilst he, with the *Rhodians* and the *Romans*, were willing and ready to take their part; which if they now refused to do, he protested that afterwards it would be vain to crave his help. There needed little intreaty, for they were as willing to proclaim the war, as he to desire it. As for other matters, they loaded him with immoderate honours, and ordained, that unto the ten tribes, whereof the body of their citizens consisted, should be added another, and called after his name; as if he were in part one of their founders. To the *Rhodians* they also decreed a

crown of gold, in reward of their virtue, and made all the *Rhodians* free citizens of *Athens*.

Thus began a great noise of war, wherein little was left unto the *Romans* for their part; *Attalus*, and the *Rhodians*, taking all upon them. But while these were vainly mispending the time, in seeking to draw the *Etolians* to their party, that contrary to their old manner were glad to be at quiet, *Philip* won the towns of *Maronea* and *Ænus*, with many other strong places about the *Hellespont*. Likewise passing over the *Hellespont*, he laid siege unto *Abydus*; and won it, though he was fain to stay there long. The town held out, rather upon an obstinate resolution, and hope of succour from *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, than any great ability to defend it self against so mighty an enemy. But the *Rhodians* sent thither only one quadrireme gally, and *Attalus* no more than three hundred men; far too weak an aid to make good the place. The *Roman* ambassadors wondered much at this great negligence of them that had taken so much upon them.

These ambassadors, *C. Claudius*, *M. Æmilius*, and *P. Sempronius*, were sent unto *Ptolemy*, *King of Egypt*, to acquaint him with their victory against *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*; as also to thank him for his favour unto them shewed in that war; and to desire the continuance thereof, if they should need it against *Philip*. This *Egyptian* king was now in the third or fourth year of his reign, which (as his father *Philetopator* had done before him) he began a very young boy. The courtesie for which the *Romans* were to thank him, was, that out of *Egypt* they had lately been supplied with corn, in a time of extreme dearth; when the miseries of war had made all their own provinces unable to relieve them. This message could not but be welcome to the *Egyptians*: since it was well known, how *Philip* and *Antiochus*, had combined themselves against him; conspiring to take away his kingdom. And therefore it might in reason be hoped, that he, or his council for him, should offer to supply the *Romans* with corn: since this their *Macedonian* expedition, concerned his estate no less than theirs.

But as the errand was for the most part complementary: so had the ambassadors, both leisure and direction from the senate, to look unto the things of *Greece* by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that *M. Æmilius*, the youngest of them, should step aside, and visit *Philip*, to try if he could make him leave the siege of *Abydus*; which else he was like to carry. *Æmilius*, coming to *Philip*, tells him, that his doings are contrary to the league that he had made with the *Romans*. For *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, upon whom he made war, were confederate with Rome: and the town of *Abydus*, which he was now besieging, had a kind of dependency upon *Attalus*. Hereto *Philip* answered, that *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had made war upon him: and that he did only requite them with the like. *Do you also* (said *Æmilius*) *request these poor Abydeni with such terrible war, for any the like invasion by them so lately made upon you?* The king was angry to hear himself thus taken short: and therefore he roundly made answer to *Æmilius*; *It is your youth, Sir, and your beauty, and above all) your being a Roman, that makes you thus presumptuous. But I would advise ye to remember the league that ye have made with me, and to keep it: if ye do otherwise, I will make ye understand, that the kingdom and name of Macedonia is in matter of war, no less noble than the Roman.* So he dismissed

missed the ambassador ; and had the town immediately yielded to his discretion. The people had entertained a resolution, to have died every one of them, and set their town on fire ; binding themselves hereto by a fearful oath, when *Philip* denied to accept them upon reasonable conditions. But having in desperate fight, once repelling him from the breach, lost the greatest number of their youth : it was thought meet by the governors and ancients of the city, to change this resolution, and take such peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their gold and silver to *Philip* : about which whilst they were busy, the memory of their oath wrought so effectually in the younger sort ; that, by exhortation of their priests, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themselves. Hereof the king had so little compassion, that he said, he would grant the *Athydeni* three days leisure to die : and to that end forbade his men to enter the town ; or hazard themselves in interrupting the violence of those mad fools.

SECT. IX.

The Romans decree war against Philip, and send one of their consuls into Greece, as it were in defence of the Athenians their confederates. How poor the Athenians were at this time, both in quality and estate.

THIS calamity of the *Athydeni*, was likened by the *Romans* unto that of the *Saguntines* : which indeed it nearly resembled ; though *Rome* was not alike interested in the quarrel. But to help themselves with pretence for the war, they had found out another *Saguntum*, even the city of *Athens* : which if the *Macedonian* should win, then rested there no more to do, than that he should presently embark himself for *Italy*, whither he would come, not as *Hannibal* from *Saguntum*, in five months, but in the short space of five days sailing. Thus *P. Sulpicius*, the consul, told the multitude, when he exhorted them to make war upon *Philip* ; which at his first propounding they had denied. The example of *Pyrrhus* was by him alledged, to shew, what *Philip*, with the power of a greater kingdom, might dare to undertake : as also the fortunate voyage of *Scipio* into *Africa* ; to shew the difference of making war abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their own country. By such arguments was the commonalty of *Rome* induced to believe, that this war with the *Macedonian* was both just and necessary. So it was decreed : and immediately the same consul hastened away towards *Macedon*, having that province allotted unto him before, and all things in a readiness, by order from the senate ; who followed other motives, than the people must be acquainted with. Great thanks were given to the *Athenian* ambassadors, for their constancy (as was said) in not changing their faith at such time as they stood in danger of being besieged. And indeed great thanks were due to them ; though not upon the same occasion. For the people of *Rome* had no cause to think it a benefit unto themselves, that any *Greek* town, refusing to sue unto the *Macedonian* for peace, requested their help against him. But the senate intending to take in hand the conquest of the *eastern* parts, had reason to give thanks unto those that ministered the occasion. Since therefore it was an untrue suggestion, that *Philip* was making ready for *Italy* : and since neither *Attalus*, the *Rhodian*, nor any other state in those quarters, desired the *Romans* to give them protection : these busy-headed *Athen-*

ians, who falling out with the *Arcarnanians*, and consequently with *Philip*, about a matter of *May-game* (as was shewed before) sent ambassadors into all parts of the world, even to *Ptolemy* of *Egypt*, and to the *Romans*, as well as to *Attalus*, and other their neighbours ; must be accepted as cause of the war, and authors of the benefit thence redounding.

Nevertheless, as it loves to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence : the doings of *P. Sulpicius*, the consul, were such, as might have argued *Athens* to be the least part of his care. He sailed not about *Peloponnesus*, but took the ready way to *Macedon* ; and landing about the river of *Apfus*, between *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*, there began the war. Soon upon his coming, the *Athenian* ambassadors were with him, and craved his help ; whereof they could make no benefit whilst he was so far from them. They bemoaned themselves as men besieged, and entreated him to deliver them. For which cause he sent unto them *C. Claudius*, with twenty galleys, and a competent number of men : but the main of his forces he retained with him, for the prosecution of a greater design. The *Athenians* were not indeed besieged : only some rovers of *Chelch*, in the isle of *Euboea* ; and some bands of adventurers out of *Corinth* ; used to take their ships, and spoil their fields, because they had declared themselves against king *Philip*, that was lord of these two towns. The robberies done by these pirates, and free-booters, were by the more eloquent than warlike *Athenians*, in the declining age of their fortune and virtue, called a siege. From such detriment the arrival of *Claudius*, and shortly after of three *Rhodian* galleys, easily preserved them. As for the *Athenians* themselves ; they that had been wont, in ancient times, to undertake the conquests of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and *Sicily* ; to make war upon the great *Persian* king ; and to hold so much of *Greece* in subjection, as made them redoubtable unto all the rest : had now no more than three ships, and those open ones, not much better than long boats. Yet thought they not themselves a whit the worse men ; but stood as highly upon the glory and virtue of their ancestors, as if it had been still their own.

SECT. X.

The town of Chalcis, in Euboea, taken and sacked by the Romans, and their affiliates, that lay in garrison at Athens. Philip attempteth to take Athens by surprise : wasteth the country about : and makes a journey into Peloponnesus. Of Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedemon, and his wife. Philip offers to make war against Nabis for the Achaeans. He returneth home through Attica, which he spoileth again : and provides against the enemies. Some exploits of the Romans. Divers princes join with them. Great labouring to draw the Etolians into the war.

PHILIP, returning home from *Athens*, heard news of the *Roman* consul's being about *Apollonia*. But ere he stirred forth to give him entertainment ; or perhaps before he had well resolved, whether it were best a while to sit still, and try what might be done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make opposition, and resist the invaders with all his forces : he received advertisement from *Chalcis* of a grievous mishap that befallen him, by procurement of the *Athenians*. For *C. Claudius*, with his *Amares*, finding no better work at *Athens* as they had expected, or as was agreeable to

to the fame that went abroad ; purposed to do somewhat that might quicken the war, and make his own employment better. He grew soon weary of sitting as a scare-crow, to save the *Athenians* grounds from spoil ; and therefore gladly took in hand a business of more importance. The town of *Chalcis* was negligently guarded by the *Macedonian* soldiers therein, for that there was no enemy at hand ; and more negligently by the townsmen, who reposed themselves upon their garrison. Hereof *Claudius* having advertisement, sailed thither by night, for fear of being descried ; and arriving there a little before break of day, took it by scalado. He used no mercy, but slew all that came in his way : and wanting men to keep it (unless he should have left the heartless *Athenians* to their own defence) he set it on fire ; consuming the king's magazines of corn, and all provisions for war, which were plentifully filled. Neither were he and his associates contented with the great abundance of spoil which they carried aboard their ships ; and with enlarging all those, whom *Philip*, as in a place of most security, kept there imprisoned : but, to shew their despatch and hatred unto the king, they overthrew, and brake in pieces the statues unto him there erected. This done, they hasted away towards *Athen* : where the news of their exploit were like to be joyfully welcomed. The king lay then at *Demetrias*, about some twenty miles thence : whither when these tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he saw that it was too late to remedy the matter ; yet he made all haste to take revenge. He thought to have taken the *Athenians*, with their trusty friends, busy at work in ransacking the town, and loading themselves with spoil : but they were gone before his coming. Five thousand light-armed foot he had with him, and three hundred horse : whereof leaving at *Chalcis* only a few to bury the dead, he marched thence away speedily towards *Athen* : thinking it not impossible to take his enemies, in the possession of their victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken *Chalcis*. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a foot-post, that stood front for the city upon the borders, had not descried him afar off, and swiftly carried word of his approach to *Athen*. It was mid-night when this post came thither : who found all the town asleep, as fearless of any danger. But the magistrates, hearing his report, caused a trumpet out of their citadel to sound the alarm, and with all speed made ready for defence. Within a few hours *Philip* was there : who seeing the many lights, and other signs of busy preparation usual in such a case, understood that they had news of his coming ; and therefore willed his men, to repose themselves till it were day. It is like, that the paucity of his followers did help well to animate the citizens, which beheld them from the walls. Wherefore though *Claudius* were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compass about by sea, and had no cause of haste) yet having in the town some mercenary soldiers, which they kept, of their own, besides the great multitude of citizens ; they adventured to issue forth at a gate, whereto they saw *Philip* make approach. The king was glad of this ; reckoning all those his own, that were thus hardy. He therefore only willed his men to follow his example ; and presently gave charge upon them. In that fight he gave singular proof of his valour : and beating down many of the enemies with his own hands, drove them with great slaughter back in-

to the city. The heat of his courage transported him further, than discretion would have allowed, even to the very gate. But he retired without harm taken ; for that they, which were upon the towers over the gate, could not use their calling weapons against him, without endangering their own people, that were thronging before him into the city. There was a temple of *Hercules*, a place of exercise, with a grove, and many goodly monuments besides, near adjoining unto *Athen* : of which he spared none, but suffered the rage of his anger to extend, even unto the sepulchres of the dead. The next day came the *Romans*, and some companies of *Attalus's* men from *Aligina* ; too late, in regard of what was already past ; but in good time, to prevent him of satisfying his anger to the full, which as yet he had not done. So he departed thence to *Corinth* : and hearing that the *Acheans* held a parliament at *Argos*, he came thither to them unexpected.

The *Acheans* were devising upon war, which they intended to make against *Nabis*, the tyrant of *Lacedemon* : who being started up in the room of *Machanidas*, did greater mischief than any that went before him. This tyrant relied wholly upon his mercenaries ; and of his subjects had no regard. He was a cruel oppressor ; a greedy extortioner upon those that lived under him ; and one, that in his natural condition smelt rankly of the hangman. In these qualities, his wife *Apege*, was very fitly matched with him : since his dexterity was no greater in spoiling the men, than hers in fleecing their wives ; whom she would never suffer to be at quiet, till they had presented her with all their *jewels* and *apparel*. Her husband was so delighted with her property, that he caused an image to be made lively representing her, and apparelled it with such costly garments as she used to wear. But it was indeed an *engine*, serving to torment men. Hereof he made use, when he meant to try the virtue of his rhetoric. For calling unto him some rich man, of whose money he was desirous, he would bring him into the room where this counterfeit *Apege* stood, and there use all his art of persuasion to get what he desired, as it were by good-will. If he could not so speed, but was answered with excuses, then took he the refractory denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his wife *Apege* (who sat by in a chair) could persuade more effectually. So he led him to the image, that rose up, and opened the arms, as it were for embracement. Those arms were full of sharp iron nails, the like whereto were also sticking in the breasts, though hidden with her cloaths : and herewith she griped the poor wretch, to the pleasure of the tyrant, that laughed at his cruel death. Such, and worse (for it were long to tell all here that is spoken of him) was *Nabis* in his government. In his dealings abroad, he combined with the *Lolians*, as *Machanidas* and *Lycargus* had done before him. By these he grew into acquaintance with the *Romans* ; and was comprehended in the league which they made with *Philip*, at the end of their former war. Of *Philopemen's* virtue he stood in fear ; and therefore durst not provoke the *Acheans*, as long as they had such an able commander. But when *Cycliades*, a fir worth captain, was their pretor ; and all, or the greatest part of their mercenaries were discharged ; *Philopemen* being also gone into *Grete*, to follow his beloved occupation of war : then did *Nabis* fall upon their territory ; and wasting all the fields,

made them distrust their own safety in the towns.

Against this tyrant, the *Acbeans* were preparing for war, when *Philip* came among them; and had set down what proportion of soldiers every city of their corporation should furnish out. But *Philip* willed them, not to trouble themselves with the care of this business; forasmuch as he alone would ease them of this war, and take the burden upon himself. With exceeding joy and thanks they accepted of this kind offer. But then he told them, that whilst he made war upon *Lacedemon*, he ought not to leave his own towns unguarded. In which respect, he thought they would be pleased to send a few men to *Corinth*, and some companies into the isle of *Eubœa*, that so he might securely pursue the war against *Nabis*. Immediately they found out his device, which was none other, than to engage their nation in his war against the *Romans*. Wherefore their pretor *Cycliades* made him answer, that their laws forbade them to conclude any other matters in their parliament, than those for which it was assembled. So passing the decree, upon which they had agreed before, for preparing war against *Nabis*, he broke up the assembly, with every man's good-liking; whereas in former times, he had been thought no better than one of the king's parasites.

It grieved the king to have thus failed in his purpose with the *Acbeans*. Nevertheless he gathered up among them a few volunteers, and so returned by *Corinth* back into *Attica*. There he met with *Philocles*, one of his captains, that, with two thousand men, had been doing what harm he might unto the country. With this addition of strength, he attempted the castle of *Eleusine*, the haven of *Pyræus*, and even the city of *Athens*. But the *Romans* made such haste after him by sea, thrusting themselves into every of these places, that he could no more than wreak his anger upon those goodly temples, with which the land of *Attica* was at that time singularly beautified. So he destroyed all the works of their notable artificers, wrought in excellent marble, which they had in plenty of their own; or, having long ago been masters of the sea, had brought from other places, where best choice was found. Neither did he only pull all down, but caused his men to break the very stones, that they might be unserviceable to the reparation. His loss at *Chalcis* being thus revenged upon *Athens*, he went home into *Macedon*, and there made provision both against the *Roman* consul that lay about *Apollonia*, and against the *Dardaniens*, with other his bad neighbours, which were likely to infest him. Among his other cares, he forgot not the *Etolians*, to whose parliament, shortly to be held at *Naupactus*, he sent an embassy, requesting them to continue in his friendship. Thus was *Philip* occupied.

Sulpicius, the *Roman* consul, encamped upon the river of *Apfus*. Thence he sent forth *Apustius*, his lieutenant, with part of the army, to waste the borders of *Macedon*. *Apustius* took sundry castles and towns, using such extremity of sword and fire at *Antipatria*, the first good town, which he won by force, that none durst afterwards make resistance, unless they knew themselves able to hold out. Returning towards the consul with his spoil, he was charged in rear, upon the passage of a brook, by *Athenagoras*, a *Macedonian* captain: but the *Romans* had the better, and killing many of these enemies, took prisoners many more, to the increase of their booty, with which they arrived in safety at their camp. The success of this expedition, though it were not great, yet served to draw into the *Roman* friendship, those that had formerly no good inclina-

tion to the *Macedonian*. These were *Pleuratus*, the son of *Scerdilaidus* the *Illyrian*; *Aminander*, king of the *Albanians*; and *Bato*, the son of *Longarus*, a prince of the *Dardaniens*. They offered their assistance unto the consul, who thanked them, and said, that he would shortly make use of *Pleuratus* and *Bato*, when he entered into *Macedon*; but that the friendship of *Aminander*, whose country lay between the *Etolians* and *Thessaly*, might be perhaps available with the *Etolians*, to stir them up against *Philip*.

So the present care was wholly set upon the *Etolian* parliament at hand. Thither came ambassadors from the *Macedonians*, *Romans*, and *Athenians*. Of which, the *Macedonian* spake first, and said, that as there was nothing fallen out which should occasion the breach of peace between his master and the *Etolians*; so was it to be hoped that they would not suffer themselves, without good cause, to be carried away after other men's fancies. He prayed them to consider, how the *Romans* heretofore had made shew as if their war in *Greece* tended only to the defence of the *Etolians*; and yet notwithstanding had been angry, that the *Etolians*, by making peace with *Philip*, had no longer need of such their patronage. What might it be that made them so busy in intruding their protection upon those that needed it not? Surely it was even the general hatred which these *Barbarians* bore unto the *Greeks*. For even after the same sort had they lent their help to the *Mamertines*, and afterwards delivered *Syracuse*, when it was oppressed by *Carthaginian* tyrants; but now both *Syracuse* and *Messina* were subject unto the rods and axes of the *Romans*. To the same effect he alledged many examples; adding, that in like sort it would happen to the *Etolians*, who, if they drew such masters into *Greece*, must not look hereafter to hold, as now, free parliaments of their own, wherein to consult about war and peace: the *Romans* would ease them of this care, and send them such a moderator as went every year from *Rome* to *Syracuse*. Wherefore he concluded, that it was best for them, whilst as yet they might, and whilst one of them as yet could help the other, to continue in their league with *Philip*, with whom, if at any time upon light occasion they happened to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled; and with whom they had three years ago made the peace, which still continued, although the same *Romans* were then against it, who sought to break it now.

It would have troubled the *Romans*, to frame a good answer to these objections. For the *Macedonian* had spoken the very truth, in shewing whereto this their patronage, which they offered with such importunity, did tend. Wherefore the *Athenians* were set on by them to speak next, who had store of eloquence, and matter of recrimination enough, to make *Philip* odious. These affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the *Macedonian* ambassador to call the *Romans* by the name of *Barbarians*, knowing in what barbarous manner his own king had, in few days past, made war upon the gods themselves, by destroying all their temples in *Attica*. Herewithal they made a pitiful rehearsal of their own calamities; and said, that if *Philip* might have his will, *Etolia*, and all the rest of *Greece*, should feel the same that *Attica* had felt; yea, that *Athens* it self, together with *Minerva*, *Jupiter*, *Ceres*, and other of the gods, were like to have felt, if the walls and the *Roman* arms had not defended them.

Then spake the *Romans*, who excusing, as well as they could, their own oppression of all those in whose defence they had heretofore taken arms, went roundly to the point in hand. They said, that they

had of late made war in the *Etolians* behalf, and that the *Etolians* had, without their consent, made peace: whereof since the *Etolians* must excuse themselves, by alledging that the *Romans*, being busied with *Carthage*, wanted leisure to give them aid convenient; so this excuse being now taken away, and the *Romans* wholly bent against their common enemy, it concerned the *Etolians* to take part with them in their war and victory, unless they had rather perish with *Philip*.

It might easily be perceived, that they which were so vehement, in offering their help ere it was desired, were themselves carried into the war by more earnest motives than a simple desire to help those friends, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may have been the cause why *Dorymachus*, the *Etolian* pretor, shifted them off a-while with a dilatory answer; though he told his countrymen, that, by reserving themselves till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with those that had the better fortune. His answer was, first, in general terms; that over-much haste was an enemy to good counsel, for which cause they must further deliberate ere they concluded. But coming nearer to the matter in hand, he passed a decree, *That the pretor might at any time call an assembly of the states, and therein conclude upon this business; any law to the contrary notwithstanding*: whereas otherwise it was unlawful to treat of such affairs, except in two of their great parliaments that were held at set times.

SECT. XI.

The meeting of Philip with the Romans, and skirmishing with them on his borders. The Etolians invade his dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of Attalus and the Roman fleet.

PHILIP was glad to hear, that the *Romans* had sped no better in their solicitation of the *Etolians*. He thought them hereby disappointed, in the very beginning, of one great help; and meant himself to disappoint them of another. His son *Perseus*, a very boy, was sent to keep the streights of *Pelagonia* against the *Dardanians*, having with him some of the king's council, to govern both him and his army. It was judged, as may seem, that the presence of the king's son, how young soever, would both encourage his followers, and terrify the enemies; by making them at least believe, that he was not weakly attended. And this may have been the reason why the same *Perseus*, a few years before this, was in like manner left upon the borders of *Etolia* by his father, whom earnest business called thence another way. No danger of enemies being left on either hand, it was thought that the *Macedonian* fleet under *Heraclides* would serve to keep *Attalus*, with the *Rhodians* and *Romans*, from doing harm by sea, when the king's back was turned, who took his journey westward against *Sulpicius* the consul.

The armies met in the country of the *Dassaretii*, a people in the utmost borders of *Macedon*, towards *Illyria*, about the mountains of *Candavia*, that, running along from *Hemus* in the north, until they join in the south with *Pindus*, inclose the western parts of *Macedon*. Two or three days they lay in sight the one of the other, without making offer of battel. The consul was the first that issued forth of his camp into the open field. But *Philip* was not confident in the strength which he had then about him, and therefore thought it better to send forth some of his light-armed mercenaries, and some part of his horse, to entertain them with skirmish.

These were easily vanquished by the *Romans*, and driven back into their camp. Now although it was so that the king was unwilling to hazard all at first upon a cast, and therefore sent for *Perseus*, with his companies, to increase his own forces; yet being no less unwilling to lose too much in reputation, he made shew a day after as if he would have fought. He had found the advantage of a place fit for ambush, wherein he bestowed as many as he thought meet of his targetteers, and so gave charge to *Athenagoras*, one of his captains, to provoke out the *Romans* to fight; instructing both him and the targetteers how to behave themselves respectively, as opportunity should fall out. The *Romans* had no mistrust of any ambush, having fought upon the same ground a day before; wherefore perhaps they might have sustained some notable detriment, if the king's directions had been well followed. For when *Athenagoras* began to fall back, they charged him so hotly, that they drove him to an hasty flight, and pursued him as hard as they were able. But the captains of the targetteers, not staying to let them run into the danger, discovered themselves before it was time; and thereby made frustrate the work to which they were appointed. The consul hereby gathered, that the king had some desire to try the fortune of a battel, which he therefore presented the second time, leading forth his army, and setting it in order, with elephants in the front; a kind of help which the *Romans* had never used before, but had taken these of late from the *Carthaginians*. Such are the alterations wrought by time. It was scarce above eighty years ere this, that *Pyrrhus* carried elephants out of *Greece* into *Italy*, to affright the *Romans*, who had never seen any of those beasts before. But now the same *Romans* (whilst possibly some were yet alive which had known that expedition of *Pyrrhus*) come into *Macedon*, bringing elephants with them; whereof the *Macedonians* and *Greeks* have none. *Philip* had patience to let the consul brave him at his trenches, wherein he did wisely; for the *Roman* had greater need to fight than he. *Sulpicius* was unwilling to lose time; neither could he without great danger, lying so near the enemy, that was strong in horse, send his men to fetch in corn out of the fields. Wherefore he removed eight miles off, presuming that *Philip* would not adventure to meet him on even ground, and so the more boldly he suffered his foragers to over-run the country. The king was nothing sorry of this; but permitted the *Romans* to take their good pleasure, even till their presumption, and his own supposed fear, should make them careless. When this was come to pass, he took all his horse and light-armed foot, with which he occupied a place in the mid-way, between the foragers and their camp. There he stayed in covert with part of his forces, to keep the passages that none should escape. The rest he sent abroad the country, to fall upon the stragglers, willing them to put all to the sword, and let none run home with news to the camp. The slaughter was great, and those which escaped the hands of them that were sent abroad to scour the fields, lighted all, or most of them, upon the king and his companies in their flight; so as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the camp had news of this. But in the end there escaped some: who, though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went; yet by telling what had happened to themselves, raised a great tumult. *Sulpicius* hereupon sends forth all his horse, and bids them help their fellows where they saw it needful: he himself with the legions followed. The companies of horse divided themselves, accordingly

cordingly as they met with advertifements upon the way, into many parts: not knowing where was most of the danger. Such of them as lighted upon *Philip's* troops, that were canvassing the field, took their task where they found it. But the main bulk of them fell upon the king himself. They had the disadvantage: as coming fewer, and unprepared, to one that was ready for them. So they were beaten away: as their fellows also might have been, if the king had well bethought himself, and given over in time. But while, not contented with such an harvest, he was too greedy about a poor gleanings, the *Roman* legions appeared in sight; which emboldened their horse to make a recharge. Then the danger apparent enforced the *Macedonians* to look to their own safety. They ran which way they could: and (as men that lie in wait for others, are seldom heedful of that which may befall themselves) to escape the enemy, they declined the fairest way; so as they were plunged in marshes and bogs, wherein many of them were lost. The king's horse was slain under him: and there had he been cast away, if a loving subject of his had not alighted, mounted him upon his own horse, and delivered him out of peril, at the expence of his own life, that running on foot was overtaken and killed.

In the common opinion *Philip* was charged with improvident rashness, and the consul with as much dulness, for this day's service. A little longer stay would have delivered the king from these enemies without any blow: since, when all the fields about them were wasted, they must needs have retired back to the sea. On the other side it was not thought unlikely, That if the *Romans* following the king, had set upon his camp, at such time as he fled thither half amazed with fear of being either slain or taken; they might have won it. But that noble historian *Livy* (as is commonly his manner) hath judiciously observed, That neither the one, nor the other, were much to blame in this day's work. For the main body of the king's army lay safe in his camp; and could not be so astonished with the loss of two or three hundred horse, that it should therefore have abandoned the defence of the trenches. And as for the king himself; he was advertised, that *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian*, and the *Dardanians*, were fallen upon his country; when they found the passage therein open, after *Perseus* was called away from custody of the streights. This was it which made him adventure to do somewhat betimes; that he might set the *Romans* going the sooner, and afterwards look unto his troublesome neighbours. In consideration of this, *Philip* was desirous to clear himself of the *Romans*, as soon as he might. And to that purpose he sent unto the consul; requesting a day of truce for burial of the dead. But, instead of so doing, he marched away by night; and left fires in his camp to beguile the enemy, as if he had not stirred out of the place. *Sulpicius*, when he heard of the king's departure, was not slow to follow him. He overtook the *Macedonians* in a place of strength, which they had fenced (for it was a woody ground) by cutting down trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was most open. In making of such places good, the *Macedonian Phalanx* was of little use; being a square battel of pikes, not fit for every ground. The archers of *Crete* were judged, and were indeed, more serviceable in that case. But they were few; and their arrows were of small force against the *Roman*

shields. The *Macedonians* therefore helped them; by flinging of stones. But to no purpose. For the *Romans* got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This victory (such as it was) laid open unto the consul some poor towns thereabout; which partly were taken by strong hand; partly yielded for fear. But the spoil of these, and of the fields adjoining, was not sufficient to maintain his army; and therefore he returned back to *Apollonia*.

The *Dardanians*, hearing that *Philip* was come back, withdrew themselves apace out of the country. The king sent *Athenagoras* to wait upon them home; whilst he himself went against the *Etolians*. For *Damocritus* the pretor of the *Etolians*, who had reserved himself and his nation unto the event of things, hearing report, that *Philip* was beaten once again; as also that *Pleuratus* and the *Dardanians* were fallen upon *Macedon*; grew no less busy on the sudden, than before he had been wise. He persuaded his nation to take their time: and so, not staying to proclaim war, joined his forces with *Aminander* the *Atbamanian*; and made invasion upon *Theffaly*. They took and cruelly sacked a few towns: whereby they grew confident; as if, without any danger, they might do what they listed. But *Philip* came upon them ere they looked for him: and, killing them as they lay dispersed, was like to have taken their camp; if *Alexander*, more wary than the *Etolians*, had not helped at need, and made the retreat through his own mountainous country.

About the same time, the *Roman* fleet, assisted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, had taken some small islands in the *Egean* sea. They took likewise the town of *Oreum* in the isle of *Eubœa*; and some other places thereabout. The towns were given to *Attalus*, after the same compact that had formerly been made with the *Etolians*: the goods therein found were given to the *Romans*; and the people for slaves. Other attempts on that side were hindered: either by foul weather at sea; or by want of daring, and of means.

S E C T. XII.

Villius the Roman consul wastes a year to no effect. War of the Gauls in Italy. An embassy of the Romans to Carthage, Masanissa, and Vermina. The Macedonian prepares for defence of his kingdom: and T. Quintius Flaminius is sent against him.

THUS the time ran away: and *P. Villius*, a new consul, took charge of the war in *Macedon*. He was troubled with a mutiny of his oldest soldiers: whereof two thousand, having served long in *Sicily* and *Afric*, thought themselves much wronged, in that they could not be suffered to look unto their own estates at home. They were (belike) of the legions that had served at *Cannœ*: as may seem by their complaint, of having been long absent from *Italy*; whither fain they would have returned, when by their colonels they were shipped for *Macedon*. How *Villius* dealt with them, it is uncertain. For the history of his year is lost: whereof the miss is not great; since he did nothing memorable. *Valerius Antias*, as we find in *Livy*, hath adorned this *Villius* with a great exploit against *Philip*.^a Yet since *Livy* himself, an historian to whom few of the best are matchable, could find no such thing recorded in any good author; we may reasonably believe, that *Villius's* year was idle.

^a Liv. l. 32.

In the beginning of this *Macedonian* war, the *Romans* found more trouble than could have been expected with the *Gauls*. Their colony of *Placentia*, a goodly and strong town, which neither *Hannibal*, nor after him *Asdrubal*, had been able to force, was taken by these *Barbarians*, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like sort *Cremona* was attempted, but saved her self, taking warning by her neighbours's calamity. *Amilcar*, a *Carthaginian*, that had stayed behind *Asdrubal*, or *Mago*, in those parts, was now become captain of the *Gauls*, in these their enterprizes. This when the *Romans* heard, they sent ambassadors to the *Carthaginians*, giving them to understand, that, if they were not weary of the peace, it behoved them to call home and deliver up this their citizen *Amilcar*, who made war in *Italy*. Hereunto it was added (perhaps left the message might seem otherwise to have favoured a little of some fear) that of the fugitive slaves belonging unto the *Romans*, there were some reported to walk up and down in *Carthage*; which if it were so, then ought they to be restored back to their masters, as was conditioned in the late peace. The ambassadors that were sent on this errand, had further charge to treat with *Masanissa*, as also with *Vermina* the son of *Syphax*. Unto *Masanissa*, besides matter of compliment, they were to signify what pleasure he might do them, by lending them some of his *Numidian* horse to serve in their war against the *Macedonian*. *Vermina* had intreated the senate to vouchsafe unto him the name of king, and promised thereafter to deserve it, by his readiness in doing them all good offices. But they were somewhat scrupulous in the matter, and said, that having been, and being still (as they took it) their enemy, he ought first of all to desire peace; for that the name of king, was an honour which they used not to confer upon any, save only upon such as had royally deserved it at their hands. The authority to make peace with him, was wholly committed unto these ambassadors upon such terms as they should think fit, without further relation to the senate and people: for they were then busied with greater cares. The *Carthaginians* made a gentle answer, that they wholly disclaimed *Amilcar*, banishing him, and confiscating his goods. As for the fugitives, they had restored as many as they could find; and would, in that point, as far as was requisite, give satisfaction to the senate. Herewithal they sent a great proportion of corn to *Rome*, and the like unto the army that was in *Macedon*. King *Masanissa* would have lent unto the *Romans* two thousand of his *Numidian* horse; but they were contented with half the number, and would accept no more. *Vermina* met with the ambassadors, to give them entertainment, on the borders of his kingdom; and, without any dispute, agreed with them upon terms of peace.

Thus were the *Romans* busied in taking order for their *Macedonian* war, that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his *Gauls*, they laid siege unto *Cremona*, where *L. Furius*, a *Roman* pretor, came upon them, fought a battel with them, and overcame them. *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* died in this battel, and the fruit of the victory was such, as both made amends for losses past, and left the work easy to those that afterwards should have the managing of war among those *Gauls*. So was there good leisure to think upon the business of *Macedon*, where *Philip* was carefully providing, to give contentment unto his subjects, by punishing a bad counsellor whom they hated; as also to assure unto himself the *Acha-*

ans, by rendering unto them some towns that he held of theirs; and finally, to strengthen his kingdom, not only by exercising and training his people, but by fortifying the passages that led thereinto out of *Epirus*. This was in doing, when *Villius*, having unprofitably laboured to find way into *Macedon*, taking a journey (as *Sulpicius* had done before him) wherein he could not be supplied with victuals, determined at length to try a new course. But then came advertisement, that *T. Quintius Flaminius* was chosen consul, and had *Macedon* allotted him for his province, whose coming was expected; and he very shortly arrived at the army.

SECT. XIII.

The Romans began to make war by negotiation. T. Quintius wins a passage against Philip. The safety wasted by Philip, the Romans, and Etolians. The Achæans forsaking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A treaty of peace that was vain. Philip delivers Argos to Nabis the tyrant, who presently enters into league with the Romans.

THE *Romans* had not been wont in former times to make war after such a trifling manner. It was their use to give battel to the enemy as soon as they met with him. If he refused it, they besieged his towns, and so forced him to try the fortune of a day, with his disadvantage in reputation, when he had long forborn it (as it would be interpreted) upon knowledge of his own weakness. But in this their war with *Philip*, they began to learn of the subtle *Greeks* the art of negotiation; wherein hitherto they were not grown so fine, as within a little while they proved. Their treasury was poor, and stood indebted, ^a many years after this, unto private men, for part of those monies that had been borrowed in the second *Punic* war. This had made the commonalty averse from the *Macedonian* war, and had thereby driven the senators, greedy of the enterprize, to make use of their cunning. Yet being weary of the slow pace wherewith their business went forward, they determined to increase their army, that they might have the less need to rely upon their confederates. So they levied eight thousand foot and eight hundred horse (the greater part of them of the *Latins*) which they sent with *T. Quintius Flaminius*, the new consul, into *Macedon*. Their navy, and other means, could well have served for the setting forth and transportation of a greater army; but by straining themselves to the most of their abilities, they should (besides other difficulties incident unto the sustenance of those that are too many, and too far from home) have bred some jealousy in their friends of *Greece*, and thereby have lost some friends, yea, perhaps, have increased the number of their enemies more than of their own soldiers. This present augmentation of the forces was very requisite, for that *Attalus*, about the same time, excused himself unto them by his ambassadors; requesting that either they would undertake the defence of his kingdom against *Antiochus*, who invaded it; or else that they would not take it uncourteously, that he quitted the war with *Philip*, and returned home, to look unto that which more concerned him. Their answer was remarkable: they said, that it was not their manner to use the aid of their friends longer than their friends had good opportunity, and could also be well contented to afford it; that they could not honestly take part with *Attalus*, though he were their good friend, against *Antiochus*, whom

^a Liv. l. 34.

they held in the like account; but that they would deal with *Antiochus* by ambassadors, and (as common friends unto both of the kings) do their best to persuade an attonement between them. In such loving fashion did they now carry themselves towards their good friend the king *Antiochus*, who reciprocally, at their intreaty, withdrew his army from the kingdom of *Attalus*. But how little they regarded these terms of friendship, after that once they had made an end with *Philip*, it will very soon appear.

T. Quintius hastening away from *Rome*, came sometimes into his province, with the supply decreed unto him, which consisted for the most part of old soldiers, that had served in *Spain* and *Africa*. He found *Villius* the old consul (whom at his coming he presently discharged) and king *Philip* of *Macedon*, encamped one against the other in the streights of *Epirus*, by the river of *Apfus* or *Aous*. It was manifest, that either the *Romans* must fetch a compass about, and seek their way into *Macedon* through the poor country of the *Dassaretians*, or else win by force that passage which the king defended. In taking the former way, they had already two years together mispent their time, and been forced to return back without profit, for want of victuals; whereof they could neither carry with them store sufficient, nor find it on the way. But if they could once get over these mountains, which divided the south of *Epirus* from *Thessaly*, then should they enter into a plentiful country; and which, by long dependance upon the *Macedonian*, was become (in a manner) part of his kingdom, whereof it made the south border. Nevertheless the desire of winning this passage, was greater than the likelihood; for the river of *Apfus* running through that valley which alone was open between the mountains, made it all a deep marsh, and unpassable bog; a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the main rock by man's hand. Wherefore *Quintius* assayed to climb in the mountains; but finding himself disappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his enemy, who neglected not the guard of them that was very easy, he was compelled to sit still, without doing any thing for the space of forty days.

This long time of rest gave hope unto *Philip*, that the war might be ended by composition, upon some reasonable terms. He therefore so dealt with some of the *Epirots* (among whom he had many friends) that he and the consul had a meeting together: but nothing was effected. The consul would have him to set all the towns of *Greece* at liberty; and to make amends for the injuries which he had done to many people in his late wars. *Philip* was contented to give liberty to those whom he had subdued of late; but unto such as had been long subject unto him and his ancestors, he thought it against all reason, that he should relinquish his claim and dominion over them. He also said, that as far forth as it should appear that he had done wrong unto any town or people whatsoever, he could well be pleased to make such amends, as might seem convenient, in the judgment of some free state, that had not been interested in those quarrels. But herewithal *Quintius* was not satisfied. There needed (he said) no judgment or compromise; forasmuch as it was apparent, that *Philip* had always been the invader, and had not made war, as one provoked, in his own defence. After this altercation, when they should come to particulars, and when the consul was required to name those towns that he would have to be set at liberty, the first that he named were the *Thessalians*. These had been subjects (though conditional) unto

the *Macedonian* kings ever since the days of *Alexander* the great; and of *Philip* his father. Wherefore as soon as *Flaminius* had named the *Thessalians*, the king, in a rage, demanded what sharper condition he would have laid upon him, had he been but vanquished. And herewithal abruptly he flung away, refusing to hear any more of such discourse.

After this, the consul strove in vain for two or three days together, to have prevailed against the difficulties of that passage which *Philip* kept. When he had well wearied himself, and could not resolve what course to take, there came to him an herdsman, sent from *Charopus*, a prince of the *Epirots*, that favoured the *Romans*, who, having long kept beasts in those mountains, was thoroughly acquainted with all by-paths; and therefore undertook to guide the *Romans*, without any danger, to a place where they should have advantage of the enemy. This guide, for fear of treacherous dealing, was fast bound; and, being promised a great reward in case he made good his word, had such companies as was thought fit appointed to follow his directions. They travelled by night (it being then about the full of the moon) and rested in the day-time, for fear of being discovered. When they had recovered the hill-tops, and were above the *Macedonians* (though undiscovered by them, because at their backs) they raised a great smoke, whereby they gave notice of their success unto the consul. Some skirmishes, whilst these were on their journey, *T. Quintius* had held with the *Macedonian*, thereby to avert him from the thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning he saw the smoke arise more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained unto the place whither they were sent: he pressed as near as he could unto the enemy's camp, and assailed them in their strength. He prevailed as little as in former times, until the shoutings of those that ran down the hill, and charged *Philip* on the back, astonished so the *Macedonians*, that they betook themselves to flight. The king, upon the first apprehension of the danger, made all speed away to save himself. Yet anon, considering that the difficulty of the passage must needs hinder the *Romans* from pursuing him, he made a stand at the end of five miles, and gathered there together his broken troops, of whom he saw wanting no more than two thousand men. The greatest loss was of his camp and provisions, if not rather perhaps of his reputation; for that now the *Macedonians* began to stand in fear, lest being driven from a place of such advantage, they should hardly make good their party against the enemy upon equal ground: neither was *Philip* himself much better persuaded. Wherefore he caused the *Thessalians*, as many of them as in his hasty retreat he could visit, to forsake their towns and country, carrying away with them as much as they were able, and spoiling all the rest. But all of them could not be persuaded thus to abandon (for the pleasure of their king) their ancient habitations, and all the substance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly resisted him; which they might the better do, for that he could not stay to use any great compulsion. He also himself took it very grievously, that he was driven to make such waste of a most pleasant and fruitful country, which had ever been well affected unto him; so that a little hinderance did serve to make him break off his purpose, and withdraw himself home into his kingdom of *Macedon*.

The *Etolians* and *Atthamanians*, when this fell out, were even in a readiness to invade *Thessaly*, wherinto the ways lay more open, out of their several countries. When therefore they heard for certain,

certain, that *Philip* was beaten by the *Romans*, they foreflowed not the occasion, but made all speed, each of them to lay hold upon what they might. *T. Quintius* followed them within a little while: but they had gotten so much before his coming, that he, in gleaning after their harvest, could not find enough to maintain his army. Thus were the poor *Theffalians*, of whose liberty the *Romans* a few days since had made shew to be very desirous, waisted by the same *Romans* and their confederates; not knowing which way to turn themselves, or whom to avoid. *T. Quintius* won *Phaleria* by assault; *Metropolis* and *Piera* yielded unto him. *Rhage* he besieged, and having made a fair breach, yet was unable to force it; so stoutly it was defended both by the inhabitants, and by a *Macedonian* garrison therein. *Philip* also, at the same time, having somewhat recollected his spirits, hovered about *Tempe* with his army, thrusting men into all places that were like to be distressed. So the consul, having well near spent his victuals, and seeing no hope to prevail at *Rhage*, brake up his siege, and departed out of *Theffaly*. He had appointed his ships of burden to meet him at *Anticyra*, an haven town of *Phocis*, on the gulf of *Corinth*; which country being friend to the *Macedonian*, he presently invaded; not so much for hatred unto the people, as because it lay conveniently seated between *Theffaly* and other regions, wherein he had business, or was shortly like to have. Many towns in *Phocis* he won by assault; many were yielded up unto him for fear; and within short space he had (in effect) mastered it all.

In the mean time *L. Quintius* the consul's brother, being then admiral for the *Romans* in this war, joined with king *Attalus* and the *Rhodian* fleet. They won two cities in *Eubœa*, and afterwards laid siege unto *Cenchree*, an haven and arsenal of the *Corinthians* on their eastern sea. This enterprise did somewhat help forward the *Acheans* in their desire to leave the part of *Philip*: since it might come to pass, that *Corinth* it self, ere long time were spent, and that *Cenchree*, with other places appertaining to *Corinth*, now very shortly, should be rendered unto their nation, by favour of the *Romans*.

But there were other motives inducing the *Acheans* to prefer the friendship of the *Romans*, before the patronage of *Philip*, whereto they had been long accustomed. For this king had so many ways offended them in time of peace, that they thought it the best course to rid their hands of him; whilst being entangled in a dangerous war, he wanted means to hinder the execution of such counsel, as they should hold the safest. His tyrannous practices to make himself their absolute lord; his poisoning of *Aratus* their old governor; his false dealing with the *Messenians*, *Epilots*, and other people their confederates, and his own dependants; together with many particular outrages by him committed, had caused them long since to hold him as a necessary evil, even whilst they were unable to be without his assistance. But since, by the virtue of *Philopœmen*, they were grown somewhat confident in their own strength, so as without the *Macedonians* help, they could as well subsist, as having him to friend: then did they only think how evil he was; and thereupon rejoice the more, in that he was become no longer necessary. It angered him to perceive how they stood affected; and therefore he sent murderers to take away the life of *Philopœmen*. But failing

in this enterprise, and being detected, he did thereby only set fire to the wood, which was thoroughly dry before, and prepared to burn. *Philopœmen* wrought so with the *Acheans*, that no discourse was more familiar with them, than what great cause they had to withdraw themselves from the *Macedonians*. *Cycliadas*, a principal man among them, and lately their pretor, was expelled by them, for shewing himself passionate in the cause of *Philip*, and *Aristæus* chosen pretor, who laboured to join them in Society with the *Romans*.

These News were very welcome to *T. Quintius*. Ambassadors were sent from the *Romans* and their confederates, king *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, and *Athenians*, to treat with the *Acheans*; making promise, that they should have *Corinth* restored unto them, if they would forsake the *Macedonian*. A parliament of the *Acheans* was held at *Sicyon*, to deliberate and resolve in this weighty case. Therein the *Romans* and their adherents desired the *Acheans* to join with them in making war upon *Philip*. Contrariwise, the ambassadors of *Philip*, whom he had also sent for this business, admonishing the *Athenians* of their alliance with the king, and of their faith due unto him; requested them, that they would be contented to remain as neutrals. This moderate request of *Philip's* ambassador, did no way advance his master's cause: rather it gave the *Acheans* to understand, That he, who could be satisfied with so little at their hands, knew himself unable to gratify them in any reciprocal demand. Yet were there many in that great council, who remembring the benefits of *Philip* and *Antigonus*, laboured earnestly for the preservation of the ancient league. But in fine, the sense of late injuries, and expectation of like or worse from him in the future, prevailed against the memory of those old good turns, which he (and *Antigonus* before him) had partly sold unto them, and partly had used as baits, whereby to allure them into absolute subjection. Neither was it perhaps of the least importance, that the *Romans* were strong, and likely to prevail in the end. So after much alteration the decree passed, That they should thenceforward renounce the *Macedonian*, and take part with his enemies in this war. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* they forthwith entred into society: with the *Romans* (because no league would be of force, until the senate and people had approved it) they forbore to decree any society at the present, until the return of those ambassadors from *Rome*, which they determined to send thither of purpose. The *Megalopolitans*, *Dimeans*, and *Argives*, having done their best for the *Macedonian*, as by many respects they were bound; rose up out of the council, and departed before the passing the decree, which they could not resist, nor yet with honesty thereto give assent. For this their good will, and greater, which they shortly manifested, the *Argives* had so little thanks, that all the rest of the *Acheans* may be the better excused, for escaping how they might, out of the hands of so fell a prince.

Soon after this, upon a solemn day at *Argos*, the affection of the citizens discovered it self so plainly, in the behalf of *Philip*, that they, which were his partisans within the town, made no doubt of putting the city into his hands, if they might have any small assistance. *Philocles*, a lieutenant of the king's, lay then in *Corinth*; which he had manfully defended against the *Romans* and *Attalus*: him the conspirators drew to *Argos*; whither

coming on a sudden, and finding the multitude ready to join with him, he easily compelled the *Achean* garrison to quit the place.

This getting of *Argos*, together with the good defence of *Corinth* and some other towns, as it helped *Philip* a little in his reputation, so they gave him hope to obtain some good end by treaty, whilst as yet with his honour he might seek it; and when (the winter being now come on) a new consul would shortly be chosen, who should take the work out of *Titus*'s hands, if it were not concluded the sooner. *Titus* had the like respect unto himself; and therefore thought it best, since more could not be done, to predispose things unto a conclusion, for his own reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the sea-shore, in the bay then called *the Malian*, or *Lamian Bay*, now (as is supposed) the gulf of *Ziton*, in the *Egean* sea, or *Archipelago*. Thither came *Titus*, with *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, an ambassador of *Attalus*; the admiral of *Rhodes*; and some agents for the *Etolians* and *Acheans*. *Philip* had with him some few of his own captains, and *Cycliadas*, lately banished for his sake out of *Achaia*. He refused to come on shore, though fearing (as he said) none but *the immortal Gods*; yet misdoubting some treachery in the *Etolians*. The demands of *Titus* in behalf of the *Romans* were, That he should set all cities of *Greece* at liberty; deliver up to the *Romans* and their confederates, all prisoners, which he had of theirs, and renagado's; likewise whatsoever he held of theirs in *Illyria*; and whatsoever about *Greece* or *Asia* he had gotten from *Ptolemy* then king of *Egypt*, after his father's death. *Attalus* demanded restitution to be made entire, of ships, towns, and temples, by him taken and spoiled in the late war between them. The *Rhodians* would have again the country of *Paræa*, lying over-against their island; as also that he should withdraw his garrisons out of divers towns about the *Hellespont*, and other havens of their friends. The *Acheans* desired restitution of *Argos* and *Corinth*; about the one of which they might not unjustly quarrel with him; the other had been long his own by their consent. The *Etolians* took upon them angrily, as patrons of *Greece*; willing him to depart out of it, even out of the whole country, leaving it free; and withal to deliver up unto them whatsoever he held that had at any time been theirs. Neither were they herewithal content, but insolently declaimed against him, for that which he had lately done in *Theffaly*, corrupting (as they said) the rewards of the victors, by destroying, when he was vanquished, those towns, which else they might have gotten. To answer these malapert *Etolians*, *Philip* commanded his galley to row near the shore. But they began to ply him afresh, telling him, That he must obey his betters, unless he were able to defend himself by force of arms. He answered them (as he was much given to gying) with sundry scoffs, and especially with one, which made the *Roman* consul understand what manner of companions these *Etolians* were. For he said, That he had often dealt with them, as likewise the best of the *Greeks*; desiring them to abrogate a wicked law, which permitted them to take spoil from spoil; yet could he get no better an answer, than *that they would sooner take Etolia out of Etolia*. *Titus* wondered what might be the meaning of this strange law. So the king told him, That they held it a laudable custom, as of-

ten as war happened between their friends, to hold up the quarrel, by sending voluntiers to serve on both sides, that should spoil both the one and the other. As for the liberty of *Greece*, he said it was strange that the *Etolians* should be so careful thereof, since divers tribes of their own, which he there named, were indeed no *Grecians*; wherefore he would fain know, whether the *Romans* would give him leave to make slaves of those *Etolians*, which were no *Greeks*. *Titus* hereat smiled; and was no whit offended to hear the *Etolians* well rattled up; touching whom, he began to understand, how odious they were in all the country. As for that general demand of setting all *Greece* at liberty, *Philip* acknowledged, that it might well beseem the greatness of the *Romans*; though he would also consider what might beseem his own dignity. But that the *Etolians*, *Rhodians*, and other petty estates, should thus presume under countenance of the *Romans*, to take upon them, as if by their great might, he should be hereunto compelled; it was, he said, a strange and ridiculous insolence. The *Acheans* he charged with much ingratitude, reciting against them some decrees of their own; wherein they had loaden both *Antigonus* and him, with more than human honours. Nevertheless he said, that he would render *Argos* unto them: but as touching *Corinth*, that he would further deliberate with *Titus* himself. Thus he addressed himself wholly to the *Roman* general; unto whom, if he could give satisfaction, he cared little for all the rest. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, his late war (he said) was only defensive, they having been the offerers; or if he gave them any occasion, it was only in helping *Prusias*, his son-in-law; neither did he see why they should rather seek amends at his hands, than he at theirs. For whereas they complained, That spoiling a temple of *Venus*, he had cut down the grove and pleasant walks thereabouts: what could he do more than send gardeners thither with young plants, if one king of another would stand to ask such recompence. Thus he jested the matter out; but offered, nevertheless, in honour of the *Romans*, to give back the region of *Peræa* to the *Rhodians*; as likewise to *Attalus* the ships and prisoners of his, whereof he had then possession. Thus ended that day's conference, because it was late; *Philip* requiring a night's leisure to think upon the articles, which were many; and he ill provided of counsel wherewith to advise about them. For your being so ill provided of counsel, said *Titus*, you may even thank your self; as having murdered all your friends, that were wont to advise you faithfully. The next day *Philip* came not, until it was late at night, excusing his long stay by the weightiness of the things propounded, whereon he could not suddenly tell how to resolve. But it was believed, that he thereby sought to abridge the *Etolians* of leisure to rail at him. And this was the more likely, for that he desired conference in private with the *Roman* general. The sum of his discourse, as *Titus* afterwards related it, was, That he would give to the *Acheans* both *Argos* and *Corinth*; as also that he would render unto *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* what he had promised the day before; likewise to the *Etolians*, that he would grant some part of their demands; and to the *Romans* whatsoever they did challenge. This when *Titus*'s associates heard, they exclaimed against it, saying, That if the king were suffered to retain any thing in *Greece*, he would shortly get possession of all

which he now rendred up. The noise that they made came to *Philip's* ear; who thereupon desired a third day of meeting, and protested, that if he could not perswade them, he would suffer himself to be perswaded by them. So the third day they met early in the morning; at what time the king entreated them all, that they would with sincere affection hearken unto good offers of peace, and immediately conclude it, if they could like well of those conditions, which he had already tendered; or otherwise that they would make truce with him for the present, and let him send ambassadors to *Rome*, where he would refer himself to the courtesy of the senate.

This was even as *Quintius* would have it, who stood in doubt, lest a new consul might happen to defraud him of the honour, which he expected by ending of the war. So he easily prevailed with the rest to assent thereunto; forasmuch as it was winter, a time unfit for service in the war; and since, without authority of the senate, he should be unable to proceed resolutely either in war or peace. Further, he willed them to send their several ambassadors to *Rome*, which intimating unto the senate what each of them required, should easily hinder *Philip* from obtaining any thing to their prejudice. Among the rest, he perswaded king *Aminander* to make a journey to *Rome*, in person, knowing well, that the name of a king, together with the confluence of so many ambassadors, would serve to make his own actions more glorious in the city. All this tended to procure, that his own command of the army in *Greece*, might be prorogued. And to the same end had he dealt with some of the tribunes of the people at *Rome*, who had already (though as yet he knew not so much) obtained it from him, partly by their authority, partly by good reasons which they alledged unto the senate.

The ambassadors of the *Greeks*, when they had audience at *Rome*, spake bitterly against the king, with good liking of the senate, which was more desirous of victory than satisfaction. They magnified the honourable purpose of the *Romans*, in undertaking to set *Greece* at liberty. But this (they said) could never be effected, unless especial care were taken, that the king should be dispossessed of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. In this point they were so vehement, producing a map of the country, and making demonstration how those places held all the rest in servility, that the senate agreed to have it even so as they had desired. When therefore the ambassadors of *Philip* were brought in, and began to have made a long oration, they were briefly cut off in the midst of their preface, with this one demand; *Whether their master would yield up Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias?* Hereto they made answer, That concerning those places, the king had given them no direction or commission what to say or do. This was enough. The senate would no longer hearken to *Philip's* desire of peace, wherein they said he did no better than trifle. Yet might his ambassadors have truly said, That neither the *Etolians*, *Acheans*, nor any of their fellows, had in the late treaty required by name, that *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* should be yielded up. For which of them indeed could make any claim to either of these towns? As for *Corinth*, whereto the *Acheans* had some right, (though their right were no better, than that having stolen it from one *Macedonian* king in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by bargain unto another) *Philip* had already condescended to give it back unto them. And this

perhaps would have been alledged, even against the *Greeks*, in excuse of the king, by some of *T. Quintius's* friends, that so he might have had the honour to conclude the war, if a successor had been decreed unto him. But since he was appointed to continue general, neither his friends at *Rome*, nor he himself, after the return of the ambassadors into *Greece*, cared to give ear to any talk of peace.

Philip, seeing that the *Acheans* had forsaken him, and joined with their common enemies, thought even to deal with them in the like manner, by reconciling himself unto *Nabis*, whom they hated most. There were not many years pass'd, since the *Lacedemonians* under *Cleomenes*, with little other help than their own strength, had been almost strong enough both for the *Macedonians* and *Acheans* together: but now the condition of things was altered. *Nabis's* force consisted in a manner wholly in his mercenaries, for he was a tyrant, though styling himself king. Yet he sorely vexed the *Acheans*, and therefore seemed unto *Philip* one likely to stand him in great stead, if he could be won. To this purpose, it was thought meet that the town of *Argos*, which could not otherwise be easily defended, should be consigned over into his hands; in hope, that such a benefit would serve to tie him fast unto the *Macedonian*. *Philocles*, the king's lieutenant, who was appointed to deal with *Nabis*, added further, that it was his master's purpose to make a straight alliance with the *Lacedemonian*, by giving some daughters of his own in marriage unto *Nabis's* sons. This could not but be well taken. Yet *Nabis* made some scruple in accepting the town of *Argos*, unless by decree of the citizens themselves he might be called into it. Hereabout *Philocles* dealt with the *Argives*; but found them so averse, that, in open assembly of the people, they detested the very name of the tyrant, with many railing words. *Nabis*, hearing of this, thought he had thereby a good occasion to rob and fleece them. So he willed *Philocles*, without more ado, to make over the town, which he was ready to receive. *Philocles* accordingly did let him, with his army, into it by night, and gave him possession of the strongest places therein. Thus dealt *Philip* with the *Argives*; who, for very love, had forsaken the *Acheans*, to take his part. Early in the morning, the tyrant made himself master of all the gates. A few of the principal men understanding how things went, fled out of the city at the first tumult: wherefore they were all banished, and their goods confiscated. The rest of the chief citizens that stayed behind, were commanded to bring forth out of hand, all their gold and silver. Also a great imposition of money was laid upon all those that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were dismissed without more ado; but if any stood long upon the matter, or played the thieves, in purloining their own goods, they were put to the whip, and, besides loss of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the tyrant began to make popular laws; namely, such as might serve to make him gracious with the rascally multitude; abrogating all debts, and dividing the lands of the rich among the poor. By such art of oppressing the great ones, it had been an old custom of tyrants to assure themselves of the vulgar for a time.

As soon as *Nabis* had gotten *Argos*, he sent the news to *T. Quintius*, and offered to join with him against *Philip*. *Titus* was glad of it, to avert the pains to cross over the *Strait* into *Italy*, there to meet with *Nabis*. They had long agreed (though king *Attalus*, who was per-
with

with the consul, made some cavil touching *Argos*) and the tyrant lent unto the *Romans* six hundred of his mercenaries of *Crete*; as also he agreed with the *Acheans* upon a truce for four months, reserving the final conclusion of peace between them until the war of *Philip* should be ended; which, after this, continued not long.

SECT. XIV.

The battel at Cynoscephalæ, wherein Philip was vanquished by T. Quintius.

Titus *Quintius*, as soon as he understood that he was appointed to have command of the army, without any other limitation of time, than during the pleasure of the senate, made all things ready for diligent pursuit of the war. The like did *Philip*, who, having failed in his negotiation of peace, and no less failed in his hopes of getting *Nabis* to friend in that war, meant afterwards wholly to rely upon himself.

^a *Titus* had in his army about twenty-six thousand, and *Philip* a proportionable number: but neither of them knew the other's strength, or what his enemy intended to do. Only *Titus* heard that *Philip* was in *Thessaly*, and thereupon addressed himself to seek him out. They had like to have met unawares near unto the city of *Pheræ*, where the vant-couriers on both sides discovered each other, and sent word thereof unto their several captains: but neither of them were over-hasty to commit all to hazard upon so short warning. The day following, each of them sent out three hundred horse, with as many light-armed foot, to make a better discovery. These met, and fought a long while, returning finally back into their several camps, with little advantage unto either side. The country about *Pheræ* was thick set with trees, and otherwise full of gardens and mud-walls; which made it improper for service of the *Macedonian Phalanx*: wherefore the king dislodged, intending to remove back unto *Scotusa*, in the frontier of *Macedon*, where he might be plentifully served with all necessaries. *Titus* conceived aright his meaning, and therefore purposed also to march thitherwards, were it only to waste the country. There lay between them a great ledge of hills, which hindered the one from knowing what course the other took. Nevertheless they encamped not far asunder both the first and the second night; though neither of them understood what was become of the other. The third day was very tempestuous, and forced each of them to take up his lodging, where he found it by chance. Then sent they forth discoverers again, in greater number than before. These meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at first the *Macedonians* had the worse. But *Philip* anon sent in such a strong supply, that if the resistance of the *Etolians* had not been desperate, the *Romans*, their fellows, had been driven back into their camp. Yet, all resistance notwithstanding, the *Macedonians* prevailed; so that *Titus* himself was fain to bring forth his legions, that were not a little discouraged, by the defeat of all their horse, to animate those which were in flight.

It was altogether besides the king's purpose, to put the fortune of a battel in trust that day, with so much of his estate as might thereon depend. But the news came to him thick and tumultuously, how the enemies fled, and how the day was his own; if he could use an occasion, the like whereof he should not often find. This caused him to alter his purpose, inasmuch that he embattel'd his men, and

climbed up those hills; which, for that the knops thereon had some resemblance unto dogs heads, were called by a word signifying as much, *Cynoscephalæ*. As soon as he was on the hill-top, it did him good to see that they of his own light-armature were busy in fight, almost at the very camp of the enemies, whom they had repelled so far. He had also liberty to chuse his ground, as might serve best his advantage; forasmuch as the *Romans* were quite driven from all parts of the hill. But of this commodity he could make no great use, the roughness of the place among those dogs heads, as they were called, serving nothing aptly for his *Phalanx*. Nevertheless he found convenient room wherein to marshal the one part of his army, and gave order unto his captains to follow with the rest, embatteling them as they might. Whilst he was doing this, he perceived that his horsemen and light-armature began to shrink, as being fallen upon the *Roman* legion, by force whereof they were driven to recoil. He sets forward to help them, and they no less hastily draw unto him for succour, having the *Romans* not far behind them.

As the legions began to climb the hill, *Philip* commanded those of his *Phalanx* to charge their pikes, and entertain them. Here *Titus* found an extreme difficult piece of work; for this *Phalanx* being a great square battel of armed pikes, like in all points to those which are now used in our modern wars; and being in like manner used as are ours, was not to be resisted by the *Roman* targetteers as long as the *Phalanx* it self held together undissolved. The *Macedonians* were embattel'd in very close order, so that two of them stood opposite to one of the *Romans*; as also the pikes of the first rank had their points advanced two or three foot before their foreman. Wherefore it is no marvel if the *Romans* gave back, every one of them being troubled (as it were) with ten enemies at once, and not able to come nearer unto the next of them than a dozen foot, or thereabouts. *Titus* finding this, and not knowing how to remedy it, was greatly troubled; for that still the *Phalanx* bore down all which came in the way. But in the mean while he observed, that they which were appointed by *Philip* to make his left wing, were not able, through the much unevenness of the ground, to put themselves in order; so as either they kept their places on the hill-tops, or else (which was worse) upon desire either of beholding the pastime, or of seeming to be partakers in the work, run foolishly along by the side of their fellows which were occupied in fight.

Of this their disorder he made great and present use. He caused the right wing of his battel to march up the hill against these ill-ordered troops, his elephants leading the way to increase the terror. The *Macedonians* were readier to dispute what should be done in such a case, than well advised what to do; as having no one man appointed to command that part in chief. Indeed, if they should have done their best, it could not have served, since the ground whereon they stood, made their weapons useless. For, let it be supposed that *Philip*, having twenty-six thousand in his army (as he is said to have been equal to the enemy in number) had four thousand horse, four thousand targetteers, and four thousand light-armed; so shall there remain fourteen thousand pikes, whereof he himself had embattel'd the one half in a *Phalanx*; the other half in the left wing, are they whom *Quintius* is ready now to charge. The *Phalanx*, having usually sixteen in file, must, when it consisted of seven thousand, have well near

^a Plut. in vita T. Q. Flam.

four hundred and forty in rank ; but four hundred would serve to make a front long enough ; the other forty, or thirty-seven files might be cut off, and reckoned in the number of the targetteers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, as ^a *Polybius* doth, to every man of them three foot of ground, this front must have occupied twelve hundred foot, or two hundred and forty paces ; that is, very near a quarter of a mile in length. Such a space of open champaign, free from incumbrance of trees, ditches, hillocks, or the like impediments, that must of necessity dis-join this close battel of the *Phalanx*, was not every-where to be found. Here at *Cynoscephalæ*, *Philip* had so much room, as would only suffice for the one half of his men ; the rest were fain to stand still, and look about them, being hindered from putting themselves in order, by the roughness of the *dogs heads*. But the *Romans*, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindered from coming up unto them ; nor found any difficulty in mastering those enemies, whose feet were in a manner bound by the discommodity of the place. The very first impression of the elephants caused them to give back ; and the coming on of the legions, to betake themselves unto flight. A *Roman* tribune, or colonel, seeing the victory on that part assured, left the prosecution of it unto others ; and being followed by twenty ensigns, or maniples ; that is, (as they might fall out) by some two thousand men, took in hand a notable piece of work, and mainly helpful to making of the victory compleat. He considered that *Philip*, in pursuing the right wing of the *Romans*, was run on so far, as that himself, with his fellows, in mounting the hill to charge the left wing of the *Macedonians*, was already gotten above the king's head. Wherefore he turned to the left hand, and, making down the hill after the king's *Phalanx*, fell upon it in the rear. The hindmost ranks of the *Phalanx*, all of them indeed, save the first five, were accustomed, when the battels came to joining, to carry their pikes upright, and with the whole weight of their bodies to thrust on their foremen ; and so were they doing at the present. This was another great inconvenience in the *Macedonian Phalanx*, that it served neither for offence nor defence, except only in front. For though it were so, that *Alexander*, when he was to fight with *Darius* in *Mesopotamia*, arranged his *Phalanx* in such order, that all the four sides of it were as so many fronts, looking sundry ways, because he expected that he should be encompassed round ; yet it is to be understood, that herein he altered the usual form ; as also at the same time he embattelled his men in loose order, that so with ease they might turn their weapons which way need should require. Likewise it is to be considered, that *Alexander's* men being thus disposed, were fit only to keep their own ground ; not being able to follow upon the enemy, unless their hindmost ranks could have marched backwards. But in this present case of *Philip*, there was no such provision for resistance. Therefore his men, being otherwise unable to help themselves, threw down their weapons, and fled. The king himself had thought, until now, that the fortune of the battel was every-where alike, and the day his own. But hearing a noise behind him, and turning a little aside, with a troop of horse, to see how all went, when he beheld his men casting down their weapons, and the *Romans* at his back on the higher ground, he presently betook himself to flight. Neither staid he afterwards in any place (except only a small while about *Tempe*, there to collect such as were

disperfed in this overthrow) until he was gotten into his own kingdom of *Macedon*.

There died of the *Roman* army in this battel, about seven hundred : of the *Macedonians*, about eight thousand were slain, and five thousand taken prisoners.

S E C T. XV.

T. *Quintius* falleth out with the *Etolians* ; and grants truce unto *Philip*, with conditions, upon which the peace is ratified. Liberty proclaimed unto the *Greeks*. The *Romans* quarrel with *Antiochus*.

THE *Etolians* wonderfully vaunted themselves ; and desired to have it noised through all *Greece*, That the victory at *Cynoscephalæ* was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the most of the booty, by sack- ing the *Macedonian* camp, whilst the *Romans* were busied in the chace. *Titus* therefore being offended both at their vain-glory, and at their ravenous condition ; purposed to teach them better manners, by regarding them as slightly, as they thought highly of themselves. He also well perceived, that by using them with any extraordinary favour, he should greatly offend the rest of his confederates in *Greece* ; who detested the *Etolians* much more vehemently, than ever they had done the *Macedonians*. But this displeasure brake not forth yet a while.

After the battel, *Titus* made haste unto *Larissa*, a city of *Thessaly* ; which he presently took. Before his coming, *Philip* had sent thither one of his courtiers, to burn all his letters, and passages whatsoever in writing, betwixt him and others, of which many were there kept. It was well done of the king, that among the cares of so much adversity, he forgot not to provide for the safety of his friends. Yet by his thus doing, they of *Larissa* might well perceive, that he gave them as already lost. Wherefore we find not that they, or any of their neighbours, did make delay of opening their gates to *Titus*. At the same time, the town of *Leucas* bordering upon *Acarmania*, was taken by the *Roman* fleet : and very soon after, all the *Acarnians*, a warlike nation, and in hatred of the *Etolians*, ever true to *Philip* ; gave up themselves unto the *Romans*, hearing of the victory at *Cynoscephalæ*. The *Rhodians* also were then in hand with the conquest of *Peræa*, a region of the continent over-against their island ; whereof they had demanded restitution, in the late treaty of peace with *Philip*. They did herein more manly, than any other of the *Greeks* : forasmuch as they awaited not the good leisure of the *Romans* ; but with an army of their own, and some help which they borrowed of the *Acheans*, and other their friends, gave battel to *Dimocrates*, the king's lieutenant, wherein they had the victory, and consequently recovered the whole province. It angered *Philip* worse than all this, that the *Dardani- ans* gathered courage out of his affliction, to invade his kingdom ; wasting and spoiling, as if all had been abandoned to their discretion. This made him gather an army in all haste, of six thousand foot, and five hundred horse : wherewith coming upon them, he drove them, with little or no loss of his own, and great slaughter of theirs, hastily out of the kingdom. Which done, he returned to *Thessalonica*.

In this one enterprize, he had success answerable to his desire : but seeing what bad fortune ac-

^a Excerpt. à Polyb. l. 17

accompanied his affairs, in all other parts at the same time, he thought it wisdom to yield unto necessity; and therefore sent in all haste *Limneus* and *Demosthenes*, with *Cycliadas*, the banished *Achean*, in whom he reposed much confidence, ambassadors unto *Titus*. These had conference a long while in private, with *Titus*, and some of his *Roman* colonels: by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wise dismissed. It seems that they had commission to refer all unto *Titus's* own discretion; as *Philip* himself in few days after did. There was granted unto them a truce for fifteen days: in which time, the king himself might come and speak with the *Roman* general. In the mean season many suspicious rumors went of *Titus*; as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the king, to betray the *Greeks* his confederates. Of these bruits the *Etolians* were chief authors: who being wont to regard neither friendship nor honesty, where profit led them a wrong way, judged alike of all men else. But against the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and *Philip*, *Titus* had sent letters unto his associates; willing them to have their agents ready by a time appointed, at the entrance of *Tempe*, where the treaty should be held. There, when they were all assembled, they entred into consultation before the king's arrival, what should be most expedient for the common benefit of them all, and for every estate in particular. The poor king *Aminander*, besought them all, and especially the *Romans*, that they would think upon him; and considering his weakness, which he confessed, make such provision, that after the *Romans* had turned their backs, and were gone home, *Philip* might not wreak his anger upon him, who was not able to resist. Then spake *Alexander*, one of the *Etolians*: who commending *Titus* for so much as he had thus assembled the confederates, to advise upon their own good, and had willed them to deliver their minds freely: added, That in the main of the purpose which he had in hand, he was utterly deceived: for that by making peace with *Philip*, he could neither assure the *Romans* of their quiet, nor the *Greeks* of their liberty. There was, he said, none other end to be made of the war, which could agree either with the purpose of the senate and people of *Rome*, or with the fair promises made by *Titus* himself unto the *Greeks*, than the chasing of *Philip* quite out of his kingdom. And to this effect he made a long discourse. But *Titus* answered, That this *Etolian* was ill acquainted, either with the good pleasure of the senate and people of *Rome*, or with the laudable customs which they generally held: for that it was not the manner of the *Romans*, to seek the utter destruction of any king or nation, at such time as they first made war with them; until by some rebellion they found it a matter of necessity, to take such a rigorous course. And hereof he alledged the *Carthaginians* as a notable example: adding, That victory, to generous minds, was only an inducement unto moderation. As concerning the publick benefit of *Greece*: it was (he said) expedient, that the kingdom of *Macedon* should be greatly weakened and brought low; not that it should be utterly destroyed: forasmuch as it served as a bar, to the *Thracians*, *Gauls*, and a multitude of other savage nations, which would soon overflow the whole continent of *Greece*, if this kingdom were not interposed. Wherefore he concluded, that if *Philip* would yield unto those demands, wherewith he had pressed him in the former treaty; then was there no reason to deny him peace.

As for the *Etolians*: if they thought otherwise, it should be at their own pleasure, to take counsel apart for themselves, as they thought good. Then began *Phaneas*, another of the *Etolians*, to say, That all was come to nothing; for that ere long *Philip* would trouble all the *Greeks*, no less than he had done in time before. But *Titus* interrupted him, and bad him leave his babbling; saying, That himself would take such order, as that *Philip*, were he never so desirous, should thenceforth not have it in his power to molest the *Greeks*.

The next day king *Philip* came thither: whom *Titus* used friendly: and suffering him to repose himself that night, held a council the day following: wherein the king yielded unto all that had been required at his hands; offering yet further, to stand to the good pleasure of the senate, if they would have more added to the conditions. *Phaneas*, the *Etolian*, insulting over him, said it was to be hoped, that he would then at length give up to the *Etolians* a many of the towns (which he there named) bidding him speak, whether he would, or not. His answer was, That they might take them all. But *Titus* interposing himself, said, it should be otherwise. These were *Theffaloman* towns, and should all be free: one of them only excepted, which not long ago had refused to commit it self to the faith of the *Romans*, and therefore should now be given to the *Etolians*. Hereat *Phaneas* cried out, that it was too great an injury, thus to defraud them of the towns that had some time belonged unto their common-weal. Rather he willed *Titus* to consider, that by an ancient covenant between them and the *Romans*, all the towns taken ought to be their own, and the *Romans* to have nothing, save the pillage and captives. It is true, that there had been such a condition in the former war: but it ceased to be of any validity, as soon as the *Etolians* made peace with *Philip*. And thus much *Titus* gave them to understand; asking them, whether they thought it reasonable, that all the towns in *Greece*, which had let in the *Romans* by composition, should be delivered into subjection of the *Etolians*. The rest of the confederates were very much delighted, with these angry passages between the *Roman* and the *Etolians*: neither had they great reason, to fear any hard measure; since *Titus* was so earnest in behalf of those *Theffalians*, to give them liberty, though they had stood out against him, even till very fear made them open their gates. Wherefore they opposed not themselves; but gave their consent willingly unto a truce for four months.

The chief cause that moved *Titus* to grant peace so readily to the *Macedonian*, besides that laudable custom by him before alledged; was, the fame of *Antiochus's* coming with an army from *Syria*, and drawing near towards *Europe*. He had also perhaps yet a greater motive; even the consideration, that his successor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the war should happen to be protracted. And he was in the right. For when his letters, together with ambassadors from the *Macedonian*, and sundry states of *Greece*, came unto *Rome*, new consuls were chosen: who (especially the one of them) stood very earnestly against the peace; alledging frivolous matter of their own suspicion, in hope to get the honour of concluding the war. The senate began to be doubtfully affected, between the ambassadors of *Philip* offering to stand to whatsoever was demanded, and the letters of *Titus* pressing them to accept this offer, on the one side; and the importunity of the consul on the other; who said, that

all

all these goodly shews were fraudulent, and that the king would rebel, as soon as the army was called out of *Greece*. But the matter was taken out of the senators hands by two of the tribunes, that referred it to an assembly of the people; by whose sovereign authority it was concluded, That peace should be granted unto the king. So ten ambassadors were sent from *Rome* over into *Greece*: in which number were they, that had been consuls before *Titus*: and it was ordained by their advice, That *Titus* should go through with the business of peace. These would very fain have retained those three important cities of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*, until the state of *Greece* were somewhat better settled. But finally *Titus* prevailed so, that *Corinth* was (though not immediately) rendred unto the *Acheans*; and all the other *Greek* towns which *Philip* held, as well in *Asia* as in *Greece*, restored unto liberty.

The conditions of the peace granted unto *Philip*, were, That before the celebration of the next *Isthmian Games*, he should withdraw his garrisons out of all the *Greek* towns which he held, and consign them over to the *Romans*: That he should deliver up unto them all captives that he had of theirs, and all renagado's: likewise all his ships of war, reserving to himself only five of the lesser sort, and one of extraordinary greatness, wherein sixteen men laboured at every oar: further, that he should pay a thousand talents, the one half in hand, the other in ten years next following, by even portions. Hereto ^b *Livy* adds, That he was forbidden to make war out of *Macedon*, without permission of the senate. But I find not that he observed this article, or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Four hundred talents he had already delivered unto *Titus*, together with his younger son *Demetrius*, to remain as hostage for his true dealing in this matter of peace, at such time as he lately sent his ambassadors to *Rome*: when it was promised, that the money, and his son, should be restored back unto him, if the senate were not pleased with the agreement. Whether this money were reckoned as part of the thousand talents, I cannot find: and it seemeth otherwise, forasmuch as young *Demetrius*, who together with those four hundred talents, was given for hostage, remained still in custody of the *Romans*, as a part of the bargain which *Titus* formerly had made. Letters also were then sent by *Titus*, unto *Prusias*, king of *Bithynia*: giving him to understand, what agreement was made with *Philip*, in behalf of the *Greeks*; and how the senate held it reasonable, that the *Ciani*, most miserably spoiled and oppressed by *Philip*, to gratify this *Bithynian*, his son-in-law, should be restored to liberty, and permitted to enjoy the same benefit of the *Romans*, which other of their nation did. What effect these letters wrought, it was not greatly material; since the *Romans* were shortly busied with *Antiochus*, in such wise, that they had not leisure to examine the conformity of *Prusias* to their will.

All *Greece* rejoiced at the good bargain, which *Titus* had made with *Philip*. Only the *Etolians* found themselves aggrieved, that they were utterly neglected; which was to the rest no small part of their contentment. The *Beotians* continued to favour the *Macedonian*; and thereby occasioned much trouble unto themselves. There were some among them well-afflicted to the *Romans*: who seeing how things were like to go, made their complaint unto *Titus*; saying, that they were no better

than lost, for the good-will which they had borne unto him; unless at this time, when he lay close by them with his army, their pretor, which was head of the opposite faction, might be made away. *Titus* refused to have an hand in the execution; yet nevertheless did animate them in their purpose. So they committed the fact, and hoped to have kept themselves undiscovered. But when the murder came out, and somewhat was confessed by those that were put to torture, the hatred of the people broke out violently against the *Romans*; in such wise, that howsoever they durst not take arms against them, yet such of them as they found straggling from their camp, they murdered in all parts of the country. This was detected within a while, and many of the dead bodies found. Hereupon *Titus* requires of the *Boeotians* to have the murderers delivered into his hands; and for five hundred soldiers, which he had lost by them, to have paid unto him five hundred talents. Instead of making any such amends, they paid him with excuses, which he would not take as good satisfaction. He sends ambassadors to the *Acheans* and *Athenians*, informing them what had happened, and requested them not to take it amiss, though he dealt with these their friends as they had deserved. Herewithal he falls to wasting their country, and besiegeth two such towns of theirs, as did seem to be most culpable of the murders lately done. But the ambassadors of the *Acheans* and *Athenians* (especially of the *Acheans*, who offered, if he needed them, to help him in this war; yet besought him rather to grant peace unto the *Beotians*) prevailed so far with him, that he was pacified with thirty talents, and the punishment of such as were known offenders.

In like sort, though not so violently, were many states of *Greece* distracted; some among them rejoicing that they were free from the *Macedonian*; others greatly doubting that the *Roman* would prove a worse neighbour. The *Etolians* would have been glad of any commotion, and therefore published rumours abroad, that it was the purpose of the *Romans* to keep in their own hands all those places, wherein *Philip* lately had his garrisons. Little did they, or the rest of the *Greeks*, conceive, that this *Macedonian* war served as an introduction to the war to be made in *Asia* against *Antiochus*; where grew the fruit, that was to be reaped of this and many other victories. Wherefore to stay the progress of bad rumours, when the *Isthmian Games* were held, which in time of peace were never without great solemnity and concourse: *Titus*, in that great assembly of all *Greece*, caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet to this effect, That the senate and people of *Rome*, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, the general, having vanquished king *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, did will to be at liberty, free from impositions, free from garrisons, and living at their own laws, the *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Eubeans*, *Acheans* of *Phthiotis*, *Magnetians*, *Thessalians*, and *Periæbians*. The suddenness of this proclamation astonished men: so as tho' they applauded it with a great shout; yet presently they cried out to hear it again, as if they durst scarce credit their own ears. The *Greeks* were crafts-masters in the art of giving thanks; which they rendered now to *Q. Flaminius* with so great affliction, as that they had well-near smothered him, by thronging officiously about him.

^a c Polyb. excerpt. Legat. 9.

^b Liv. l. 33.

This good-will of the *Greeks*, was like to be much more available to the *Romans* in their war against *Antiochus*, than could have been the possession of a few towns; yea, or of all those provinces which were named in the proclamation. Upon confidence hereof, no sooner were these *Isthmian* games at an end, than *Titus*, with the *Romans* that were of his council, gave audience to *Hagesianax*, and *Lyfias*, king *Antiochus's* ambassadors, whom they willed to signify unto their lord, that he should do well to abstain from the free cities in *Asia*, and not vex them with war; as also to restore whatsoever he had occupied belonging to the kings *Ptolemy* or *Philip*. Moreover, they willed him by these his ambassadors, that he should not pass over his army into *Europe*; adding, that some of them would visit him in person ere it were long, to talk with him further concerning these points. This done, they fell to accomplishing their promises unto the *Greeks*; to the rest they gave what they had promised. But the *Phocians* and *Locrians* they gave unto the *Etolians*, whom they thought it no wisdom to offend over-much, being shortly to take a greater work in hand. The *Acheans* of *Phthiotis* they annexed unto the *Thessalians*, all save the town of *Thebes* in *Phthiotis*, the same which had been abandoned by *T. Quintius* to the *Etolians* in the last treaty with *Philip*. The *Etolians* contended very earnestly about *Pharsalus* and *Leucas*. But they were put off with a dilatory answer, and rejected unto the senate: for howsoever somewhat the council might favour them; yet it was not meet that they should have their will, as it were in despite of *Titus*. To the *Acheans* were restored *Corinth*, *Triphylia*, and *Heræa*.

So the *Corinthians* were made free indeed (tho' the *Romans* yet a while kept the *Acrocorinthus*) for that all which were partakers of the *Achean* common-wealth, enjoyed their liberty in as absolute manner, as they could desire. To *Pleuratus*, the *Illyrian*, were given one or two places, taken by the *Romans* from *Philip*: and upon *Aminander* were bestowed those castles, which he had gotten from *Philip* during this war; to reign in them and the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his *Athamanians*. The *Rhodians* had been their own carvers. *Attalus* was dead a little before the victory; and therefore lost his share. Yet many that were with *Titus* in council, would have given the towns of *Oreum* and *Eretria*, in the isle of *Eubœa*, to his son and successor king *Eumenes*. But finally it was concluded, that these, as well as the rest of the *Eubeans*, should be suffered to enjoy their liberty. *Orestis*, a little province of the kingdom of *Macedon*, bordering on *Epirus*, and lying towards the *Ionian* sea, had yielded unto the *Romans* long ere this, and since continued true to them: for which cause it was also set at liberty, and made a free estate by it self.

These businesses being dispatch'd, it remained, that all care should be used, not how to avoid the war with king *Antiochus*, but how to accomplish it with most ease and prosperity. Wherefore ambassadors were sent both to *Antiochus* himself, to pick matter of quarrel; and about unto others, to pre-dispose them unto the assisting of the *Romans* therein. What ground and matter of war against this king the *Romans* now had, or shortly after found; as also how their ambassadors and agents dealt and sped abroad; I refer unto another place.

C H A P. V.

The wars of the Romans with Antiochus the Great, and his adherents.

S E C T. I.

What kings, of the races of Seleucus and Ptolemy, reigned in Asia and Egypt, before Antiochus the Great.

S Eleucus ^a *Nicator*, the first of his race, king of *Asia* and *Syria*, died in the end of the hundred twenty and fourth *Olympiad*. He was treacherously slain by *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, at an altar called *Argos*; having (as is said) been warned before by an oracle, to beware of *Argos*, as the fatal place of his death. But I never have read, that any man's life hath been preserved, or any mischance avoided, by the predictions of such devilish oracles. Rather I believe, that many such predictions of the heathen gods, have been antedated by their priests or by others, which devised them after the event.

Antiochus Sotus, the son and heir of this *Seleucus*, was dearly beloved of his father: who surrendered up unto him his own wife *Stratonica*, when he understood how much the young prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore *Ptolemy Ceraunus* had great cause to fear, that the death of *Seleucus*,

would not be revenged by this his successor. But *Antiochus* was contented to be pacified, either with gifts, or perhaps only with fair words; containing himself within *Asia*, and letting *Ceraunus* enjoy that quietly, which he had purchased in *Europe* with the blood of *Seleucus*. It is said of this *Antiochus*, that altho' he married with the queen *Stratonica* in his father's life; yet out of modesty he forbore to embrace her, till his father was dead. So that perhaps his incestuous love was partly, if not chiefly, the cause of his not prosecuting that revenge, whereunto nature should have urged him. Afterwards he had wars with *Antigonus Gonatas*, and with *Nicomedes* king of *Bitthynia*. Also *Lutarius* and *Leonorius*, kings or captains of the *Gauls*, were set upon him by the said *Nicomedes*. With these he fought a great battel: wherein, tho' otherwise, the enemy had all advantage against him; yet by the terror of his elephants, which affrighted both their horses and them, he won the victory. He took in hand an enterprise against *Ptolemy Philadelphus*: but finding ill success in the beginning, he soon gave it over. To this king *Antiochus Sotus* it was, that *Berosus* the *Chaldean* dedicated his ^b history of the kings of *Assyria*; the same, which

^a Polyb. lib. 2.

^b Genebrard. lib. 2. Just. Mart. in Parieu

hath since been excellently falsified by the friar *Annius*. He left behind him one son, called *Antiochus Theos*; and one daughter, called *Apame*, that was married unto the king of *Cyrene*. So he died about the end of the hundred twenty and ninth *Olympiad*, or the beginning of the *Olympiad* following, in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth year of the kingdom of the *Greeks*; when he had reigned nineteen years.

Antiochus, surnamed *Theos* or the God, had this vain and impious title given unto him, by flattery of the *Milesians*; whom he delivered from *Timarchus*, a tyrant that oppressed them. He held long and difficult, but fruitless, war with *Ptolemy Philadelphus* king of *Egypt*; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy*.

Of these two kings, and of this lady *Berenice*, St. *Jerome*, and other interpreters have understood that prophecy of *Daniel*: * *The king's daughter of the south, shall come to the king of the north, to make an agreement*; and that which followeth.

Ptolemy Philadelphus was a great lover of peace and learning; and (setting apart his incestuous marriage with his own sister *Arfince*) a very excellent prince: howsoever, the worthiest of all that race. It was he, that built and furnished with books, that famous library in *Alexandria*: which to adorn, and to honour the more, he sent unto *Eleazar*, then high priest of the *Jews*, for the books of *Moses* and other scriptures. The benefits of this king unto the *Jews*, had formerly been very great: for he had set at liberty as many of them, as his father held in slavery throughout all *Egypt*; and he had sent unto the temple of God in *Jerusalem* very rich presents. Wherefore *Eleazar* yielding to the king's desire, presented him with an *Hebrew* copy: which *Ptolemy* caused to be translated into *Greek*, by seventy-two of the most grave and learned persons, that could be found among all the tribes. In this number of the seventy two interpreters, or (as they are commonly called) the *Seventy*; *Jesus*, the son of *Sirach*, is thought by *Genebrard* to have been one: who that he lived in this age, it seems to me very sufficiently proved by *Janeſinus*, in his preface unto *Ecclesiasticus*. The whole passage of this business between *Philadelphus* and the high priest, was written (as *Josephus* affirms) by *Aristeus* that was employed therein. Forty years *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was king: reckoning the time wherein he jointly reigned with his father. He was exceedingly beloved of his people; and highly magnified by poets, and other writers. Towards his end he grew more voluptuous, than he had been in his former years: in which time he boasted, that he alone had found out the way how to live for ever. If this had been referred unto his honourable deeds, it might have stood with reason: otherwise, the gout, with which he was often troubled, was enough to teach him his own error. He was the first of the kings, derived from *Alexander's* successors, that entered into league with the *Romans*: as also his off-spring was the last among the royal families, which by them was rooted up.

Antiochus Theos had another wife, called *Laodice*, at such time as he married with *Berenice* the daughter of this *Ptolemy*. After his second marriage,

he used his first wife with no better regard, than if she had been his concubine. *Laodice* hated him for this: yet adventured not to seek revenge; until her own son *Seleucus Callinicus*, was of ability to be king. This was two or three years after the death of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*: at what time she poisoned her husband *Theos*; and by permission of *Seleucus* her son, murdered *Berenice*, together with a son she had born to *Antiochus*.^d *Justin* reports, that *Berenice* saved herself, together with the young prince her child, awhile in the sanctuary at *Daphne*: and that not only some cities of *Asia* prepared to succour her, but her brother *Ptolemy Euergetes*, king of *Egypt*, came to rescue her with an army; tho' too late, for she was slain before.

With such cruelties *Seleucus Callinicus*, succeeding unto his father that had fifteen years been king, began his reign. His subjects were highly offended at his wicked nature, which they discovered at his first entrance. Wherefore it was like, that his estate would have been much endangered, if *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who came against him, had not been drawn back into his own country, by some commotions there in hand. For there were none that would bear arms against *Ptolemy*, in defence of their own king: but rather they sided with the *Egyptian*; who took *Laodice* the king's mother, and rewarded her with death, as she had well deserved. Wherefore *Seleucus*, being freed from this invasion, by occasion of those domestical troubles, which recalled *Euergetes* home into *Egypt*, went about a dangerous piece of work, even to make war upon his own subjects, because of their bad affection towards him; when as it had been much better, by well deserving, to have changed their hatred into love. A great fleet he prepared: in furnishing and manning whereof, he was at such charges, that he scarce left himself any other hope, if that should miscarry. Herein he embarked himself; and putting to sea, met with such a tempest, as devoured all save himself, and a very few of his friends, that hardly escaped. This calamity, having left him nothing else in a manner than his naked body, turned nevertheless to his great good; as anon after it seemed. For when his subjects understood, in what sort the gods (as they conceived it) had punished him for his offences: they had commiseration of his estate; and, presuming, that he would thenceforth become a new man, offered him their service with great alacrity. This revived him, and filled him with such spirit; as thinking himself well enough able to deal with the *Egyptian*, he made ready a mighty army for that purpose. But his fortune was no better at land, than it had been at sea. He was vanquished by *Ptolemy* in a great battel: whence he escaped hardly; no better attended, than after his late shipwreck. Hastling therefore back to *Antioch*, and fearing that the enemy would soon be at his heels; he wrote unto his brother *Antiochus Hierax*, who lay then in *Asia*, praying him to bring succour with all speed; and promising, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the dominion of a great part of *Asia*. *Antiochus* was then but fourteen years old, yet extremely ambitious; and therefore glad of such an occasion to make himself great. He levied a mighty army of the *Gauls*; wherewith he set forwards to help his brother; or rather to get what he could for himself. Hereof *Ptolemy* being

* Dan. c. 11. v. 6. b Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 18. c. 42. c Jos. Ann. l. 12. c. 2. Concerning that book, which runs under the name of *Arillan*; many learned men, and among the rest *Lodovico Vives*, hold suspicion, that it is a counterfeit, and the invention of some late author. Surely if it were to be suspected in the time of *Vives*; it may be now much more justly suspected, since it was advanced as a come forth, purged from faults (as the papists term those books, whom they have charged with faults) and set forth by *M. d'endorpius* at *Colen*. An. Dom. 1578.

d Jul. l. 27.

advertised, and having no desire to put himself in danger more than needed, took truce with *Seleucus* for ten years. No sooner was *Seleucus* freed from this care of the *Egyptian* war, but his brother *Antiochus* came upon him, and needs would fight with him, as knowing himself to have the better army. So *Seleucus* was vanquished again, and saved himself, with so few about him, that he was verily supposed to have perished in the battel. Thus did God's justice take revenge of those murders, by which the crown was purchased; and settled (as might have been thought) on the head of this bloody king. *Antiochus* was very glad to hear of his brother's death; as if thereby he had purchased his heart's desire: but the *Gauls*, his mercenaries, were gladder than he. For when he led them against *Eumenes*, king of *Pergamus*, being in hopes to get honour by making a conquest in the beginning of his reign, these perfidious *Barbarians* took counsel against him, and devised how to strip him of all that he had. They thought it very likely, that if there were none of the royal house to make head against them, it would be in their power to do what should best be pleasing unto themselves in the lower *Asia*. Wherefore they laid hands on *Antiochus*, and enforced him to ransom himself with money, as if he had been their lawful prisoner. Neither were they so contented, but made him enter into such composition with them, as tended but little to his honour. In the mean while *Seleucus* had gathered a new army, and prepared once more to try his fortune against his brother. *Eumenes* hearing of this, thought the season fit for himself, to make his profit of their discord. *Antiochus* fought with him, and was beaten; which is no great marvel, since he had great reason to stand in no less fear of the *Gauls*, his own soldiers, than of the enemy with whom he had to deal. After this, *Eumenes* won much in *Asia*, whilst *Antiochus* went against his brother. In the second battel fought between the brethren, *Seleucus* had the upper hand; and *Antiochus Hierax*, or the *Hawk* (which surname was given him, because he sought his prey upon every one, without care whether he were provoked or not) soared away as far as he could both from his brother, and his own *Gauls*. Having fetched a great compass through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, he fell at length into *Cappadocia*, where his father-in-law, king *Antanenes*, took him up. He was entertained very lovingly in outward shew but with a meaning to betray him. This he soon perceived, and therefore betook him to his wings again, though he knew not well which way to bend his flight. At length he resolved to bestow himself upon *Ptolemy*; his own conscience telling him, what evil he had meant unto *Seleucus*, his brother; and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. Infidelity can find no sure harbour. *Ptolemy* well understood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this *Hierax*. Wherefore he laid him up in close prison; whence, though by means of an harlot, he got out; yet flying from his keepers, he fell into the hands of thieves, by whom he was murdered. Near about the same time died *Seleucus*. The *Parthians* and *Bactrians* had rebelled against him, during his wars with his brother. He therefore made a journey against *Asaces*, founder of the *Parthian* kingdom; wherein his evil fortune, or rather God's vengeance, adhered so closely to him, that he was taken prisoner. *Asaces* dealt friendly with him, and dismissed him, having every way given him royal entertainment; but in returning home, he broke his neck by a fall from his horse, and so ended his unhappy reign of twenty years. He had to wife *Laodice*, the sister of *Andromachus*, one of

his most trusty captains; which was father unto that *Achæus*, who, making his advantage of this affinity, became shortly after (as he styled himself) a king; though rather indeed a greater troubler of the world in those parts. By *Laodice* he had two sons, *Seleucus* the third, surnamed *Ceraunus*; and *Antiochus* the third, called afterwards *the Great*.

Seleucus Ceraunus reigned only three years; in which time he made war upon *Attalus* the first, that was king of *Pergamus*. Being weak of body, through sickness, and in want of money, he could not keep his men of war in good order: and finally, he was slain by the treason of *Nicanor*, and *Apaturius*, a *Gaul*. His death was revenged by *Achæus*, who slew the traitors, and took charge of the army, which he ruled very wisely and faithfully awhile; *Antiochus*, the brother of *Seleucus*, being then a child.

S E C T. II.

The beginning of the great Antiochus's reign. Of Ptolemy Euergetes, and Philopator, kings of Egypt. War between Antiochus and Philopator. The rebellion of Molo; and expedition of Antiochus against him. The re-continuance of Antiochus's Egyptian war; with the passages between the two kings: the victory of Ptolemy; and peace concluded. Of Achæus, and his rebellion; his greatness, and his fall. Antiochus's expedition against the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians. Somewhat of the king's reigning in India, after the death of the Great Alexander.

ANTIOCHUS was scarcely fifteen years old, when he began his reign, which lasted thirty-six years. In his minority, he was wholly governed by one *Hermias*, an ambitious man, and one which maligned all virtue that he found in any of the king's faithful servants. This vile quality in a counsellor of such great place, how harmful it was unto his lord, and finally, unto himself, the success of things will shortly discover.

Soon after the beginning of *Antiochus's* reign, *Ptolemy Euergetes*, king of *Egypt*, died; and left his heir *Ptolemy Philopator*, a young boy likewise, as hath elsewhere been remembred. This was that *Euergetes*, who relieved *Aratus* and the *Acheans*; who afterwards took part with *Cleomenes*, and lovingly entertained him when he was chased out of *Greece* by *Antigonus Gonatas*. He annexed unto his dominion the kingdom of *Cyrene*, by taking to wife *Berenice*, the daughter of king *Magas*. He was the third of the *Ptolemies*, and the last good king of the race. The name of *Euergetes*, or *the doer of good*, was given to him by the *Egyptians*; not so much for the great spoils which he brought home, after his victories in *Syria*, as for that he recovered some of those images or idols, which *Cambyfes*, when he conquered *Egypt*, had carried into *Persia*. He was ready to have made war upon the *Jews*, for that *Onias*, their high-priest, out of mere covetousness of money, refused to pay unto him his yearly tribute of twenty talents: but he was pacified by the wisdom of *Josephus*, a *Jew*; to whom afterwards he let in farm the tributes and customs, that belonged unto him, in those parts of *Syria* which he held. For *Cælesyria*, with *Palæstina* and all those parts of the country that lay nearest unto *Egypt*, were held by the *Egyptian*; either as having fallen to the share of *Ptolemy* the first, at such time as the great *Antigonus* was vanquished and

and slain in the battel at *Ipsus*; or as being won by this *Euergetes*, in the troublesome and unhappy reign of *Seleucus Callinicus*. The victories of this *Euergetes* in *Syria*, with the contentions that lasted for many succeeding ages between the *Ptolemies* and the *Seleucidae*; were all foretold by *Daniel* in the prophecy before cited, which is expounded by *St. Jerome*. This *Ptolemy Euergetes* reigned six and twenty years; and died towards the end of the hundred thirty and ninth *Olympiad*. It may seem by that, which we find in the prologue unto *Jesus* the son of *Sirach's* book, that he should have reigned a much longer time. For *Siracides* there saith, that he came into *Egypt* in the eight and thirtieth year, when *Euergetes* was king. It may therefore be, That either this king reigned long together with his father: or that those eight and thirty years, were the years of *Jesus's* own age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the *Jews* did other whiles reckon) from some notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of *Euergetes*: *Hermias* the counsellor, and in a manner the protector of king *Antiochus*, incited his lord unto war against the *Egyptian*; for the recovery of *Cælesyria* and the countries adjoining. This council was very unseasonably given; when *Molo*, the king's lieutenant in *Media*, was broken out into rebellion, and sought to make himself absolute lord of that rich country. Nevertheless *Hermias*, being more froward than wise, maintained stiffly, that it was most expedient, and agreeable with the king's honour, to send forth against a rebellious captain other captains that were faithful; whilst he in person made war upon one, that was like himself, a king. No man durst gainsay the resolution of *Hermias*; who therefore sent *Xenetas* an *Achean*, with such forces as he thought expedient, against the rebel; whilst in the mean season an army was preparing for the king's expedition into *Cælesyria*. The king having marched from *Apamea* to *Laodicea*, and so over the desarts into the valley of *Marfyas*, between the mountains of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*; found his way there stopped by *Theodotus* an *Etolian*, that served under *Ptolemy*. So he consumed the time there awhile to none effect: and then came news, that *Xenetas*, his captain, was destroyed with his whole army; and *Molo* thereby become lord of all the country, as far as unto *Babylon*.

Xenetas, whilst he was yet on his journey, and drew near to the river of *Tigris*; received many advertisements, by such as fled over unto him from the enemy, That the followers of *Molo* were, for the most part, against their wills, drawn by their commander to bear arms against their king. This report was not altogether false; but *Molo* himself stood in some doubt lest his followers would leave him in time of necessity. *Xenetas* therefore making shew, as if he had prepared to pass the river by boats in face of his enemy: lest in the night time such as he thought meet to defend his camp; and with all the flour of his army went over *Tigris*, in a place ten miles lower than *Molo's* camp. *Molo* heard of this, and sent forth his horse to give impediment: but hearing that *Xenetas* could not so be stopped, he himself dislodged, and took his journey towards *Media*; leaving all his baggage behind him in his camp. Whether he did this, as distrustful of the faith of his own soldiers; or whether thereby to deceive his enemy; the great folly of *Xenetas* made his stratagem prosperous. For *Xenetas*, having borne himself, proudly before, upon the countenance of *Hermias*, by whom he was

advanced unto this charge; did now presume, that all should give way to his authority, without putting him to much trouble of using the sword. Wherefore he suffered his men to feast, with the provisions which they found ready in the forsaken camp: or rather he commanded them so to do, by making proclamation, That they should cherish up themselves against the journey, which he intended to take next day, in pursuit of the rebels that fled. And to the same purpose he busied himself, in transporting the remainder of his army, which he had left on the other side of *Tigris*. But *Molo* went no further that day, than he could easily return the same night. Wherefore understanding what good rule the king's men kept: he made such haste back unto them, that he came upon them early in the morning; whilst they were yet heavy with the wine and other good cheer, that they had spent at supper. So *Xenetas*, and a very few with him, died fighting in defence of the camp: the rest were slaughtered, without making resistance; and many of them, ere they were perfectly awake. Likewise the camp on the other side of *Tigris* was easily taken by *Molo*: the captains flying thence, to save their own lives. In the heat of this victory, the rebel marched unto *Seleucia*, which he presently took: and, mastering within a little while the province of *Babylonia*, and all the country down to the *Red sea*, or *Bay of Persia*, he hastened unto *Susa*: where at his first coming he won the city: but, failing to take the castle that was exceeding strong, returned back to *Seleucia*, there to give order concerning this business.

The report of these things coming to *Antiochus*, whilst he lay (as is said before) in the vale of *Marfyas*: filled him with great sorrow, and his camp with trouble. He took counsel what to do in this needful case; and was well advised by *Epigenes*, the best man of war he had about him, to let alone this enterprize of *Cælesyria*; and bend his forces thither, where more need required them. This counsel was put in execution with all convenient haste. Yet was *Epigenes* dismissed by the way, and soon after slain, by the practice of *Hermias*: who could not endure to hear good counsel given, contrary to his own good liking and allowance. In the journey against *Molo*, the name and presence of the king was more available, than any odds which he had of the rebel in strength. *Molo* distrusted his own followers: and thought, that neither his late good success, or any other consideration, would serve to hold them from returning to the king's obedience; if once they beheld his person. Wherefore he thought it safest for him, to assail the king's camp in the night time. But going in hand with this; he was discovered by some that fled over from him to the king. This caused him to return back to his camp: which, by some error, took alarm at his return; and was hardly quieted, when *Antiochus* appeared in sight. The king was thus forward in giving battel to *Molo*, upon confidence which he had that many would revolt unto him. Neither was he deceived in this his belief. For not a few men, or ensigns: but all the left wing of the enemy, which was opposite unto the king, changed side forthwith as soon as ever they had sight of the king's person; and were ready to do him service against *Molo*. This was enough to have won the victory: but *Molo* scorned the work, by killing himself; as did also divers of his friends, who for fear of torments prevented the hangman with their own swords.

After this victory came joyful news, that the queen *Laodice*, daughter of *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, which was married unto *Antiochus* a while before, had brought forth a son. Fortune seemed bountiful unto the king: and therefore he purposed to make what use he could, of her friendly disposition while it lasted. Being now in the eastern parts of his kingdom, he judged it convenient to visit his frontiers; were it only to terrify the *Barbarians*, that bordered upon him. Hereunto his counsellor *Hermias* gave assent: not so much respecting the king's honour; as considering what good might thereby happen to himself. For if it should come to pass, that the king were taken out of the world by any casualty: then made he no doubt of becoming protector to the young prince; and thereby of lengthening his own government. *Antiochus* therefore went against *Artabazanes*, who reigned among the *Atropatians*; having the greatest part of his kingdom, situate between the *Caspian* and *Euxine* sea. This barbarous king was very old and fearful; and therefore yielded unto whatsoever conditions it pleased *Antiochus* to lay upon him. So in this journey *Antiochus* got honour, such as well contented him; and then returned homewards. Upon the way, a physician of his brake with him as concerning *Hermias*; informing him truly, how odious he was unto the people; and how dangerous he would be shortly unto the king's own life. *Antiochus* believed this, having long suspected the same *Hermias*; but not daring, for fear of him, to utter his suspicions. It was therefore agreed, that he should be made away on the sudden: which was done; he being trained forth by a sleight a good way out of the camp, and there killed without warning or disputation. The king needed not to have used so much art, in ridding his hands of a man so much detested. For howsoever he seemed gracious whilst he was alive; yet they that for fear had been most obsequious to him, whilst he was in case to do them hurt, were as ready as the foremost, to speak of him as he had deserved, when once they were secure of him. Yea, his wife and children, lying then at *Apamea*, were stoned to death by the wives and children of the citizens; whose indignation brake forth the more outrageously, the longer that it had been concealed.

About these times, *Achæus* (of whom we spake before) thinking that *Antiochus* might happen to perish in some of these expeditions which he took in hand; was bold to set a diadem upon his own head, and take upon him as a king. His purpose was to have invaded *Syria*: but the fame of *Antiochus*'s returning thitherwards, made him quit the enterprise; and study to set some handsome colour on his former presumption. It is very strange, that *Antiochus* neither went against *Achæus*; nor yet dissembled the notice which he had taken, of these his traitorous purposes: but wrote unto him, signifying that he knew all; and upbraiding him with such infidelity, as any offender might know to be unpardonable. By these means he emboldened the traitor: who being already detected, might better hope to maintain his former actions by strong hand, than to excuse them, or get pardon by submission. *Antiochus* had at that time a vehement desire to recover *Cœlesyria* or what else he could, of the dominions of *Ptolemy Philopator* in those parts. He began with *Seleucia*, a very strong city near unto the mouth of the river *Orentes*, which ere long he won, partly by force, partly by corrupting with bribes the captains that lay therein. This was that *Seleucia*, whereto *Antigonus the great*, who founded it, gave the name of *Antigonia*; but

Seleucus getting it shortly after, called it *Seleucia*; and *Ptolemy Euergetes* having lately won it, might, if it had so pleased him, have changed the name into *Ptolemais*. Such is the vanity of men that hope to purchase an endless memorial unto their names, by works proceeding rather from their greatness, than from their virtue; which therefore no longer are their own, than the same greatness hath continuance. *Theodotus* the *Etolian*, he that before had opposed himself to *Antiochus*, and defended *Cœlesyria* in the behalf of *Ptolemy*, was now grown sorry that he had used so much faith and diligence in service of an unthankful and luxurious prince. Wherefore, as a mercenary, he began to have regard unto his own profit; which thinking to find greater, by applying himself unto him that was (questionless) the more worthy of these two kings; he offered to deliver up to *Antiochus*, the cities of *Tyrus* and *Ptolemais*. Whilst he was devising about this treason, and had already sent messengers to king *Antiochus*, his practice was detected, and he besieged in *Ptolemais* by one of *Ptolemy*'s captains that was more faithful than himself. But *Antiochus* hastening to his rescue, vanquished this captain who met him on the way, and afterwards got possession, not only of *Tyrus* and *Ptolemais*, with a good fleet of the *Egyptian* kings that was in those havens; but of so many other towns in that country, as emboldened him to think upon making a journey into *Egypt* it self. *Agathocles* and *Sosibius* bore all the sway in *Egypt* at that time; *Ptolemy* himself being loth to have his pleasures interrupted with business of so small importance, as the safety of his kingdom. Wherefore these two agreed together to make provision as hastily, and yet as secretly as might be, for the war; and nevertheless, at the same time to press *Antiochus* with daily ambassadors to some good agreement. There came in the heat of this business, ambassadors from *Rhodes*, *Bizantium*, and *Cyzicus*, as likewise from the *Etolians*, according to the usual courtesy of the *Greeks*, desiring to take up the quarrel. These were all entertained in *Memphis*, by *Agathocles* and *Sosibius*; who entreated them to deal effectually with *Antiochus*. But whilst this treaty lasted, great preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the war, wherein these two counsellors perswaded themselves reasonably, that the victory would be their own, if they could get for money a sufficient number of the *Greeks* to take their parts. *Antiochus* heard only what was done at *Memphis*, and how desirous the governours of *Egypt* were to be at quiet; whereunto he gave the readier belief, not only for that he knew the disposition of *Ptolemy*; but because the *Rhodians*, and other ambassadors, coming from *Memphis*, discoursed unto him all after one manner; as being all deceived by the cunning of *Agathocles* and his fellow. *Antiochus* therefore, having wearied himself at the long siege of a town called *Dura*, which he could not win; and being desirous to refresh himself and his army in *Seleucia*, during the winter which then came on, granted unto the *Egyptian* a truce for four months, with promise that he would be ready to hearken unto equal conditions, when they should be offered. It was not his meaning to be so courteous, as he would fain have seemed, but only to lull his enemies asleep; whilst he took time to refresh himself, and to bring *Achæus* to some good order, whose treason daily grew more open and violent. The same negligence which he thought the *Egyptian* would have used, he used himself; as presuming, that when time of the year better served, little force would be

needful; for that the towns would voluntarily yield unto him, since *Ptolemy* provided not for their defence. Nevertheless he gave audience to the ambassadors, and had often conference with those that were sent out of *Egypt*, pleasing himself well to dispute about the justice of his quarrel; which he purposed shortly to make good by the sword, whether it were just or no. He said, that it was agreed between *Seleucus* his ancestor, and *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagi*, That all *Syria*, if they could win it from *Antigonus*, should be given in possession to *Seleucus*; and that this bargain was afterwards ratified by general consent of all the confederates after the battel at *Ipsus*. But *Ptolemy's* men would acknowledge no such bargain. They said, that *Ptolemy*, the son of *Lagi*, had won *Celofyria* and the provinces adjoining, for himself; as also that he had sufficiently gratified *Seleucus*, by lending him forces to recover his province of *Babylon*, and the countries about the river of *Euphrates*. Thus, whilst neither of them greatly cared for peace, they were in the end of their disputation as far from concluding as at the beginning. *Ptolemy* demanded restitution; *Antiochus* thought that he had not as yet gotten all that was his own: also *Ptolemy* would needs have *Achæus* comprehended in the league between them, as one of their confederates; but *Antiochus* would not endure to hear of this, exclaiming against it as a shameful thing, that one king should offer to deal so with another, as to take his rebel into protection, and seek to join him in confederacy with his own sovereign lord. When the truce was expired, and *Antiochus* prepared to take the field again, contrary to his expectation he was informed, That *Ptolemy* with a very puissant army, was coming up against him out of *Egypt*. Setting forward therefore to meet with the enemy, he was encountred on the way by those captains of *Ptolemy*, that had resisted him the year before. They held against him the passages of *Libanus*, whence nevertheless he drove them; and proceeding onward in his journey, won so many places, that he greatly increased his reputation, and thereby drew the *Arabians*, with divers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two kings drew near together, many captains of *Ptolemy* forsook his pay, and fled over to *Antiochus*. This notwithstanding, the *Egyptian* had the courage to meet his enemy in the field. The battel was fought at *Raphia*, where it was not to be decided, whether the *Egyptians* or *Asiatics* were the better soldiers (for that the strength of both armies consisted in mercenaries, chiefly of the *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and *Gauls*) but whether of the kings was the more fortunate. *Ptolemy*, with *Arfinoe* his sister and wife, rode up and down encouraging his men; the like did *Antiochus* on the other side, each of them rehearsing the brave deeds of their ancestors, as not having of their own, whereby to value themselves. *Antiochus* had the more elephants; as also his being of *Asia*, had they been fewer, would have beaten those of *Africa*. Wherefore, by the advantage of these beasts, he drove the enemies before him, in that part of the battel wherein he fought himself. But *Ptolemy* had the better men, by whose valour he brake the gross of his enemy's battel, and won the victory, whilst *Antiochus* was heedlessly following upon those, whom he had compelled to retire. *Antiochus* had brought into the field above seventy thousand foot, and six thousand horse, whereof though he lost scarce ten thousand foot, and not four hundred horse, yet the fame of his overthrow took from him all those places which he had lately won. When therefore he was returned home

to *Antioch*, he began to stand in fear, lest *Ptolemy* and *Achæus*, setting upon him both at once, should put him in danger of his whole estate. This caused him to send ambassadors to the *Egyptian* to treat of peace, which was readily granted; it being much against the nature of *Ptolemy* to vex himself thus with the tedious business of war. So *Ptolemy*, having staid three months in *Syria*, returned home into *Egypt*, clad with the reputation of a conqueror, to the great admiration of his subjects, and of all those that were acquainted with his voluptuous and slothful condition.

Achæus was not comprised in the league between these two kings; or, if he had been included therein, yet would not the *Egyptian* have taken the pains of making a second expedition for his sake. The best was, that he thought himself strong enough, if fortune were not too much against him, to deal with *Antiochus*. Neither was he confident without great reason. For besides his many victories, whereby he had gotten all that belonged unto *Antiochus* on this side of *Taurus*, he had also good success against *Attalus* king of *Pergamu*, that was an able man of war, and commanded a strong army. Neither was he, as *Molo* the rebel had been, one of mean regard otherwise, and carried beyond himself by apprehending the vantage of some opportunity; but cousin-german to the king, as hath been shewed before, and now lately the king's brother-in-law, by taking to wife a younger daughter of the same *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, which was also called *Laodice*, as was her sister the queen, *Antiochus's* wife. These things had added majesty unto him, and had made his followers greatly to respect him, even as one to whom a kingdom was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, that king *Ptolemy* of *Egypt* held him in the nature of a friend; and that king *Antiochus* was now lately vanquished in the battel of *Raphia*, and had thereby lost all his gettings in *Syria*. But all these hopes and likelihoods came to nothing. For the king of *Pontus*, if he would meddle in that quarrel between his son-in-law, had no reason to take part against the more honourable. As for the *Egyptian*, he was not only slothful, but hindered by a rebellion of his own subjects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of *Egypt*, of whom *Ptolemy*, contrary to the manner of his progenitors, had armed a great number to serve in the late expedition, began to entertain a good opinion of their own valour, thinking it not inferior to the *Macedonian*. Hereupon they refused to suffer as much as formerly they had done; since they less esteemed, than they had done, the force of the king's mercenary *Greeks*, which had hitherto kept them in streight subjection. Thus brake out a war between the king and his subjects: wherein though the ill-guided force of the multitude was finally broken; yet king *Ptolemy* thereby wasted much of his strength, and much of his time, that might have been spent, as he thought, much better in revelling; or, as others thought, in succouring *Achæus*. As for *Antiochus*, he had no sooner made his peace with the *Egyptian*, than he turned all his care to the preparation of war against *Achæus*. To this purpose he entered into league with *Attalus*, that so he might distract the forces of his rebel, and find him work on all sides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were such, that within a while he had pent up *Achæus* into the city of *Sandes*, where he held him about two years besieged. The city was very strong, and well victualled, so as there appeared not, when the second year came, any greater likelihood of taking

taking it, than in the first year's siege. In the end, one *Lagoran*, a *Cretan*, found means how to enter the town. The castle it self was upon a very high rock, and in a manner impregnable; as also the town-wall adjoining to the castle, in that part which was called *the Saw*, was in like manner situated upon steep rocks, and hardly accessible, that hung over a deep bottom, whereinto the dead carcases of horses, and other beasts, yea, and sometimes of men, used to be thrown. Now it was observed by *Lagoras*, that the ravens, and other birds of prey, which haunted that place by reason of their food, which was there never wanting, used to fly up unto the top of the rocks, and to pitch upon the walls, where they rested without any disturbance. Observing this often, he reasoned with himself, and concluded, that those parts of the wall were left unguarded, as being thought unapproachable. Hereof he informed the king, who approved his judgment, and gave unto him the leading of such men as he desired for the accomplishing of the enterprise. The success was agreeable to that which *Lagoras* had before conceived; and, though with much labour, yet without resistance, he scaled those rocks, and (whilst a general assault was made) entered the town in that part, which was at other times unguarded, then unthought upon. In the same place had the *Persians* under *Cyrus*, gotten into *Sardes*, when *Cræsus* thought himself secure on that side. But the citizens took not warning by the example of a loss many ages pass'd, and therefore out of memory. *Achæus* held still the castle, which not only seemed by nature impregnable, but was very well stored with all necessaries, and manned with a sufficient number of such as were to him well assured. *Antiochus* therefore was constrained to waste much time about it, having none other hopes to prevail, than by famishing the inclosed. Besides the usual tediousness of expectation, his business called him thence away into the higher *Asia*, where the *Bactrians* and *Parthians*, with the *Hyrceanians*, had erected kingdoms taken out of his dominions, upon which they still encroached. But he thought it not safe to let *Achæus* break loose again. On the other side, there were some agents of *Ptolemy* the *Egyptian*, and good friends unto *Achæus*, that made it their whole study how to deliver this besieged prince. If they could rescue his person, they cared for no more; but presumed, that when he should appear in the countries under *Taurus*, he would soon have an army at command, and be strong enough to hold *Antiochus* as hardly to work, as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one *Bolis*, a *Cretan*, that was acquainted well with all the ways in the country, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult passages among those rocks whereon the castle of *Sardes* stood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he should receive at the hands of *Ptolemy*, as well as of *Achæus*, to do his best for the performance of their desire. He undertook the business, and gave such likely reasons of bringing all to effect, that they wrote unto *Achæus* by one *Arianus*, a trusty messenger, whom *Bolis* found means to convey into the castle. The faith of these negotiators *Achæus* held most assured. They also wrote unto him in privy characters, or cyphers, whereby none save he and they were acquainted; whereby he knew, that it was no feigned device

of his enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the messenger, he was a trusty fellow, and one whom *Achæus* found, by examination, heartily affected unto their side. But the contents of the epistle, which were, that he should be confident in the faith of *Bolis*, and of one *Cambylus*, whom *Bolis* had won unto the business, did somewhat trouble him. They were men to him unknown; and *Cambylus* was a follower of *Antiochus*, under whom he had the command of those *Cretans*, which held one of the forts that blocked up the castle of *Sardes*. Nevertheless, other way to escape he saw none, than by putting himself to some adventure. When the messenger had therefore passed to and fro, it was at length concluded, that *Bolis* himself should come to speak with *Achæus*, and conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the rest, save only by *Bolis* and *Cambylus*, which were *Cretans*, and (as all their countrymen, ^a some few excepted, have been, and still are) false knaves. These two held a consultation together, that was, as ^b *Polybius* observes it, rightly *critical*, neither concerning the safety of him whose deliverance they undertook, nor touching the discharge of their own faith; but only how to get most, with least ado and danger to themselves. Briefly, they concluded, that first of all they would equally share between them ten talents, which they had already received in hand; and then that they would reveal the matter to *Antiochus*, offering to deliver *Achæus* unto him, if they might be well rewarded both with present money, and with promise of consideration answerable to the greatness of such a service, when it should be dispatched. *Antiochus*, hearing this promise of *Cambylus*, was no less glad, than were the friends of *Achæus* well pleased with the comfortable promises of *Bolis*. At length, when all things were in readiness on both sides, and that *Bolis*, with *Arianus*, was to get up into the castle, and convey *Achæus* thence, he first went with *Cambylus* to speak with the king, who gave him very private audience, and confirmed unto him by word of mouth, the assurance of his liberal promises. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honest man, and of one that was faithful unto *Ptolemy*, whom he had long served, he accompanied *Arianus* up into the castle. At his coming thither, he was lovingly entertained; yet questioned at large by *Achæus*, touching all the weight of the business in hand. But he discoursed so well, and with such gravity, that there appeared no reason of distrusting either his faith or judgment. He was an old soldier, had long been a captain under *Ptolemy*, and did not thrust himself into this business, but was invited by honourable and faithful men. He had also taken a safe course in winning (as it seemed) that other countryman of his, who kept a fort that stood in their way; and thereby had already sundry times given safe passage and repassage unto *Arianus*. But against all these comfortable hopes, the importance of so great an adventure stirred up some diffidence. *Achæus* therefore dealt wisely, and said, that he would yet stay in the castle a little longer; but that he meant to send away with *Bolis* three or four of his friends, from whom, when he received better advertisement concerning the likelihood of the enterprise, then

^a Among these few, I do not except one, calling himself Eudæmon John Andrew, a *Cretan*; who in one of his late shameful libels, where he traduced our king, religion, and country, with all the good and worthy men, of whom he could learn the names, both, by inserting my name, twice behind me, in calling me a puritan, and one that have been dangerous to my sovereign. It is an honour to be ill spoken of by so diligent a supporter of treason, and architect of lies; in regard whereof I may not deny him the commendation of criticism, as I do commend him, than be in multiplicity of name beyond any the *Cretans* in other times, that were always liars, evil beasts, and now better.

^b Polyb. lib. 1. 8

would he issue forth himself. Hereby he took order not to commit himself wholly unto the faith of a man unknown. But, as *Polybius* well notes, he did not consider that he played the *Cretan* with a man of *Crete*; which is to say, that he had to do with one, whose knavery could not be avoided by circumspection. *Bolis* and *Cambylus* had layed their plot thus; that if *Achæus* came forth alone, then should he easily be taken by the ambush prepared for him; if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then should *Arianus* be appointed to lead the way, as one that of late had trodden it oft; and *Bolis* following behind, should have an eye upon *Achæus*, to prevent him not only from escaping in the tumult, but from breaking his own neck, or otherwise killing himself; to the end that, being taken alive, he might be to *Antiochus* the more welcome present. And in such order came they now forth. *Arianus* going before as guide, the rest following as the way served, and *Bolis* in the rear. *Achæus* made none acquainted with his purpose, till the very instant of his departure. Then signified he the matter to his wife *Laodice*; and, comforting her with hope as well as he could, appointed four of his especial friends to bear him company. They were all disguised, and one of them alone took upon him to have knowledge of the *Greek* tongue, speaking and answering as need should require, for all, as if the rest had been *Barbarians*. *Bolis* followed them, craftily devising upon his business, and much perplexed. For (saith *Polybius*) *though he were of Crete, and prone to promise any thing to the mischief of another*, yet could he not see in the dark, nor know which of them was *Achæus*, or whether *Achæus* himself were there. The way was very uneasy, and in some places dangerous; especially to those that knew it not. Wherefore they were fain to stay in divers places, and help one another up or down. But upon every occasion, they were all of them very officious towards *Achæus*, lending him their hands, and taking such care of him, as easily gave *Bolis* to understand that he was the man; and so by their unseasonable duty they undid their lord. When they came to the place, where *Cambylus* lay in wait, *Bolis* whistled, and presently clasped *Achæus* about the middle, holding him fast that he should not stir. So they were all taken by the ambush, and carried forthwith to *Antiochus*, who sat up watching in his pavilion, expecting the event. The sight of *Achæus* brought in bound unto him, did so astonish the king, that he was unable to speak a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was he before informed of the plot, which might have kept him from admiration; as also the next morning betimes assembling his friends together, he condemned *Achæus* to a cruel death; which argues, that he was not moved with pity towards this unhappy man. Wherefore it was the general regard of calamities, incident unto great fortunes, that wrung from him these tears; as also the rarity of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder; though it be so, that such a course as this of his, in employing two mischievous knaves against one traitor, doth not rarely succeed well, according to that *Spanish* proverb, *A un Traydor dos altoposos*. The death of *Achæus* brought such astonishment upon those which held the castle, that after a while they gave up the place and themselves unto the king, whereby he got entire possession of all to him belonging in the lesser *Asia*.

Some years passed after this, ere *Antiochus* was ready for his expedition against the *Parthians*, and *Hyrcanians*. The *Parthians* were a little nation of

obscure beginnings, and commonly subject unto those that ruled in *Media*. In the great shuffling for provinces after the death of *Alexander*, the government over them was committed by *Antipater* to one *Philip*, a man of small regard; shortly they fell to *Eumenes*, then to *Antigonus*, and from him, together with the *Medes*, to *Seleucus*, under whose posterity they continued until the reign of *Seleucus Callinicus*, being ruled by lieutenants of the *Syrian* kings. The lustful insolency of one of these lieutenants, together with the misfortune of *Callinicus*, that was vanquished, and thought to be slain by the *Gauls*, did stir up *Arfaces*, a nobleman of the country, to seek revenge of injuries done, and animate them to rebel. So he slew the king's lieutenant, made himself king of the *Parthians*, and lord of *Hyrcania*; fought prosperously with those that disturbed him in his beginnings, and took *Seleucus Callinicus* prisoner in battel, whom he royally entertained, and dismissed. Hereby he won the reputation as a lawful king, and, by good government of his country, procured unto himself such love of his subjects, that his name was continued to his successors, like as that of the *Ptolemies* in *Egypt*, and that of the *Cesars* afterwards in *Rome*. Much about the same time the *Bactrians* rebelled, though these at length, and all belonging to the *Seleucidae* beyond *Euphrates*, increased the *Parthians* dominion. Now *Antiochus* went against them with so strong an army, that they durst not meet him in the plain field; but kept themselves in woods, or places of strength, and defended the streights and passages of mountains. The resistances they made availed them not; for *Antiochus* had with him so great a multitude, and so well sorted, as he needed not to turn out of the way from those that lay fortified against him in woods and streights between their mountains; it being easy to spare, out of so great a number, as many, as fetching a compass about, might either get above the enemy's heads, or come behind, and charge them on the back. Thus did he often employ against them his light armature, wherewith he caused them to dislodge, and give way unto his *Phalanx*, upon which they durst not adventure themselves in open ground. *Arfaces*, the second of the name (for his father was dead before this) was then king of *Parthia*; who, though he was confident in the fidelity of his own subjects, yet feared to encounter with so mighty an invader. His hope was, that the bad ways, and desarts, would have caused *Antiochus*, when he was at *Ecbatane* in *Media*, to give over the journey without proceeding much further. This not so falling out, he caused the wells and springs in the wilderness, through which his enemy must pass, to be dammed up and spoiled. By which means, and the resistance before spoken of, when he could not prevail, he withdrew himself out of the way; suffering the enemy to take his pleasure for a time, in wasting the country; wherein, without some victory obtained, he could make no long abode. *Antiochus* hereby found, that *Arfaces* was nothing strongly provided for the war. Wherefore he marched through the heart of *Parthia*, and then forward into *Hyrcania*, where he won *Tambrace*, the chief city of that province. This indignity, and many other losses, caused *Arfaces* at length, when he had gathered an army that seemed strong enough, to adventure a battel. The issue thereof was such, as gave to neither of the kings hopes of accomplishing his desires, without exceeding difficulty. Wherefore *Arfaces* craved peace, and at length obtained it, *Antiochus* thinking it not amiss to make him a friend, whom he could not make a subject.

The next expedition of *Antiochus*, was against *Euthydemus*, king of the *Bactrians*; one that indeed had not rebelled against him, or his ancestors; but, having gotten the kingdom from those that had rebelled, kept it to himself. With *Euthydemus* he fought a battle by the river *Arius*, where he had the victory. But the victory was not so greatly to his honour, as was the testimony which he gave of his own private valour in obtaining it. He was thought that day to have demeaned himself more courageously, than did any one man in all his army. His horse was slain under him, and he himself received a wound in his mouth, whereby he lost some of his teeth. As for *Euthydemus*, he withdrew himself back into the furthestmost parts of his kingdom, and afterwards protracted the war, seeking how to end it by composition. So ambassadors passed between the kings; *Antiochus* complaining, that a country of his was unjustly usurped from him; *Euthydemus* answering, that he had won it from the children of the usurpers: and further, that the *Bactrians*, a wild nation, could hardly be retained in order, save by a king of their own; for that they bordered upon the *Scythians*, with whom if they should join, it would be greatly to the danger of all the provinces that lay behind them. These allegations, together with his own weariness, pacified *Antiochus*, and made him willing to grant peace upon reasonable conditions. *Demetrius*, the son of *Euthydemus*, being a goodly gentleman, and employed by his father as ambassador in this treaty of peace, was not a little available unto a good conclusion. For *Antiochus* liked him so well, that he promised to give him in marriage one of his own daughters, and therewithal permitted *Euthydemus* to retain the kingdom; causing him nevertheless to deliver up all his elephants; as also to bind himself by oath to such covenants as he thought requisite.

So *Antiochus*, leaving the *Bactrian* in quiet, made a journey over *Caucasus*, and came to the borders of *India*, where he renewed with *Sophagaseus*, king of the *Indians*, the society that had been between their ancestors. The *Indians* had remained subject unto the *Macedonians*, for a little while after *Alexander's* death. *Eumenes*, in his war against *Antigonus*, raised part of his forces out of their country. But when *Antigonus*, after his victory, turned westward, and was over-buried in a great civil war; then did one *Sandrocottus*, an *Indian*, stir up his countrymen to rebellion; making himself their captain, and taking upon him as protector of their liberty. This office and title he soon changed, though not without some contention, into the name and majesty of a king. Finally, he got unto himself (having an army of six hundred thousand men) if not all *India*, yet as much of it as had been *Alexander's*. In this estate he had well confirmed himself, ere *Seleucus Nicator* could find leisure to call him to account. Neither did he faint, or humble himself, at the coming of *Seleucus*, but met him in field, as ready to defend his own; so strongly and well appointed, that the *Macedonian* was contented, to make both peace and affinity with him, taking only a reward of fifty elephants. This league, made by the founders of the *Indian* and *Syrian* kingdoms, was continued by some offices of love between their children, and now renewed by *Antiochus*, whose number of elephants were increased thereupon by the *Indian* king to an hundred and fifty; as also he was promised to

have some treasure sent after him, which he left one to receive. Thus parted these two great kings. Neither had the *Indians*, from this time forwards, in many generations, any business worthy of remembrance with the *Western* countries. The posterity of *Sandrocottus*, is thought to have retained that kingdom unto the days of *Augustus Cesar*: to whom *Porus*, when reigning in *India*, sent ambassadors with presents, and an epistle written in *Greek*: wherein, among other things, he said, That he had command over six hundred kings. There is also found, scattered in sundry authors, the mention of some which held that kingdom, in divers ages, even unto the time of *Constantine the Great*: being all peradventure of the same race. But *Antiochus*, who in this treaty with *Sophagaseus*, carried himself as the worthier person, receiving presents; and after marched home through *Drangiana* and *Carmania*, with such reputation, that all the potentates, not only in the higher *Asia*, but on the higher side of *Taurus*, humbled themselves unto him, and called him *The Great*; saw an end of his own greatness within a few years ensuing, by presuming to stand upon points with the *Romans*; whose greatness was the same indeed; that his was only in seeming.

S E C T. III.

The lewd reign of Ptolemy Philopater in Egypt: with the tragical end of his favourites, when he was dead. Antiochus prepares to war on the young child Ptolemy Epihanes, the son of Philopater. His irresolution in preparing for divers wars at once. His voyage toward the Hellespont. He seeks to hold amity with the Romans, who make a friendly shew to him; intending nevertheless to have war with him. His doings against the Hellespont; which the Romans made the first ground of their quarrel to him.

THIS expedition being finished; *Antiochus* had leisure to repose himself a-while, and study which way to convert the terror of his puissance, for the enlargement of his empire. Within two or three years *Ptolemy Philopater* died: leaving his son *Ptolemy Epihanes*, a young boy, his successor in the kingdom; unlikely by him to be well defended, against a neighbour so mighty and ambitious. This *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Philopater*, that is to say, a lover of his father, is thought to have had that surname given him in meer derision; as having made away both his father and mother. His young years, being newly past his childhood, when he began to reign, may seem to discharge him of so horrible a crime, as his father's death: yet the beastliness of all his following life, makes him not unlike to have done any mischief, whereof he could be accused. Having won the battle at *Raphia*, he gave himself over to sensuality, and was wholly governed by a strumpet, called *Agathoclea*. At her instigation he murdered his own wife and sister; which had adventured herself with him, in that only dangerous action by him undertaken, and performed with honour. The lieutenantships of his provinces, with all commands in his army, and offices whatsoever, were wholly referred unto the disposition of this *Agathoclea*, and her brother *Agathocles*, and of *Oenante*, a filthy bawd, that was mother unto them both. So these governed the realm at their pleasure, to the great grief of all the country, till *Philopater* died: who having reigned seventeen years, left none other son than *Ptolemy*

Epiphanes, a child of five years old, begotten on *Arfinoe*, that was his sister and wife. After the king's death, *Agathocles* began to take upon him, as protector of young *Epiphanes*, and governor of the land. He assembled the *Macedons* (which were the king's ordinary forces in pay, not all born in *Macedonia*, but the race of those that abode in *Egypt* with *Ptolemy the first*, and would not be accounted *Egyptians*; as neither would the kings themselves) and bringing forth unto them his sister *Agathoclea*, with the young king in her arms, began a solemn oration. He told them, That the deceased father of this their king, had committed the child into the arms of his sister, but unto the faith of them: on whose valiant right hands, the whole state of the kingdom did now rely. He besought them therefore, that they would be faithful, and, as great need was, defend their king against the treason of one *Tlepolemus*, an ambitious man, who traiterously went about to set the diadem upon his own head, being a meer stranger to the royal blood. Herewithal he produced before them a witness, that should justify his accusation against *Tlepolemus*. Now, tho' it were so, that he delivered all this with a feigned passion of sorrow, and counterfeiting of tears: yet the *Macedons* that heard him, regarded not any word that he spake; but stood laughing, and talking one to another, what a shameless dissembler he was, to take so much upon him, as if he knew not how greatly he was hated. And so brake up the assembly: he that had called it, being scarce aware how. *Agathocles* therefore, whom the old king's favour had made mighty, but neither wise nor well qualified; thought to go to work, as had formerly been his manner, by using his authority, to the suppression of those that he distrusted. He haled out of a temple the mother-in-law of *Tlepolemus*; and cast her into prison. This filled *Alexandria* with rumors, and made the people (tho' accustomed to suffer greater things, whilst they were committed in the old king's name) to meet in knots together, and utter one to another their minds; wherein they had conceived extreme hate, against these three pernicious misgovernours of the old king. Besides their consideration of the present injury done to *Tlepolemus*, they were somewhat also moved with fear of harm; which, in way of requital, *Tlepolemus* was likely to do unto the city. For he was, tho' a man most unapt for government, as afterwards he proved; yet no bad soldier, and well beloved of the army. It was also then in his power, to stop the provision of victuals, which was to come into *Alexandria*. As these motives wrought with the people: so by the remedy which *Agathocles* used, were the *Macedons* more hastily, and more violently stirred unto uproar. He secretly apprehended one of their number, whom he suspected of conspiracy against him; and delivered him unto a follower of his own, to be examined by torture. This poor soldier was carried into an inner-room of the palace, and there stripped out of all his apparel, to be tormented. But whilst the whips were brought forth, and all things even in a readiness for that purpose; there was brought unto the minister of *Agathocles*, a sad report of *Tlepolemus's* being at hand. Hereupon the examiner, and his torturers, one after another, went out of the room; leaving *Muragenes*, the soldier, alone by himself, and the doors open. He perceiving this, naked as he was, conveyed himself out of the palace, and got unto the *Macedonians*; of whom he found some in a

temple thereby at dinner. The *Macedonians* were as fierce in maintenance of their privileges, as are the *Turks Janizaries*. Being assured therefore, that one of their fellows had thus been used; they fell to arms in a great rage, and began to force the palace; crying out, That they would see the king, and not leave him in possession of such a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the city, with loud clamours, made no less a-do than the soldiers, tho' to less effect. So the old bawd, *Oenanthe*, fled into a temple: her son and daughter staid in the court, until the king was taken from them; and they, by his permission, which he easily gave, and by appointment of those that now had him in their hands, delivered up to the fury of the people. *Agathocles* himself was stabbed to death, by some which therein did the office of friends; tho' in manner of enemies. His sister was dragged naked up and down the streets, as was also his mother, with all to them belonging: the enraged multitude committed upon them a barbarous execution of justice, biting them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in pieces.

These troubles in *Egypt*, served well to stir up king *Antiochus*; who had very good leisure, tho' he wanted all pretence, to make war on young *Ptolemy*. *Philip* of *Macedon* had the same desire, to get what part he could of the child's estate. But it happened well, that *Ptolemy Philopater*, in the *Punic* war, which was now newly ended, had done many good offices unto the *Romans*. Unto them therefore the *Egyptians* addressed themselves, and craved help against these two kings: who tho' they secretly maligned one the other, yet had entered into covenant, to divide between them, all that belonged unto this orphan, whose father had been confederate with them both. So ^a *M. Lepidus*, was sent from *Rome*, to protect from all violence the king of *Egypt*; especially against *Antiochus*. As for the *Macedonian*, he was very soon found busied, with war at his own doors. Also *Scopas*, the *Etolian*, being a pensioner to the *Egyptian*, was sent into *Greece*, to raise an army of mercenaries. What *Lepidus* did in *Egypt*, I do not find: and therefore think it not improbable, that he was sent thither only one of the three ambassadors, ^b in the beginning of the war with *Philip*, as hath been shewed before. As for *Scopas*, he shortly after went up into *Syria* with his army: where winning many places, amongst the rest of his acts, he subdued the *Jews*; who seem to have yielded themselves a little before unto *Antiochus*, at such time as they saw him prepare for his war, and despaired of receiving help from *Egypt*. ^c But it was not long, ere all these victories of *Scopas* came to nothing. For the very next year following, which was (according to *Eusebius*) the same year that *Philip* was beaten at *Cynoscephalæ*; *Antiochus* vanquished *Scopas* in battel, and recovered all that had been lost. Among the rest, the *Jews* with great willingness returned under his obedience; and were therefore by him very gently entreated.

The land of *Egypt* this great king did forbear to invade; and gave it out, that he meant to bestow a daughter of his own in marriage upon *Ptolemy*: either hoping, as may seem, that the country would willingly submit it self unto him, if this young child should happen to miscarry; or else that greater purchase might be made in the *Western* parts of *Asia*, whilst *Philip* was held over-laboured by the *Romans*. It appears, that he was

^a Jullin. l. 30.^b Liv. l. 31.^c Vide Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. 12. c. 3.

very much distracted; hunting (as we say) two hares at once with one hound. The quarrels between *Attalus*, *Philip*, and the *Greeks*, promised to afford him great advantage, if he should bring his army to the *Hellepont*. On the other side, the state of *Egypt*, being such as hath been declared, seemed easy to be swallowed up at once. One while therefore he took what he could get in *Syria*; where all were willing (and the *Jews* among the rest, tho' hitherto they had kept faith with the *Egyptian*) to yield him obedience. Another while, letting *Egypt* alone, he was about to make invasion upon *Attalus's* kingdom; yet suffered himself easily to be persuaded by the *Roman* ambassadors, and desisted from that enterprize. Having thus far gratified the *Romans*; he sends ambassadors to the senate, to conclude a perfect amity between him and them. It is not lightly to be over-passed, that these his ambassadors were lovingly entertained at *Rome*; and dismissed, with a decree and answer of the senate, altogether to the honour of king *Antiochus*. But this answer of the *Romans* was not sincere; being rather framed according to regard of the king's good liking, than of their own intent. They had not as yet made an end with *Philip*: neither would they gladly be troubled with two great wars at once. Wherefore, not standing much upon the nice examination of what belonged unto their honour; they were content to give good words for the present. In the mean time, *Antiochus* fights with *Scopas* in *Syria*: and shortly prepares to win some towns elsewhere, belonging unto *Ptolemy*; yet withal he sends an army *Westward*, intending to make what profit he can of the distractions in *Greece*. Likewise it is considerable, as an argument of his much irresolution, how notwithstanding his attempts upon both of their kingdoms, he offered one of his daughters to *Ptolemy*, and another to *Eumenes*, the son of *Attalus*, newly king of *Pergamus*; seeking each of their friendships, at one and the same time, when he sought to make each of them a spoil. Thus was he acting and deliberating at once: being carried with an inexpressible desire of repugnancies; which is a disease of great, and over-swelling fortunes. Howsoever it was, he sent an army to *Sardes* by land, under two of his own sons: willing them there to stay for him; whilst he himself, with a fleet of an hundred gallies, and two hundred other vessels, intended to pass along by the coasts of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, taking in such places as held for the *Egyptian*. It was a notable act of the *Rhodians*, that, whilst the war of *Philip* lay yet upon their hands, they adventured upon this great *Antiochus*. They sent unto him a proud embassy; whereby they gave him to understand, that if he passed forward beyond a certain promontory in *Cicilia*, they would meet him, and fight with him; not for any quarrel of theirs unto him; but because he should not join with *Philip* their enemy, and help him against the *Romans*. It was insolently done of them, neither seemed it otherwise, to prescribe such limits unto the king; yet he tempered himself, and without any shew of indignation, gave a gentle answer; partly himself to their ambassadors; partly unto their whole city, by ambassadors which he thither sent. He shewed his desire, to renew the ancient confederacies between his ancestors and them: and willed them not to be afraid, lest his coming should tend unto any hurt, either of them, or of their confederates. As touching the *Romans*, whom they thought that he would molest: they were (he said) his very good friends; whereof, he thought, there needed no better proof, than the en-

tertainment and answer by them newly given to his ambassadors.

The *Rhodians* appear to have been a cunning people, and such as could foresee what weather was like to happen. This answer of the king, and the relation of what had passed between his ambassadors and the senate, moved them not a whit; when they were informed shortly after, that the *Macedonian* war was ended at the battel of *Cynoscephalæ*. They knew that *Antiochus's* turn would be next; and prepared to be forward on the stronger side. Wherefore they would not be contented to sit still; unless the towns on the *South* coast of *Asia*, belonging to *Ptolemy*, their friend and confederate, were suffered to be at quiet. Herein also they did well: for that they had ever been greatly beholden to all the race of the *Ptolemies*. They therefore, in this time of necessity, gave what aid they could unto all the subjects of the *Egyptian* in those parts. In like manner did king *Eumenes*, the son of *Attalus*, prognosticate as concerning the war that followed, between *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. For when king *Antiochus* made a friendly offer, to bestow one of his daughters upon him in marriage; he excused himself, and would not have her. *Attalus* and *Philetærus* his brethren, wondered at this. But he told them, that the *Romans* would surely make war upon *Antiochus*; and therein finally prevail. Wherefore he said, That by abstaining from this affinity, it should be in his power to join with the *Romans*, and strengthen himself greatly with their friendship. Contrariwise, if he leaned to *Antiochus*: as he must be partaker in his overthrow; so was he sure to be oppressed by him, as by an over-mighty neighbour, if he happened to win the victory.

Antiochus himself wintered about *Ephesus*: where he took such order as he thought convenient, for the reducing of *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus* to obedience; that had usurped their liberty, and obstinately strove to maintain it, in hope that the *Romans* would protect them. In the beginning of the spring he sailed unto the *Hellepont*: where having won some towns that *Philip* had gotten not long before this, he passed over unto *Europe* side; and in short space mastered the *Chersonesus*. Thence went he to *Lyfimachia*; which the *Thracians* had gotten and destroyed, when *Philip* withdrew his garrison thence, to employ it in the *Roman* war. The *Etolians* objected as a crime unto *Philip*, in the conference before *T. Quintius*, that he had oppressed *Lyfimachia*, by thrusting thereinto a garrison. Hereupon *Philip* made answer, that his garrison did not oppress the town, but save it from the *Barbarians*: who took and sack'd it, as soon as the *Macedonians* were gone. That this answer was good and substantial, though it were not accepted as such; might appear by the miserable case, in which *Antiochus* found *Lyfimachia* at his coming thither. For the town was utterly razed by the *Barbarians*; and the people carried away into slavery. Wherefore the king took order to have it re-edified: as also to redeem those that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the citizens, as were dispersed in the country thereabout. Likewise he was careful to allure thither, by hopeful promises, new inhabitants; and to replenish the city with the wonted frequency. Now, to the end that men should not be terrified from coming thither to dwell, by any fear of the neighbour *Thracians*; he took a journey in hand against those barbarous people, with the one half of his army; leaving the other half, to repair the city. These pains he took, partly in regard of the convenient

venient situation, and former glory of *Lyfimachia*; partly for that he thought it highly redounding unto his own honour, to recover and establish the dominion in those parts, which his fore-father *Seleucus Nicator* had won from *Lyfimachus*, and thereby made his kingdom of greater extent, than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition he shall dearly pay: and as after that victory against *Lyfimachus*, the death of king *Seleucus* followed shortly; so shall a deadly wound of the kingdom founded by *Seleucus* ensue very speedily, after the re-conquest of the same country, which was the last of *Seleucus's* purchases.

S E C T. IV.

The Romans hold friendly correspondence with Antiochus, during their war with Philip: after which they quarrel with him. The doings of Hannibal at Carthage: whence he is chased by his enemies, and by the Romans: his flight unto the king Antiochus. The Etolians murmur against the Romans in Greece. The war of the Romans and Achæans, with Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedæmon. The departure of the Romans out of Greece. T. Quintius's triumph. Peace denied to Antiochus by the Romans.

FOR the *Romans*, though they were unable to smother their desire of war with *Antiochus*, whereof notice was already taken both by their friends and by their enemies: yet was it much against their will to keep the rumour on foot, which they meant shortly to make good, of this intended war, so long as they wanted matter of quarrel; whereof they were furnished, by this enterprise of the king's about *Lyfimachia*. It was not long, since king *Attalus*, a friend and helper of the *Romans* in their war with *Philip*, could obtain of them none other help against *Antiochus*, than ambassadors to speak for him; because the one of these kings was held no less a friend than the other. Neither did there afterwards pass between them any other offices, than very friendly. *Antiochus*, at the request of their ambassadors, withdrew his invasion from the kingdom of *Pergamus*: also very shortly after he sent ambassadors to them, to make a perfect league of amity between them. This was whilst as yet they were busied with *Philip*; and therefore had reason to answer his good will with good acceptance; as they did in outward shew. But when the *Macedonian* war was at an end, and all, or most of all the states in *Greece*, were become little better than clients unto the *Romans*: then was all this good correspondence changed, into terms of worse, but more plain meaning. For *T. Quintius*, with his ten counsellors sent from *Rome*, required (as hath been shewed before) with a commination of war, this king's gratulation of their victory; as also his long professed amity, and desire to continue in the same.

These ten counsellors were able to inform *T. Quintius*, and acquaint him with the purpose of the senate: whereof yet it seems that he was not ignorant before; since, in regard of *Antiochus*, he was the more inclinable unto peace with *Philip*. It was therefore agreed, when they divided themselves to make progress through divers quarters of *Greece*, for the execution of their late decree, That two of them should visit king *Antiochus*; and the rest, where occasion served, use diligence to make a party strong against him. Neither

was the senate at *Rome* unmindful of the business: wherein, lest *T. Quintius*, with his ten assistants, should happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging; *L. Cornelius* was sent from *Rome* of purpose, to deal with the king about those controversies, that were between him and *Ptolemy*. What other private instructions *Cornelius* had, we may conjecture by the managing of this his embassy. For coming to *Selymbria*: and there understanding that *P. Villius* and *L. Terentius*, having been sent by *Titus*, were at *Lyfimachia*, he hastned thither; whither also came *P. Lentulus* (another of the ten counsellors) from *Bargillæ*, to be present at the conference. *Hegesinax* and *Lyfias* were also there; the same, who had lately brought from *Titus* those peremptory conditions, which the ambassadors present shall expound unto their masters. After a few days *Antiochus* returned from his *Thracian* expedition. The meeting and entertainment between him and these *Romans*, was in appearance full of love. But when they came to treat of the business in hand; this good mood was quite altered. *L. Cornelius*, in two or three words, briefly delivered his errand from *Rome*: which was, That *Antiochus* had reason to deliver back unto *Ptolemy* those towns of his, whereof he had lately gotten possession. Hereunto he added, and that very earnestly, That he must also give up the towns of late belonging unto *Philip*; and by him newly occupied. For what could be more absurd, than such folly in the *Romans*, as to let *Antiochus* enjoy the profit of that war, wherein they had laboured so much, and he done nothing? Further he warned the king, that he should not molest those cities that were free: and finally, he demanded of him, upon what reason he was come over with so great an army into *Europe*; for that other cause of his journey there was none probable, than a purpose to make war upon the *Romans*. To this the king made answer, That he wondered why the *Romans* should so trouble themselves, with thinking upon the matters of *Asia*: wherewith he prayed them to let him alone; even as he, without such curiosity, suffered them to do in *Italy* what they thought good. As for his coming over into *Europe*: they saw well enough what business had drawn him thither; namely, the war against the barbarous *Thracians*: the rebuilding of *Lyfimachia*, and the recovery of towns to him belonging, in *Thrace* and *Chersonesus*. Now concerning his title unto that country, he derived it from *Seleucus*: who made conquest thereof, by his victory against *Lyfimachus*. Neither was it so, that any of the places in controversy between him and the other kings, had been still of old belonging to the *Macedonians* or *Egyptians*; but had been seized on by them, or by others from whom they received them, at such time as his ancestors, being lords of those countries, were hindered by multiplicity of business, from looking unto all that was their own. Finally, he willed them, neither to stand in fear of him, as if he intended ought against them from *Lyfimachia*; since it was his purpose to bestow this city upon one of his sons, that should reign therein: nor yet to be grieved with his proceedings in *Asia*; either against the free cities, or against the king of *Egypt*; since it was his meaning to make the free cities beholden unto himself, and to join ere long with *Ptolemy*, not only in friendship, but in a bond of near affinity. *Cornelius* having heard this, and being perhaps unable to refute it; would needs hear further, what the ambassadors of *Smyrna*

and of *Lampsacus*, whom he had there with him, could say for themselves. The ambassadors of *Lampsacus* being called in, began a tale; wherein they seemed to accuse the king before the *Romans*, as it were before competent judges. *Antiochus* therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace; so far as he had not chosen the *Romans*, but would rather take the citizens of *Rhodes*, to be arbitrators between him and them.

Thus the treaty held some few days, without any likelihood of effect. The *Romans*, having not laid their complaints in such sort, as they might be a convenient foundation of the war by them intended: nor yet having purpose to depart well satisfied, and thereby to corroborate the present peace; were doubtful how to order the matter, in such wise as they might neither too rudely, like boisterous *Gallo-Greeks*, pretend only the goodness of their swords; nor yet over-modestly, to retain among the *Greeks* an opinion of their justice, forbear the occasion of making themselves great. The king on the other side was weary of these tedious guests; that would take no answer, and yet scarce knew what to say. At length came news, without any certain author, That *Ptolemy* was dead. Hereof neither the king, nor the *Romans*, would take notice, though each of them were desirous to hasten into *Egypt*: *Antiochus*, to take possession of the kingdom; and *L. Cornelius*, to prevent him thereof, and set the country in good order. *Cornelius* was sent from *Rome* ambassador, both to *Antiochus* and to *Ptolemy*: which gave him occasion to take leave, and prepare for his *Egyptian* voyage. Both he, and his fellow ambassadors, had good leave to depart all together: and the king forthwith made ready, to be in *Egypt* with the first. To his son *Seleucus* he committed his army; and left him to oversee the building of *Lyfimachia*: but all his sea-forces he took along with him, and sailed unto *Ephesus*. Thence he sent ambassadors to *Quintius*: whom he requested to deal with him in this matter of peace, after such sort, as might stand with honesty and good faith. But, as he was further proceeding on his voyage; he was perfectly informed that *Ptolemy* was alive. This made him bear another way from *Egypt*: and afterwards a tempest, with a grievous shipwreck, made him, without any further attempt on the way, glad to have safely recovered his port of *Seleucia*. Thence went he to *Antiochia*, where he wintered secure, as might appear, of the *Roman* war.

But the *Romans* had not so done with him. During the treaty at *Lyfimachia* (at leastwise not long before or after it) one of their ambassadors that had been sent unto the *Macedonian*, gave him counsel, as in a point highly tending to his good; not to rest contented with the peace which was granted unto him by the *Romans*, but to desire society with them, whereby they should be bound to have the same friends and enemies. And this he advised him to do quickly before the war brake out with *Antiochus*; lest otherwise he might seem to have awaited some fit occasion of taking arms again. They, who dealt thus plainly, did not mean to be satisfied with weak excuses. In like manner some of the *Greeks* were solicited; and particularly the *Etolians*, that constantly and faithfully they should abide in the friendship of the people of *Rome*. It was needless to say plainly whereto this entreaty tended: the sroward answer made by the *Etolians*, declares them to have well understood the purpose. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the *Romans* after the victory, as they had

been during the war. They that so complained were the most moderate of them. Others cried out, that they had been wronged, and defrauded of what was promised unto them: upbraiding withal the *Romans*, as men to them beholden; not only for their victory over *Philip*; but even for helping them to set foot in *Greece*, which else they never could have done. Hereto the *Roman* gave gentle answers: telling them, that there was no more to do, than to send ambassadors to the senate, and utter their griefs; and then should all be well.

Such care took the *Romans* in *Greece*, for their war intended against *Antiochus*. The same hereof arriving at *Carthage*, gave matter unto the enemies of *Hannibal*, wherewith both to pick a thank of the *Roman* senate; and to chace out of their city this honourable man, whom they so greatly hated. He had of late exercised his virtue against them in the civil administration; and given them an overthrow, or two, in the long robe. The judges at that time bore all the sway in *Carthage*: holding their places during life; and having subject unto them, the lives, goods, and fame of all the rest. Neither did they use this their power with moderation: but conspired in such wise together, that whoso offended any one of them, should have them all to be his enemies; which being once known, he was sure to be soon accused and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the city, *Hannibal* was chosen pretor. By virtue of which office, though he was superiour unto them during that year; yet had it not been their manner to bear much regard unto such an annual magistrate, as at the year's end must be accountable to them, if ought were laid unto his charge. *Hannibal* therefore sending for one of the questors, or officers of the treasury, to come and speak with him: the proud questor set lightly thereby, and would not come. For he was the adverse faction to *Hannibal*; and men of his place, were to be chosen into the order of judges: in contemplation whereof, he was filled already with the spirit of future greatness. But he had not to do with such a tame pretor, as were they that had occupied the place before. *Hannibal* sent for him by a purfivant; and having thus apprehended him, brought him into judgment before a publick assembly of the people. There he was not only shewed, what the undutiful stubbornness of this questor had been; but how unsufferable the insolency of all the judges at the present was: whose unbridled power, made them to regard neither laws nor magistrates. To this oration when he perceived that all the citizens were attentive and favourable; he forthwith propounded a law, which passed with the general good liking; That the judges should be chosen from year to year, and no one man be continued in that office two years together. If this law had been passed, before he passed over *Iberus*; it would not perhaps have been in the power of *Hanno*, to have brought him unto necessity of reforming another grievance, concerning the *Roman* tribute. This tribute the *Carthaginians* were fain to levy by taxation laid upon the whole commonalty, as wanting money in their publick treasury, wherewith to defray either that, or divers other needful charges. *Hannibal* considering this, began to examine the publick revenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the treasury, by ways and means whatsoever; and in what sort it was thence laid out. So he found, That the ordinary charges of the commonwealth did not exhaust the treasury: but that wicked magistrates,

gistrates, and corrupt officers, turning the greatest part of the monies to their own use, were thereby fain to load the people with needless burdens. Hereof he made such plain demonstration, that these robbers of the common treasure were compelled to restore with shame, what they had gotten by knavery : and so the *Carthaginians* were freed from the necessity of making such poor shifts ; as formerly they had used, when they knew not the value of their own estate. But, as the virtue of *Hannibal* was highly commended by all that were good citizens : so they of the *Roman* faction, which had, since the making of the peace until now, little regarded him, began to rage extremely ; as being by him stripp'd of their ill-gotten goods, and ill-employed authority, both at once ; even when they thought themselves to have been in full possession of the vanquished *Carthage*. Wherefore they sent letters to their friends at *Rome* : wherein they complained, as if the *Barchine* faction grew strong again, and *Hannibal* would shortly be in arms. Questionless, if oppressing the city by injustice, and robbing the treasury, were the only way to hold *Carthage* in peace with *Rome* : these enemies to the *Barchines* might well cry out, That having done their best already to keep all in quiet, they saw none other likelihood than of war. But having none other matter to alledge, than their own inventions : they said, That *Hannibal* was like unto a wild beast, which would never be tamed : that secret messages pass'd between him, and king *Antiochus* : and that he was wont to complain of idleness, as if it were harmful to *Carthage* ; with what else to like effect they could imagine. These accusations they directed not unto the senate : but addressing their letters craftily, every one to the best of his own friends at *Rome*, and such as were senators ; they wrought so well, that neither public notice of their conspiracy, was taken at *Carthage* ; nor the authority of the *Roman* senate, wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpose. Only *P. Scipio* is said to have admonished the *Fathers*, that they should not thus dishonourably subscribe, and become seconds to the accusers of *Hannibal* : as if they would oppress, by suborning or countenancing false witnesses against him, the Man, against whom in war they had not of long time prevailed, nor used their victory in such base manner, when they obtained it. But the *Romans* were not all so great-minded as *Scipio* : they wished for some such advantage against *Hannibal* ; and were glad to have found it. Three ambassadors they sent over to *Carthage*, *C. Servilius*, *Q. Terentius*, and *Claudius Marcellus* ; whose very names import sufficient cause of badaffection to *Hannibal*. These having pass'd the sea, were entertained by those that had procured their coming ; and, being by them instructed how to carry themselves, gave out, That they were sent to end some controversies, between the *Carthaginians* and *Masanissa*. But *Hannibal* had kept such good espial upon the *Romans*, that he knew their meaning well enough : against which he was never unprepared. It were enough to say, That he escaped them by flight : but in the actions of so famous a man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearse the particulars. Having openly shewed himself, as was his manner, in the place of assembly, he went forth of the town when it began to wax dark, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination ; though such as he might well trust. He had appointed horses to be in a readiness at a certain place : whence riding all night, he came to a tower of his own by the sea-side. There had he a ship furnished with

all things needful ; as having long expected the necessity of some such journey. So he bade *Afric* farewell ; lamenting the misfortune of his country, more than his own. Passing over to the isle of *Cercina* ; he found there in the haven some merchants ships of *Carthage*. They saluted him respectively : and the chief among them began to enquire, whither he was bound. He said, he went ambassador to *Tyre* : and that he intended there in the island to make a sacrifice ; whereunto he invited all the merchants, and masters of the ships. It was hot weather : and therefore he would needs hold his feast upon the shore ; where, because there wanted covert, he made them bring thither all their sails and yards to be used instead of tents. They did so ; and feasted with him till it was late at night : at which time he left them there asleep ; and putting to sea, held on his course to *Tyre*. All that night, and the day following, he was sure not to be pursued. For the merchants did neither make haste to send any news of him to *Carthage*, as thinking him to be gone ambassador : neither could they, without some loss of time, such of them as made most speed homeward, get away from *Cercina* ; being busied awhile in fitting their tackle. At *Carthage*, the miss of so great a person was diversly construed. Some guessed aright, that he was fled. But the more common opinion was, That the *Romans* had made him away. At length came news where he had been seen : and then the *Roman* ambassadors, having none other errand thither, accused him (with an evil grace) as a troubler of the peace ; whereby they only discovered the mischief by them intended against him, and the malice of their senate ; missing the while their purpose, and causing men to understand, that he fled not thus without great reason.

Hannibal, coming to *Tyre* the mother-city of *Carthage*, was there entertained royally : as one, in whose great worth and honour the *Tyrians*, by reason of affinity between their cities, thought themselves to have interest. Thence went he to *Antioch* ; and, finding the king departed, visited his son in *Daphne* : who friendly welcomed him, and sent him unto his father at *Ephesus*, that exceedingly rejoiced at his coming.

As *Antiochus* had cause to be glad, in that he had gotten *Hannibal* : so had the *Romans* no great cause to be therefore sorry ; otherwise than as they had much disgraced themselves, by discovering of their impotent malice, in chasing him thus out of his country. For it would not prove alike easy unto this great commander, to make stout soldiers of base *Asiatics* ; as it had been by his training and discipline, to make very serviceable and skilful men of war of the *Spaniards*, *Africans*, *Gauls*, and other nations, that were hardly though unexperienced. Or were it supposed, that one man's worth, especially being so extraordinary, could alter the nature of a cowardly people : yet was it therewithal considerable, that the vanities of *Antiochus*, the pride of his court, the baseness of his flatterers, and a thousand other such vexations, would be far more powerful in making unprofitable the virtue of *Hannibal*, now a desolate and banished man ; than had been the villany of *Hanno* and his complices, hindering him in those actions wherein he had the high command, and was seconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this great *Carthaginian*, would only help to ennoble the *Roman* victory : or if it further served to hearten *Antiochus*, and make him less careful to avoid the war ; then should it further serve, to justify the *Romans* in their quarrel. And it seems

seems indeed, that it was no little part of their care to get a fair pretence of making war. For *Antiochus*, as is said before, having newly sent ambassadors to *T. Quintius*, requiring that the peace might faithfully be kept, it was not probable, that he had any meaning to take arms, unless by mere violence he were thereto enforced. Only the *Etolians* were greatly suspected, as a turbulent people, desirous of innovation, and therefore practising with this great king, whom they wished to see among them in *Greece*. In this regard, and to appease them, they had of late been answered with gentle words by one of the ten counsellors, that the senate would grant them whatsoever with reason they should ask: but this promise was too large, and unadvised. For when their ambassadors came to *Rome*, the senate would grant them nothing; but wholly referred them to *T. Quintius*, who favoured them least. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themselves, otherwise than by speaking such words as might hasten the *Romans* out of *Greece* for very shame, who had no desire to be thence gone.

The daily talk at *Rome* was of war with *Antiochus*; but in *Greece*, when the *Romans* would leave the country. For the *Etolians* were wont to upbraid the rest of the *Greeks* with the vain liberty which the *Romans* had proclaimed; saying, that these their deliverers had laid heavier fetters upon them than formerly they did wear; but yet brighter and fairer than those of the *Macedonian*: likewise, that it was a gracious act of *Titus*, to take from the legs of the *Greeks* their chain, and tie it about their necks. There was indeed no cause of tarrying longer in *Greece*, if the *Romans* had no other meaning than what they pretended. For *Philip* made no delay in accomplishment of that which was laid upon him: all the towns of *Greece* were at liberty, and the whole country at peace, both with the *Romans*, and within it self. As for *Antiochus*, he made it his daily suit, that the peace between him and *Rome*, such as it was, might be confirmed, and strengthened by a league of more assurance. Nevertheless, *T. Quintius* would needs fear that *Antiochus* meant forthwith to seize upon *Greece*, as soon as he and his army were thence departed. And in this regard, he retained still in his own hands *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and the *Acrocorinthus*; by the benefit of which towns, he might the better withstand the dangerous invasion like to be made by *Antiochus*. Suitable unto the doings of *Quintius* were the reports of the ten ambassadors that had been sent over to assist him, when they returned back into the city. *Antiochus*, they said, would questionless fall upon *Greece*; wherein he should find not only the *Etolians*, but *Nabis*, the tyrant of *Lacedemon*, ready to give him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to do somewhat against these their suspected enemies, especially against *Nabis*, who could worst make resistance; whilst *Antiochus* was far away in *Syria*, and not intentive to his business. These reports went not only current through the city, among the vulgar; but found such credit with the chief of the senate, that in the following year, against which time it was expected that *Antiochus* should be ready to take his great enterprise in hand, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the *African*, desired and obtained a second consulship, with intention to be general in the war against the king and his *Hannibal*. For the present, the business with *Nabis* was referred unto *Titus*, to deal with him as he thought good. This would be a fair colour of his longer tarryance in *Greece*. Therefore he was glad of the employment, whereof also he knew that

many of the *Greeks* would not be sorry; though, for his own part, he wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For *Nabis* had entered into friendship with him two or three years before this, as is already shewed, whilst he had war with *Philip*: and had further been contented for the *Romans* sake to be at peace with the *Acheans*; neither since that time had he done any thing, whereby he should draw upon himself this war. He was indeed a detestable tyrant, and hated of the *Acheans*; as one that, besides his own wicked conditions, had formerly done to them great mischief. *Titus* therefore had a plausible theme whereon to discourse before the embassies of all the confederate cities, which he caused to meet for that purpose at *Corinth*. He told them, that in the war with *Philip*, not only the *Greeks*, but the *Romans* themselves, had each their motives apart (which he there briefly rehearsed) that should stir them up, and cause them to be earnest. But in this, which he now propounded to them concerning *Nabis*, the *Romans* had none other interest, than only the making perfect of their honour, in setting all *Greece* at liberty: which noble action was in some sort maimed, or incompleat, whilst the noble city of *Argos* was left in subjection to a tyrant, that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged unto them, the *Greeks*, duly to consider, whether they thought the deliverance of *Argos* a matter worthy to be undertaken; or whether otherwise, to avoid all further trouble, they could be well contented to leave it as it was. This concerned them, and not the *Romans*, who, in taking this work in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the *Greeks* themselves. The *Athenian* ambassador made answer hereunto very eloquently, and as pleasing as he could devise. He gave thanks to the *Romans* for what was pass'd, extolled their virtues at large, and magnified them highly in regard of this their proposition; wherein, unrequested, they freely made offer to continue that bounty; which, at the vehement request of their poor associates, they had already of late extended unto the *Greeks*. To this he added, that great pity it was to hear such notable virtue and high deserts ill spoken of by some, which took upon them, out of their own imagination, to foretel what harm these their benefactors meant to do hereafter: when as thankfulness rather would have required an acknowledgment of the benefits and pleasures already received. Every one found the meaning of this last clause, which was directly against the *Etolians*. Wherefore *Alexander* the *Etolian* rose up, and told the *Athenians* their own, putting them in mind of their ancient glory, in those times when their city had been the leader of all *Greece*, for defence and recovery of the liberty general; from which honour they were now so far fallen, that they became parasites unto those whom they thought most mighty; and by their base assentation, would lead all the rest into servitude. Then spake he against the *Acheans*, clients that had been a long time unto the *Macedonian*, and soldiers of *Philip*, until they ran away from his adversity. These he said had gotten *Corinth*, and must now have war be made for their sakes, to the end that they might also be lords of *Argos*: whereas the *Etolians*, that had first made war with *Philip*, and always been friends unto the *Romans*, were now defrauded of some places, anciently to them belonging. Neither did he thus contain himself, but objected unto the *Romans* fraudulent dealing; inasmuch as they kept their garrisons in *Demetrias*, *Chalcis*, and the *Acrocorinth*; having been always wont to profess, that *Greece* could never be at liberty whilst those places were not free. Alto

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now at last, what else did they seek by this discourse of war with *Nabis*, than business wherewith to find themselves occupied, that so they might have some seeming cause of abiding longer in the country? But they should do well, if they meant as they spake, to carry their legions home out of *Greece*, which could not indeed be free till their departure. As for *Nabis*, the *Etolians* themselves did promise, and would undertake, that they would either cause him to yield to reason, and relinquish *Argos* freely, withdrawing thence his garrison; or else compel him by force of arms to submit himself to the good pleasure of all *Greece*, that was now at unity. These words had been reasonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common liberty wrought so much with these *Etolians*, as did their own ravenous desire of oppressing others, and getting unto themselves, that worse would use it, the whole dominion in *Greece* which *Philip* had lost. Neither could they well dissemble this, making it no small part of their grievance, that the old league was forgotten; wherein it had been covenanted, that the *Romans* should enjoy the spoil of all, but leave the towns and lands in possession of the *Etolians*. This, and the remembrance of a thousand mischiefs by them done in former times, made the whole assembly, especially the *Acheans*, cry out upon them; intreating the *Romans* to take such order before they went, that not only *Nabis* might be compelled to do right, but the *Etolian* thieves be enforced to keep home, and leave their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleasure of *Titus*, who saw, that by discouraging the *Etolians*, he was become the more gracious with all the rest. But whether it pleased him so well, that *Antiochus's* ambassadors did presently after lie hard upon him to draw the peace to some good conclusion, it may be greatly doubted. He cast them off with a slight answer, telling them, that the ten ambassadors or counsellors which had been sent unto him from *Rome*, to be his assistants in these matters of weight, were now returned home; and that without them it was not in his power to conclude upon any thing.

Now concerning the *Lacedemonian* war, it was very soon ended: for *Titus* used the help of all his confederates, and made as great preparation against *Nabis*, both by land and sea, as if he should have had to do with *Philip*. Besides the *Roman* forces, king *Eumenes*, with a navy, and the *Rhodian* fleet, were invited to the service; as also *Philip* of *Macedon* sent aid by land, doing therein poorly, whether it were to get favour of the *Romans*, or whether to make one among the number, in seeking revenge upon *Nabis*, that had done him injury. But the most forward in this expedition were the *Acheans*, who set out ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse. As for the *Etolians*, rather to hold good fashion, and sound their dispositions, than in hopes to speed, their help was required, whereof they excused themselves as well as they thought best. Thus are the *Acheans* now become the prime friends of the *Romans* in *Greece*, having removed the *Etolians* from that degree of favour, like as they themselves hereafter (though not in all haste) shall be supplanted by the same *Lacedemonians* against whom they are now marching.

Some of the *Argives*, more bold than wise, began a conspiracy against the *Lacedemonians* that held their town; meaning to open their gates unto the *Roman*. But ere *Titus* drew near, they were all detected and slain, excepting a very few, that escaped out of the town. The same of this commotion caused the army to march apace towards *Argos*,

with hope to be there before things were at quiet. But there was no stir within the walls, the execution done upon the first movers having terrified all the rest of the citizens. *Titus* then thought it better to assail *Nabis* in the head of his strength at *Lacedemon*, than to consume time about other places; especially at *Argos*, for the freedom whereof, since the war was made, pity it were that the calamities of the war should thereon fall most heavily.

Nabis had in readiness an army of fifteen thousand, wherewith to defend himself against these invaders. Five thousand of them were mercenaries, the rest of his own country, but such as were of all others the worst; as, manumised slaves, malefactors, and base peasants, unto whom his tyranny was beneficial. Of the good and worthy citizens he stood in doubt, and since he could not hope to win their love, his meaning was to hold them quiet by fear. He called them all to an assembly, and encompassing them round with his army, told them of the danger that was towards him and them. If they could agree within themselves, they might, he said, hope the better to withstand the common enemy. But forasmuch as turbulent heads were invited by light occasions to raise tumults, and work dangerous treason, it seemed unto him the safest, and (withal) the mildest course to arrest before-hand, and put in ward, all those whom he found most reason to suspect. So should he keep them innocent perforce, and thereby preserve not only the city and his own person from danger, but them also from the punishment, which else they might have incurred. Hereupon he cites and apprehends about eighty of them, whom he leads away to prison, and the next night puts them all to death. Thus was he sure that they neither should offend, nor yet break loose. As for the death of them, if it should happen to be noised abroad, what could it else do, than terrify the people, who must thereby understand, that it was a mortal crime to be suspected? And to the same purpose his cruelty extended it self unto some poor wretches, whom he accused of a meaning to fly to the enemy. These were openly whipped through all the streets, and slain. Having thus affrighted the citizens, he turned the more freely all his thoughts towards the enemy, that came on apace. He welcomed them with a sally, wherein, as commonly happens, the soldiers of the town had the better at first; but were at length repelled with loss. *Titus* abode not many days before *Sparta*, but overran the country; hoping, belike, to provoke the tyrant forth to battel. The *Roman* fleet at the same time, with king *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, laid siege unto *Gythium*, the only or principal haven-town that *Nabis* had. Likely they were to have taken it by force, when there appeared hope of getting it by treason. There were two governors within the town, equal in authority; whereof the one, either for fear, or desire of reward, had a purpose to let in the *Romans*; but the other, finding what was in hand, and being somewhat more faithful, slew the traitor, after whose death, he himself alone made the better defence. Yet when *T. Quintius*, with part of his army, came thither to *Gythium*, this captain of the town had not the heart to abide the uttermost, and await what either time or his matter might do for him, but was contented to give up the place; yet upon condition, to depart in safety to *Sparta* with his garrison. *Pythagoras*, the son-in-law of *Nabis*, and brother unto his wife, was come from *Argos*, whereof he had the government, with a thousand soldiers mercenaries, and two thousand *Argives*; it being (as may seem) the tyrant's purpose to relieve *Gythium*, which he thought would have

have held longer out. But when they heard that it was lost, then began they upon finishing the war, by some reasonable composition. *Pythagoras* therefore was sent ambassador to *Titus*, requesting only, that he would appoint a time and place for *Nabis* to meet and speak with him. This was granted. In that parley the tyrant spake very reasonably for himself, proving, that he suffered wrong, and had done none; and that by many good arguments, whereof the sum was, that whatsoever they now did, or could object unto him, was of elder date than the league which they had made with him. Whereupon he inferred, that neither for his keeping the town of *Argos*, nor for any other cause by them alledged, they ought to make war upon him; since *Argos* and all other their allegations whatsoever, had not hindered them, in time of their more need of him, from entering into that league with him; which was never broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But *Quintus* was not herewith satisfied. He charged him with tyranny, and gave instance, as easily he might, of divers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points, forasmuch as they knew this *Nabis* to be guilty, before they made peace and confederacy with him, it was expedient that some other cause of this invasion should be alledged. Wherefore he said further, that this tyrant had occupied *Messina*, a town confederate with the *Romans*; that he had bargained to join with *Philip*, when he was their enemy, not only in league, but also in affinity; and that his fleet had robbed many of their ships about the cape of *Malea*. Now touching this piracy, since in the articles by *Titus* propounded unto *Nabis*, there was restitution mentioned, other than of ships by him taken from the *Greeks*, his neighbours, with whom he had long held war, it may seem to have been objected only by way of compliment, and to enlarge the volume of those complaints, that were otherwise very frivolous. As for *Messina*, and the bargain of alliance made with *Philip*, they were matters foregoing the league that was made between the *Romans* and this tyrant, and therefore not to have been mentioned. All this it seems that *Aristæus*, the pretor of the *Acheans*, very well perceived; who therefore doubting lest the *Romans* (that were wont to talk so much of their own justice, honour, and faithful dealing) should now relent, and forbear to molest him; who, though a wicked man, was yet their confederate, and had never done them wrong, framed his discourse to another end. He intreated *Nabis* to consider well of his own estate, and to settle his fortunes, whilst he might do it without hazard, alledging the examples of many tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-cities, and therein committed great outrages; yet were afterwards contented to surrender their estates, and lived in great security, honour, and happiness, as private men. Thus they discoursed until night. The next day *Nabis* was contented to relinquish *Argos*, and requested them to deliver unto him in writing their other demands, that he might take counsel with his friends. The issue of all was, that, in regard of the charges, whereat the confederates must be for maintenance of an army to lie in leagure all that winter (as there was no hope of making short work) before the city of *Sparta*, they were contented to make peace with the tyrant, upon such conditions as *Titus* should think meet. Besides the restitution of *Argos*, and all the places thereon depending, *Titus* propounded many other conditions to *Nabis*, and some of them very grievous. He would not suffer the *Lacedemonian* to have ought to do in the isle of *Creta*; no, nor to make any confederacies, nor war, either in

that island or elsewhere; not to build any town or castle upon his own lands; not to keep any other shipping than two small barks; besides many other troublesome injunctions, with the imposition of an hundred talents in silver, to be paid out of hand, and fifty talents yearly, for eight years next ensuing. For observance of these covenants, he demanded five hostages, such as he himself should name; and one of them to be the tyrant's own son. If it had been the meaning of *Titus* to withdraw the war from *Nabis*, because it was not to be grounded upon justice; then had it been enough, if not more than enough, to take *Argos* from him; which he himself did offer, though it were for fear, to deliver up. But if it were thought reasonable to dispense a little with the *Roman* faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound unto the state of their best friends in *Greece*, by the extirpation of this tyranny; then should this enterprize, when once it was taken in hand, have been prosecuted unto the very utmost. As for this middle course which the *Romans* held, as it was not honourable to them to enrich themselves by the spoil of one that had not offended them, nor, pleasing to the *Acheans*, who judged it ever after a great blemish to the noble acts of *Titus*; so did it minister unto the *Etolians*, and to such as curiously pried into the faults of those which took upon them to be patrons of *Greece*, no barren subject of malicious discourse. For since *Philip*, a king, and descended of many famous kings, might not be suffered by these masterly *Romans* to hold any one of those countries or towns in *Greece*, that had belonged unto his ancestors, it was thought very strange that *Lacedemon*, once the most famous city among all the *Greeks*, was by the same *Romans* left in possession of a tyrant, that had usurped it but yesterday; and he therein rooted by their authority, as their friend and confederate. *Nabis*, on the other side, thought himself unmercifully dealt withal by the self-same *Romans*, whose amity he had preferred in time of a doubtful war, before the love and affinity of the *Macedonian* king, that had committed the city of *Argos* into his hands. But falsely had he dealt with the *Macedonian*, and falsely was he dealt with by those to whom he did betake himself. Among these articles propounded, there was nothing that pleased him, save only that for the banished *Lacedemonians* (of whom a great number were in the *Roman* camp, having among them *Agessipolis*, the natural king of *Sparta*, that, being a young child, was driven out by *Lycurgus*, the first of the tyrants) there was made no provision to have them restored unto their city and estates; but only leave required for as many of their wives, as would be so contented to live abroad with them in banishment. Wherefore he forbore to give consent unto these demands, and sustained an assault or two; hoping, belike, that the enemies would soon be weary. But his fearful nature shortly overcame the resolution, which the sense of these injuries had put into him. So yielding unto all that had been propounded, he delivered the hostages, and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at *Rome* by the senate and people. From this time forward, he thought the *Romans* far more wicked than himself; and was ready, upon the first advantage, to do them all the mischief that he could.

The *Argives* had heard news that *Lacedemon* was even at the point of being taken. This crested them, and gave them heart to think upon their own good. So they adventured to set upon the garrison, which was much weakened by the remove of the three thousand carried thence by *Pythagoras*, to help the tyrant at *Sparta*. There needed unto

their liberty no more, than that all of them jointly should set their hands to the getting of it; which no sooner they did, than they obtained it. Presently after this, came *T. Quintius* to *Argos*, where he was joyfully welcomed. He was deservedly acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the citizens had laid hold, without staying for him; and that he might the better entitle himself thereto, he caused the liberty of the *Argives* to be proclaimed at the *Nemean games*, as ratifying it by his authority. The city was annexed again to the council of *Achaia*, whereby the *Acheans* were not more strengthened, than the *Argives* themselves were secured from the danger of a relapse into the same extremities out of which they had newly escaped.

After this, *Titus* found little business, or none, wherewith to set on work his army in *Greece*. *Antiochus* was about to send another embassy to *Rome*, desiring peace and friendship of the senate. Things being therefore in appearance wholly disposed unto quiet, *Scipio* the *African*, that was chosen consul at *Rome*, could not have his desire of being sent commander into *Greece*. The unsincere meaning of *Antiochus*, and the tumultuous disposition of the *Etolians*, were held as considerations worthy of regard; yet not sufficient causes of making war. Neither appeared there any more honest way of confuting the *Etolians*, and of thoroughly persuading all the *Greeks* (which was not to be neglected by those that meant to assure unto themselves the patronage of *Greece*) that the good of the country was their sole intent, than by withdrawing thence their legions, and leaving the nation unto it self, till occasion should be ripe, and call them over again. Wherefore, after *Titus* had spent a winter there, without any matter of employment either found, or at any near distance appearing, he called an assembly of delegates from all parts of *Greece* to *Corinth*, where he meant to bid them farewell. There he recounted unto them all that had passed since his coming into those parts, and willed them to value the *Roman* friendship, according to the difference of estate wherein the *Romans* found and left them. Hereto he added some wholesome counsel, touching the moderate use of their liberty, and the care which they ought to have of living peaceably, and without faction. Lastly, he gave up *Acrocorinthus* to the *Acheans*, withdrawing thence the *Roman* garrison, and promising to do the like (which very soon he did) at *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*; that so it might be known what liars the *Etolians* were, who had accused the *Romans* of a purpose to retain those places. With joyful acclamations did the *Greeks* testify their goodliking of that which *Titus* had said and done: as also (at his request) they agreed to ransom and enlarge all *Romans* that had been sold into their country by *Hannibal*.

Thus *Titus* crowned his actions in *Greece* with an happy end; and, by leaving the country before his departure was urged, left therein behind him the memory of his virtue and benefits, untainted by jealousy and suspicion of any evil meaning. At his coming to the city, he had the honour of a triumph, which was the goodliest of all that *Rome* had until that day beheld. Three days together the shew of his pomp continued, as being set out with the spoils of a country, more abundant in things worthy of such a spectacle, than any wherein the *Romans* had before made war. All sorts of arms, with statues, and curious pieces of brass or marble, taken from the enemy, were carried in the first day's pageant. The second day was brought in all the treasure of gold and silver; some in the rude mass unwrought; some in divers sorts of coin; and some in vessels of

fundry kinds, that were the more highly prized by the workmanship. Among these were ten shields, all of silver, and one of pure gold. The third day *Titus* himself entered the city in his triumphant chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and fourteen crowns of gold, bestowed upon him by divers cities. There were also led the beasts for sacrifice, the prisoners, and the hostages; among which, *Demetrius*, the son of king *Philip*, and *Armenes*, the son of *Nabis*, were principal. After him followed his army, and (which added much grace and good-liking to the shew) the *Roman* captives, by his procurement, redeemed from slavery in *Greece*.

Not long after this triumph, the procured audience of the senate for many embassies that were come out of *Greece* and *Asia*. They had all very favourable answers, excepting those of king *Antiochus*, whom the senate would not hear, but referred over to *T. Quintius*, and the ten that had been his counsellors; because their business was said to be somewhat intricate. Hereat the king's ambassadors wondered. They said unto *Titus*, and his associates, that they could not discern wherein consisted any perplexity of their message. For all treaties of peace and friendship, were either between the victor and the vanquished; between those, that, having warred together, were upon equal terms of advantage; or between those that had lived always in good agreement, without any quarrel. Unto the victor, they said, that the vanquished must yield, and patiently endure the imposition of some covenants, that else might seem unreasonable. Where war had been made, and no advantage gotten, there was it usual to demand and make restitution of things and places claimed, gotten, or lost, accordingly as both parts could agree. But between those which had never fallen out, there ought no conditions of establishing friendship to be proposed; since it was reasonable that each part should hold their own, and neither carry it self as superior unto the other, in prescribing ought that might be troublesome. Now of this last kind, was the league and friendship that had been so long in conclusion betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. Which being so, they held it strange that the *Romans* should thus insist on points no way concerning them, and take upon them to prescribe unto the king, what cities of *Asia* he should set at liberty; from what cities they would give him leave to exact his wonted tributes; either putting, or not putting, his garrisons into them, as the senate should think fit. Hereto *Quintius* answered, that since they went so distinctly to work, he would also do the like. Wherefore he propounded unto them two conditions, and gave them their choice whether to accept: either that it should be lawful for the *Romans* to take part in *Asia* with any that would seek their friendship; or, if king *Antiochus* disliked this, and would have them forbear to meddle in *Asia*, that then he should abandon whatsoever he had gotten in *Europe*. This was plain dealing, but no reasonable nor pertinent answer to that which the king's ambassadors had propounded. For, if the *Romans* might be hired to abtain from *Asia*, by the gift of all that *Antiochus* had lately won in *Europe*, then did not the affairs of *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, or any other *Asiatics*, whom they were pleased to reckon as their confederates, bind them in honour to make war with a king that sought their love, and had never done them injury. But they knew very well, that *Antiochus* could not without great shame be to base, as to deliver up unto them the city of *Lysimachia*, whereon of late he had been at so much cost; in build-

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ing it up even from the foundations, and repeopling it with inhabitants, that had been dispersed, or captive to the *Barbarians*. And so much the ambassadors with great indignation alledged: saying, that *Antiochus* desired friendship of the *Romans*; but so, as it might stand with his honour. Now in point of honour, the *Romans* took upon them, as if their cause were far the superior. For it was, they said, their purpose to set at liberty those towns, which the king would oppress, and hold in subjection: especially, since those towns were of *Greekish* blood and language; and fell in that regard under the patronage, which *Rome* had afforded unto all *Greece* besides. By this colour they might soon have left *Antiochus* king of not many subjects on the hither side of *Euphrates*. Neither did they forbear to say, That unless he would quit what he held in *Europe*, it was their meaning, not only to protect those which relied upon them in *Asia*, but therein to make new alliances: namely (as might be understood) with such as were his subjects. Wherefore they urged his ambassadors to come to a point, and tell them plainly which of these two conditions their king would accept. For lack of a pleasing answer, which the ambassadors could not hereto make, little wanted of giving presently defiance to the king. But they suffered themselves to be entreated, and were contented once again to send over *P. Villius*, and others that had been already with the king at *Lyfimachia*; by whom they might receive a final answer, whether these demands made by *Quintius*, and his associates, would be accepted, yea, or no. By this respite of time, and the fruitless treaties ensuing, *Antiochus* got the leisure of two years, or thereabouts, to prepare for war, finding in the *Romans*, all that while, no disposition to let him live in peace.

SECT. V.

Of long wars which the Romans had with the Gauls, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of M. Porcius Cato. Injuries done by Masanissa to the Carthaginians: that sue to the Romans for justice in vain.

THE *Insubrians*, *Boijans*, and other of the *Cisalpine Gauls*, together with the *Ligurians*; made often, and (in a manner) continual war upon the *Romans* in *Italy*, even from such time as *Hannibal* and his brother *Mago* departed thence, until such time as they themselves were utterly subdued; which was not before the *Romans* were almost at the very height of their empire. These nations having served under *Mago* for wages, and afterwards having gotten *Amilcar*, a *Carthaginian*, to be leader unto them all, as hath been already shewed, by this their fellowship in arms, grew to be such willing partakers of each others fortune, that seldom afterwards either the *Gauls* or *Ligurians* did stir alone, but that their companions, hearing it, were ready to second them. How the *Romans* first prevailed, and got the large possessions in *Gallia Cisalpina*, now called *Lombardy*; it had been long since rehearsed, between the first and second *Punic* wars. As also it hath since appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that country, by means of *Hannibal's* passage there-through. Neither is it likely, that the re-conquest would have been more difficult or tedious unto the *Romans*, than was the first purchase: if, besides the greater employments which they had of

their armies abroad, their forces appointed unto this war had not been distracted by the *Ligurians*; that always made them to proceed warily, having an eye to the danger at their backs. The *Ligurians* were a stout nation, light and swift of body; well practised in laying ambushes, and not discouraged with any overthrow, but forthwith ready to fight again. Their country was mountainous, rough, woody, and full of streight and dangerous passages. Few good towns they had; but many castles, exceedingly well fortified by nature: so as without much labour, they could neither be taken nor besieged. They were also very poor; and had little or nothing that might give contentment, unto a victorious army that should spoil their land. In these respects they served excellently well, to train up the *Roman* foldiers to hardness, and military patience: teaching them (besides other exercises of war) to endure much, and live contented with a little. Their quarrel to *Rome*, grew partly from their love unto the *Gauls*, their neighbours and companions; partly from their delight in robbing and spoiling the territory of their borders, that were subject unto *Rome*. But their obstinate continuance in the war which they had begun, seems to have been grounded upon the condition of all savages; to be friends or foes, by custom, rather than by judgment: and to acknowledge no such virtue in leagues, or formal conclusions of peace, as ought to hinder them from using their advantage, or taking revenge of injuries when they return to mind. This quality is found in all, or most of the *West-Indians*: who, if they be demanded a reason of the wars between them and any of their neighbours, use commonly this answer, *It hath still been the custom for us and them, to fight one against the other.*

Divers overthrows, though none that were great, these *Ligurians* gave unto the *Romans*: but many more, and greater, they received. Often they sought peace, when they found themselves in distress; and brake it again as often, when they thought it profitable so to do. The best was, that as their country was a good place of exercise unto the *Romans*; so out of their own country they did little harm: not sending any great armies far from home; perhaps, because they knew not how to make war, save on their own ground.

The country of *Spain*, as it was the first part of the continent out of *Italy* that became subject unto the *Romans*: so was it the last of all their provinces, which was wholly and thoroughly by them subdued. It is likened in figure by some geographers, unto an ox-hide: and the *Romans* found in it the property of that ox-hide, which *Calanus*, the *Indian*, shewed unto the great *Alexander*, as an emblem of his large dominions. For, treading upon any side of it, the further parts would rise from the ground. And thus was it with *Spain*. Seldom did it happen, that those parts, from which the *Roman* armies lay furthest, were not up in rebellion. The *Spaniards* were a very hardy nation, and easily stirred up to arms; but had not much knowledge in the art of war, nor any good captains. They wanted also (which was their principal hinderance) good intelligence among themselves: and being divided into many small signories, that had little other communion than of language, they seldom or never provided in general for the common good of their country; but made it their chief care, each of them to look unto their

* Ch. 2. §. 8. of this Book.

own territory. Such private respects made them often to fall asunder ; when many had united themselves together, for chasing out of the *Romans*. And these were the causes of their often overthrows ; as desire of liberty, rather than complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cause of their often taking arms.

The *Carthaginians* had been accustomed, to make evacuation of this cholerick *Spanish* humour ; by employing, as mercenaries in their wars abroad, those that were most likely to be unquiet at home. They had also taken soldiers from one part of the country, and used them in another : finding means to pay them all, out of the profits which they raised upon the whole country ; as being far better husbands, and of more dexterity than were the *Romans*, in that kind. But contrariwise the *Romans*, using the service of their own legions, and of their sure friends the *Latins*, had little business for the *Spaniards* ; and therefore were fain to have much business with them. *Spain* was too far distant, and withal too great, for them to send over colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the course that they took in *Italy*. Wherefore it remained, that they should always maintain such armies in the country, as might serve to hold in obedience *per* force ; and such heedful captains, as might be still ready to oppose the *Barbarians* in their first commotion. This they did : and thereby held the country, though seldom in peace.

Very soon after the departure of *Scipio*, there was raised a war in *Spain* against the *Romans*, even upon the same general ground, that was the foundation of all the *Spanish* wars following. It was thought unreasonable, that the *Spaniards* should one while help the *Carthaginians* against the *Romans*, and another while the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians* ; basely forgetting to help themselves against those that were strangers, yet usurped the dominion over them. But the forces, which *Scipio* had left behind him in that country, being well acquainted with the manner of war in those parts, suppressed this rebellion by many victories : and, together with subjection, brought peace upon the country ; which lasted five years. This victory of the *Romans*, though it happily ended the war ; yet left it still remaining the cause of the war ; which, after five years, brake out again. The *Spaniards* fought a battel with the *Roman* proconsul, whom they slew ; and had a great victory, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happy success of their wars in *Greece*, made the *Romans* think it enough to send thither two pretors, and with each of them some two legions. These did somewhat ; yet not so much, but that *M. Porcius Cato*, who was consul the year following, and sent into that province, found at his coming little less to do, than the reconquering of all *Spain*. But it fell out happily, that all the *Spaniards* were not of one mind : some were faithful to *Rome* ; and some were idle beholders of the pains that others took. Yet, when *Cato* had won a great victory upon the chiefest of them ; they rose against him in many parts of the country, and put him to much new trouble. Whilst he was about to make a journey against those that were as yet unsubdued, some of the lately vanquished were even ready to rebel. He therefore disarmed them : which they took so heavily, that many of them slew themselves for very grief. Hearing of this, and well understanding, that such desperation might work dangerous effects ; he called unto him the principal among them : and commending unto them peace and qui-

etness, which they never had disturbed but unto their own great loss, he prayed them to devise what course might be taken, for holding them assured unto *Rome*, without further trouble. None of them could, or would give counsel in a matter of this nature. Having therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their invention barren in this kind of subject, he gave express charge, that upon a day appointed they should throw down the walls of all their towns. Afterwards he carried the war about from place to place ; and with singular industry finished it in short time. Neither thought he it any disgrace to him, or to *Rome*, in this time of danger, to imitate the *Carthaginians*, and hire an army of the *Celtiberians*, against other of their countrymen : excusing the indignity, such as it seemed, with a jest, That if he were vanquished and slain, then should he need to pay them nothing ; whereas if he had the victory, he could pay them with the enemy's money. Finally he brought the war to so good an end, that in long time after, though *Spain* were often troublesome, yet was in no danger of being lost. He increased also the publick revenues in that province, by causing some mines of iron and silver to be wrought, that had before lain unregarded. Herein he did benefit the commonwealth, by a virtue much agreeable to his own peculiar disposition.

For this *M. Cato* was not only very notable in the art of war, which might well be then termed, The occupation of the *Romans* ; but so well furnished with all other useful qualities, that very little was wanting in him, which might seem requisite to the accomplishment of a perfect man. He was very skilful in the *Roman* laws, a man of great eloquence, and not unprofitable in any business either private or publick. Many books he wrote : whereof the principal were, of the *Roman* antiquities, and of husbandry. In matter of husbandry he was notable, and thereby most increased his substance ; being of mean birth, and the first of his house. Strong of body he was, and exceeding temperate : so as he lived in perfect health to very old age. But that which most commended him unto the better sort of the *Romans*, was his great sincerity of life, abstinence from bribes, and fashioning himself to the ancient laudable customs of the city. Herein he had merited singular commendations, if the vehemency of his nature had not caused him to malign the virtue of that noble *Scipio* the *African*, and some other worthy men ; that were no less honest than himself, though far less rigid, and more gallant in behaviour. Otherwise he was a very good citizen, and one of such temper, that he could fashion himself to all occasions, as if he never were out of his element. He loved business so well, or rather hated vice so earnestly ; that, even unto the end of his life, he was exercised in defending himself, or accusing others. For at the age of fourscore and six years, he pleaded in his own defence ; and four years after, he accused *Sergius Galba* unto the people. So began the nobility of *Cato's* family ; which ended in his great-grandchild *M. Cato* the *Utican* : one, that being of like virtue and fervency, had all his good purposes dash'd, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of such nobility and greatness as this his ancestor had continually vexed.

The *Spanish* wars, after *Cato's* departure out of the country, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many ; and the country seldom free from insurrection, in one part or other. The *Roman* pretors therefore, of which two every year were sent over commanders into *Spain* (that was divided

divided into two governments) did rarely fail of such work, as might afford the honour of triumph. One slew thirteen thousand *Spaniards* in a battel : another took fifty towns ; and a third enforced many states of the country to sue for peace. Thus every one of them, or most of them, did some laudable service ; and yet so, that commonly there were of men, towns and people, new that rebelled, instead of the old that were slain, taken or reclaimed. At the causes hereof I have already pointed : and therefore think it enough to say, That the business in *Spain* required not the employment of a *Roman* consul, from such time as *Cato* thence departed, until the *Numantian* war broke out ; which was very long after.

In all other countries to the west of the *Ionian* seas, the *Romans* had peace : but so had not the *Carthaginians*. For when *Hannibal* was gone from them, and that the enemies of the *Barchine* house promised all felicity which *Rome* could grant, unto themselves and their obedient city : *Masanissa* fell to disputing with the sword, about the title to the best part of their lands. He began with *Emporia*, a fruitful region about the lesser *Syrtis* : wherein among other cities was that of *Leptis*, which daily paid a talent unto *Carthage* for tribute. This country the *Numidian* challenged ; and by winning some part of it, seemed to better his claim unto the whole. He had a great advantage : for that the *Carthaginians* might not make any war, without leave obtained from their masters the *Romans*. They had none other way of redress, than by sending to *Rome* their complaint of his doings. And surely they wanted not good matter to alledge, if the judges had been impartial. For besides that *Scipio*, in limiting out unto them their bounds, had left them the possession of this country : *Masanissa* himself, now very lately, pursuing a rebel that fled out of his kingdom, desired leave of the *Carthaginians*, for himself to pass through it in his way to *Cyrene* : thereby acknowledging (had it otherwise been questionable) that the country was theirs. This notwithstanding, *Masanissa* had wherewith to justify his proceedings, especially unto the *Roman* senate. He gave the *Fathers* to understand by his ambassadors, what faithless people the *Carthaginians* were, and how ill-affected to the state of *Rome*. There had lately been sent unto them from *Hannibal* one, that should persuade them to take part with *Antiochus*. This man they had examined, upon some suspicion of his errand ; yet neither arresting him nor his ship, had thereby afforded him means to escape. Hence the *Numidian* concluded, That certainly it was their purpose to rebel ; and therefore good policy to keep them down. As for the country of *Emporia* : it had always, he said, been theirs, that were able to hold it by strong hand : and so belonged sometimes unto the *Numidian* kings ; though now of late it was in possession of the *Carthaginians*. But if truth were known : the citizens of *Carthage* had not any very warrantable title, unto any more ground, than that whereon their city stood ; or scarcely to so much. For they were no better than strangers in *Afric*, that had gotten leave there to build upon so much ground as they could encompass with an ox-hide cut into small thongs. Whatsoever they held without such a compass, was purchased by fraud, and wrongful encroachments. This considered, *Masanissa* requested of the senate, That they would not adjudge unto such usurpers, the country sometimes appertaining to the ancestors of him their assured friend. The *Romans* having heard these allegati-

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ons on both sides, found the matter so doubtful, that they could not on the sudden tell what to determine. Wherefore because they would do nothing rashly ; they sent over three ambassadors, of whom *P. Scipio* the *African* was one and the chief, to decide the controversy : yet secretly giving them instructions, to leave all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The ambassadors followed their directions, and left all doubtful. So was it likely that *Masanissa* with a strong army should quickly prevail, against those that could no more than talk of their right, and exclaim against the wrong. By such arts were the *Carthaginians* held not only from stirring in favour of king *Antiochus*, if they had thereto any disposition ; but were prepared by little and little unto their final destruction : that came upon them, when the *Romans* had leisure to express the utmost of their hatred.

S E C T. VI.

The Etolians labour to provoke Antiochus, Philip, and Nabis, to war upon the Romans ; by whom they hold themselves wronged and disgraced. Nabis besiegeth Gyttheum, and wasteth some part of Achæa. The exact skill of Philopœmen, in advantage of ground : whereby he utterly vanquisheth Nabis. Antiochus being denied peace by the Romans, joins with the Etolians. The Etolians surprize Demetrius ; and by killing Nabis their confederate, seize upon Sparta. But they are driven out by the citizens : who, at Philopœmen's persuasions, annex themselves to the Achæans.

ALL *Greece* being at peace, and the *Roman* armies thence departed : it grieved much the *Etolians* to think, that they, who had promised unto themselves the whole spoil of *Philip*, and the highest reputation among the *Greeks* ; were not only disappointed of their covetous hopes, but quite forsaken by their ancient dependants ; and of all other the most unregarded. Yet was there made a great access to their estate ; by adding much unto them, of that which had been taken from the *Macedonian*. This might have well sufficed them, if their desires had not been immoderate ; and their indignation more vehement, than their desire. But they were not so pleased with that which they had, since they thought it no more than part of their due ; as they were vexed with the denial of that which they claimed, and with finding themselves to be wholly disesteemed, wherein they thought that they had unsufferable wrong. Wherefore they devised in a parliament, which they shortly held, by what means they might best right themselves ; and give the *Romans* a sorrowful knowledge of the difference, between their enmity and friendship. To this purpose they soon agreed, as concurring all in one affection, That they would not only persuade *Antiochus* to make war upon the *Romans*, as one to whom the *Romans* had long refused peace ; but that they would deal with the king of *Macedon* their ancient enemy, and with *Nabis* the tyrant of *Lacedemon*, to join all together in a new confederacy : whose joint forces could not in all likelihood but far surmount those of the *Romans*, *Acheans*, *Rhodians*, and king *Eumenes*, with all that were of their faction. This was a great enterprise, which the *Etolians* took in hand : and well becoming them, for they were great darers. They sent ambassadors to all these kings, with persuasions as they thought most forcible. But *Philip* was irresolute ; and *Antiochus* willing to try first all other courses. *Nabis* the *Lacedemonian*, who

who neither (as *Philip*) had lost much nor (as *Antiochus*) was in fear of any war; yet shewed himself of all other the most forward: and not staying so much as to seek any good pretence, began immediately to lay siege to *Gyttheum*, that had been lately taken from him by the *Romans*. The *Acheans*, to whose care chiefly *Titus* at his departure had commended the affairs of *Peloponnesus*, were not slow to admonish *Nabis* of his duty: neither would they have stayed long from repressing his violence by open war; had not some of them thought it wisdom to ask counsel of the *Romans*, and particularly of *T. Quintius*, before they engaged themselves in a business of such importance. Whilst thus they spent time in sending ambassadors, and were advised by *Quintius* to let all alone, and to wait for the coming of the *Roman* forces that would shortly be amongst them: *Nabis* was bold to give them juster cause of complaint, by waisting their own territory.

Philopæmen was then pretor of the *Acheans*, who had long been absent in *Crete*; making war there for his mind's sake and recreation. Unto him the *Acheans* referred themselves, giving him leave to order the war at his pleasure; either staying until the *Romans* came; or doing otherwise, as he should think best. He made all haste to relieve *Gyttheum* by sea; fearing lest the town, and the *Achean* garrison within it, should be lost, if he used any delay. But *Philopæmen* was so bad a seaman, that he knew not a strong ship from a rotten. He made a quadrireme galley his admiral, that had fourscore years ago been counted a gallant vessel, in the navy of *Antigonus Gonatas*. Neither was the rest of his fleet so good, as might encounter with that of the *Lacedemonian*. Only it fell out well, that he committed himself to a light pinnace, or brigantine, that fought better with her wings, than with her talons. For his admiral galley was sterned at the first; and being rotten with age, sprang so many leaks, and took in water so fast, that she was fain to yield without further resistance. When the rest of the fleet saw what was become of their admiral; all were presently discouraged, and saved themselves with what speed they could. But *Philopæmen* was not herewith daunted. If he had failed in sea-service, which was none of his occupation; he said, that he would make amends by land. The tyrant withdrew part of his army from the siege of *Gyttheum*, to stop the *Acheans* if they should invade his country. But upon these which were placed in guard of *Laconia*, *Philopæmen* came unexpected; fired their camp; and put all, save a very few of them, to the sword. Then marched he with all his army towards *Lacedemon*: within ten miles whereof he was, when the tyrant met him; that had already taken *Gyttheum*. It was not expected, that *Nabis* would have been ready for them so soon. Or if he should come from *Gyttheum* with any part of his forces: yet was it thought that he must overtake them, and charge them in rear. They marched therefore almost securely, in a long troop reaching some five miles: having their horse, and the greatest part of their auxiliaries at their backs to bear off any sudden impression. But *Nabis*, who formerly understood, or at least suspected, what course they would take: appeared in the front of them with all his army; encamped there where they meant to have lodged. It was the custom of *Philopæmen*, when he walked or travelled abroad with his friends, to mark the situation of the country about him; and to discourse, what might befall an army marching the same.

He would suppose, That having with him there such a number of soldiers, ordered and sorted in such manner, and marching towards such a place; he were upon that ground encountred by a greater army, or better prepared to fight. Then would he put the question, whether it were fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a stand? what piece of ground it were meet for him to seize upon; and in what manner he might best do it? In what sort he should order his men? Where bestow his carriages; and under what guard? In what sort encamp himself? And which way march the day following? By such continual meditation, he was grown so perfect, that he never met with any difficulty, whence he could not extricate himself and his followers. At this time he made a stand: and having drawn up his rear, he encamped near unto the place where he was; within half a mile of the enemy. His baggage, with all thereto belonging, he bestowed on a rock; encompassing them round with his soldiers. The ground was rough, the ways bad, and the day almost quite spent; so as *Nabis* could not at the present greatly molest him. Both armies were to water at one brook; whereto the *Acheans* lay the nearer. This watering therefore was like to minister the first occasion of skirmish. *Philopæmen* understood this; and laid an ambush in place convenient; whereinto the mercenaries of *Nabis* fell, and were slaughtered in great numbers. Presently after this, he caused one of his own auxiliaries to go to the tyrant, as a fugitive, and tell him, That the *Acheans* had a purpose to get between him and *Lacedemon*; whereby they would both debar his return into the city, and withal, encourage the people, to take arms for the recovery of their freedom. The tyrant hearing this, marched hastily away; and left his camp, which hardly otherwise would have been forced. Some companies he made to stay behind, and shew themselves upon the rampart, thereby to conceal his departure. But *Philopæmen* was not so to be beguiled. He easily won the camp; and gave chase to *Nabis*: whose followers being overtaken, had no courage to turn about and make head. The enemies being thus dispersed, and fled into woods, where they lay in covert all that day; *Philopæmen* conceived aright, that their fear and necessity would teach them to creep homewards, and save themselves, when it grew dark. Wherefore in the evening, when he had gathered together all those of his light-armature, which had followed the chase whilst it was day; he led forth the rest that had well refreshed themselves, and occupied the two most ordinary passages unto *Lacedemon*. So *Nabis's* men, when it was dark night, perceiving in *Philopæmen's* camp great store of lights, thought that all had been at rest: and therefore adventured to make an escape home. But they were so way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into *Sparta*. Thirty days together after this, did *Philopæmen* waste the country round about, whilst *Nabis* durst not issue forth of his town; and then returned home, leaving the tyrant in a manner without forces.

The *Roman* ambassadors were then in *Greece*, and *T. Quintius* among them; labouring to make their party strong against *Antiochus* and *Nabis*, whom they knew to be solicited by the *Etolians*. Very fair countenance they also made unto *Philip*; and with comfortable promises drew him to make shew, whatsoever he thought, of good correspondence. They promised to restore unto him his son: and were contented to let him hope, that he should.

should receive other favours at their hands ; and regain possessions of many places by them taken from him. Thus did the *Romans* prepare for war against *Antiochus* in *Greece*, whilst their ambassadors that were with him in *Asia*, denied otherwise to grant him peace, than if he would yield unto one of the conditions, by them so often propounded. The long absence of this king in *Syria*, where he had accomplished the marriage between *Ptolemy* and his daughter ; together with the death of young *Antiochus* the king's son, which happened during the treaty, and hindered, or seemed to hinder, the king from giving audience in person to the ambassadors, caused them to return home to *Rome*, as uncertain of their answer as at their setting forth. One thing that might have been, and partly was beneficial unto them, they brought to pass during their abode at *Ephesus* ; either by cunning, or (as *Livy* rather thinks) by chance. Finding *Hannibal* there, they discoursed often with him, and blamed him for having thus fled unto *Antiochus*, upon a causeless suspicion wherein he held the *Romans*, that honoured his virtue, and intended him no harm. Many have affirmed that *P. Scipio* was one of these ambassadors ; and that he, among other discourses with *Hannibal*, demanded once, *Which of all the famous captains that had lived, Hannibal judged the most worthy ?* So *Hannibal* gave to *Alexander* of *Macedon* the first place ; to *Pyrrhus* the second ; and the third he challenged unto himself. But *Scipio*, who thought his own title better, than that it ought to be so forgotten, asked yet further, what wouldst thou have said then, *Hannibal*, if thou had'st vanquished me ? To whom the *Carthaginian* replied, then would not I have given the first place to *Alexander*, but have claimed it as due unto my self. Now whether this were so, or otherwise, the often and friendly conference of *Hannibal* with the *Roman* ambassadors, made him suspected of *Antiochus*, who therefore did forbear a while to use his counsel. Yet afterwards, when *Hannibal* perceived this change in the king, and plainly desiring him to tell the cause thereof, heard what it was, he easily recovered his former grace and credit. For he told how his father had caused him to swear at the altars, when he was a little boy, that he never should be a friend unto the *Romans*. Wherefore he willed the king not to regard any vain surmises ; but to know thus much, that as long as he thought upon war with *Rome*, so long would *Hannibal* do him all good service ; whereas, contrariwise, if he pretended to make peace, then should it behove him to use the counsel of some other man.

The *Etolians*, and their friends, were no less busy all this while in making their party strong against the *Romans*, than were the *Romans* in multering up their friends in *Greece*. They had so often dealt with *Antiochus*, vaunting much of their own forces, and arrogating to themselves the honour of the victory against *Philip* ; that, finally, they prevailed with him ; especially when the *Roman* ambassadors had left him without hope of peace, unless he would buy it at too dear a rate. They dealt in like sort with the *Macedonian*, but in vain. He understood the *Romans*, and himself too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improve their own forces to the utmost, as knowing that all the burden must lie upon *Antiochus* and themselves, without help from any, save only from some few that were discontented in *Greece*. Whilst they were about this, and had with them an ambassador of the king *Antiochus*, that

animated them to resolution, the *Athenian* ambassadors, whom *Titus* had requested to be at their meeting, stayed their vehemency a little ; by exhorting them not to conclude rashly, without first hearing the *Romans*, that lay near at hand. For want of a ready answer hereto, they were contented to approve the motion. *Titus*, hearing this, thought the business worthy of his presence. For since *Antiochus* had now declared himself against the *Romans*, it would be no small piece of service, to withdraw from his friendship those by whose encouragement he had made the adventure. Wherefore he came to their *Panætolium*, or great assembly of the nation, where he forgot nothing that might serve to appease them. He willed them to consider the weight of the enterprize which they took in hand, whereby *Greece* was like to become a champain-field, on which, to the ruin of the country, the *Romans*, and king *Antiochus*, that commanded no small part of the world, should fight for the mastery ; the *Etolians*, as masters in that kind of fence, setting them on, and becoming *the sticklers*. As for those grievances which did thus exasperate them, and urge them to such violent courses, he willed them to consider how slight they were, and how much better they might do to send ambassadors to *Rome*, that should either plead their right in the senate, or (if their right unto the places which they claimed were not good) make request to have what they desired, than thus to set the world in an uproar, and be afterwards the first that should repent it. But what he said, or could say, it skilled not much. They had already done ill to make the ambassador of the king, whose help they had sought, wait so long for an answer, and stay doubting what good end they should make with the *Romans*. Neither was it news unto them to hear those comfortable words, that, by sending to *Rome*, they might happen to obtain what they desired ; either as their right, or else by way of favour. For with such terms had they been feasted once already, and were by the senate rejected unto *Titus* ; who, having it in his own power, gave them no satisfaction ; yet would now again refer them to the senate. This were only loss of time, and might abate their credit with *Antiochus*. Wherefore without more ado they made a decree, that king *Antiochus the Great* should be intreated to come over into *Greece*, as well to set the country at liberty, as also to decide the controversies depending between the *Romans* and *Etolians*. Such a decree they would not have made, had they not understood the king's mind before. Having made it, they forgot no point of bravery, whereby to vaunt themselves to the king's ambassadors, and against the *Romans*. *Titus* desired of their pretor to let him see a copy of this new decree. The pretor answered, that then he had other things to do ; but that this decree, and their further answer, they would shortly let him know, if he came to their camp in *Italy* upon the river of *Tibris*. Gentler words would have done better, as the *Etolians* are like to understand hereafter. But having thus begun, they meant henceforth to go roundly to work. The care of the war they referred unto the more private council of their nation ; that no occasion might slip in waiting for the authority of a general assembly. The *Apocleti* (so were the privy-council of *Ætolia* called) went as hotly to work as any of the youngest heads could have done. They laid a plot, how to get into their hands at one time the towns of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Sparta* ;

^a Liv. 35. admittit Ætolis fortè, lussur.

to each of which they sent men for the purpose. *Demetrius* they took upon the sudden; entering, some of them, as friends to conduct home a principal man of the city; who, for speaking words against *T. Quintius*, had been driven to fly thence; but was, by intercession of those that loved him, again recalled. His *Etolian* companions, that were not many, seized upon a gate, whereat they let in a troop, which they had not left far behind them; and so fell to murdering the chief of the *Roman* faction. At *Chalcis* they sped not so well. Thither also they had a banished man to bring home; but they came so strong, that their purpose was discovered, and the town prepared to defend it self against them. Being therefore demanded the cause of this hostility, they gave a gentle answer, saying, that they came not thither as enemies, but only to deliver the town from the *Romans*, who more insolently domineered over it than ever the *Macedonians* had done. By which rhetorick they prevailed no more than they could do by plain force. For the townsmen replied, that they neither found any abridgment of their liberty, nor needed any garrison to keep them from the *Romans*; from whom they neither feared any danger, nor received injury. So this business was dash'd. The attempt upon *Sparta* was more strange and desperate. *Nabis*, their good friend, was lord of the town, styling himself king; but more truly by all men called tyrant. He had well-near lost all, by means of the overthrow which *Philopæmen* had lately given him; since he durst not stir abroad, and daily expected the mischief that on all sides threatned him. Wherefore he sent messengers, one after another, to the *Etolians*, requesting them, that as he had not been slow to stir in their behalf, but adventured himself upon the utmost of danger, when all others were backward; so they would be pleased to send him what help they might, since his bad fortune had caused him at present to need it. It hath been often said, that the ravenous *Etolians* were only true to themselves, and regarded neither faith nor friendship, otherwise than as it might conduce to their own ends. And so dealt they now. For since *Nabis's* mercenary forces, which upheld his tyranny, were in a manner consumed, they thought it expedient, for their estate, to put him out of the way; and, by so doing, to assure *Lacedemon* unto themselves. To this purpose, they sent thither *Alexamenus*, one whom they thought a man fit for such a work. To him they gave a thousand foot, and thirty horse, chosen for the purpose. These thirty were, by *Democritus* the pretor, brought into the council of the *Apocleti*, where they were commanded to be no wiser than they should be, nor to think that they were sent to make war with the *Acheans*, or to do ought else, save only what *Alexamenus* should command them; which, were it never so desperate, and, in seeming, against all reason, yet must they understand, that unless they performed it, they should have no good welcome home. So *Alexamenus* came to the tyrant, whom he encouraged with brave words; telling him, that *Antiochus* was already in *Europe*, and would be anon in *Greece*, meaning to cover all the land and sea with his mighty armies; and that the *Romans* were like to find other manner of work, than of late with *Philip*; since the elephants of this great king, without other help, would suffice to tread them

down. As for the *Etolians*, he said, that if need should so require, they would presently send away to *Lacedemon* all the forces that they could raise: but that they were very desirous at the present to make as goodly a muster as they could before the great king, which caused them to send him thither afore with no greater company. Hereupon he willed *Nabis* to take heart; bring forth his men, that had been long pent up in the city, and train them without the walls; as if shortly he should employ them in work of conquest, rather than defence. *Nabis* was glad of this, and daily exercised his men in the field; riding up and down with his *Alexamenus*, and no more than three or four horse about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exercise, *Alexamenus* made it his fashion to step aside alone to his *Etolians*, and say somewhat as he thought fit; which done, he still returned again to *Nabis*. But when he saw time for the great work that he had in hand, he then went aside to his thirty horse-men, and bade them remember the task enjoined them at their setting forth; telling them, that they were all in case of banished men, unless they would anon come up to him, and help him to finish that which they should see him take in hand. Herewithal the tyrant began to draw near them; and, *Alexamenus* making towards him, charged him on the sudden, and struck him down. The thirty *Etolians* never stood to deliberate upon the matter, but all flew in; and, before any succour could arrive, had made an end of this wretched *Nabis*. Presently, upon the fact committed, the tyrant's mercenaries ran unto the dead body; where, instead of seeking revenge, they stood foolishly gazing as beholders. *Alexamenus*, with his *Etolians*, hastened into the city, and seized on the palace, where he fell to ransacking the treasure; and troubled himself with none other care, as though all were already done. Such of his followers as were dispersed in the town, did also the like; with the greater indignation of the citizens, who, seeing themselves free by the death of the tyrant, could not endure to see those that had slain him begin to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the town was shortly in arms; and, for lack of another captain, they took a little boy of the royal stock, that had been brought up with *Nabis's* children, whom they mounted upon a good horse, and made him their chief. So they fell upon the *Etolians* that were idly stragling about, and put them all to the sword. *Alexamenus*, with not many of his company, were slain keeping the citadel; and those few that escaped thence into *Arcadia*, were taken by the magistrates, who sold them all as bond-slaves. In this doubtful estate of things at *Lacedemon*, *Philopæmen* came thither, who, calling out the chief of the city, and speaking such words unto them, as *Alexamenus* should have done after he had slain the tyrant, easily perswaded them, for their own good and safety, to incorporate themselves with the *Acheans*. Thus by the enterprise, no less dishonourable than difficult, of the *Etolians*, and the small, but effectual travel of *Philopæmen*, the *Acheans* made a notable purchase; and *Lacedemon*, that had hitherto been governed either by kings, or by tyrants that called themselves kings, became the member of a common-wealth, whereof the name had scarce any reputation when *Sparta* ruled over all *Greece*.

S E C T. VII.

Antiochus, *perswaded by Thoas the Etolian, comes over into Greece, ill attended. Sundry passages between him, the Etolians, Chalcidians, and others. He wins Chalcis, and thereby the whole isle of Eubœa. The vanity of the king's ambassadors and the Etolians, with the civil answer of Titus to their discourse, before the Achæans. That it concerned the Greeks to have desired peace between the Romans and Antiochus, as the best assurance of their own liberty. Of many petty estates that fell to the king. Of Aminander; and an idle vanity, by which king Philip was lost. Hannibal gives good counsel in vain. Some towns won in Theffaly. The king retires to Chalcis, where he marrieth a young wife, and revels away the rest of winter. Upon the coming of the Roman consul, all forsake Antiochus. He, with two thousand Etolians, keeps the streights of Thermopylæ. He is beaten, and flies into Asia, leaving all in Greece unto the victors.*

ANTIOCHUS was troubled much in *Asia* with *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus*, that would not hearken to any composition. He thought it neither safe nor honourable to leave them enemies behind him; and to win them by force, was more than hitherto he was able. Yet was he desirous, with all speed convenient, to shew himself in *Greece*; where, he had been told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, that in all the country there was a very small number which bore hearty affection unto the *Romans*: that *Nabis* was already up in arms; that *Philip* was like a bandog in a chain, desiring nothing more than to break loose; and that the *Etolians*, without whom the *Romans* had done nothing, nor nothing could have done, were ready to confer upon him the greatness, which they had unworthily bestowed upon insolent *Barbarians*. Of all this, the least part was true; yet that which was true, made such a noise, as added credit unto all the rest. Whilst therefore the king was thinking to send *Hannibal* into *Africa*, there to molest the *Romans*, and so give him the better leisure of using his own opportunities in *Greece*: *Thoas*, the *Etolian*, came over to him, and bade him lay all other care aside; for that his countrymen had already taken *Demetrias*, a town of main importance, that should give him entertainment; whence he might proceed as became the greatness of his virtue and fortune. This did serve to cut off all deliberation. As for *Hannibal*, *Thoas* was bold to tell the king; first, that it was not expedient for him to divide his forces at such a time, when the very reputation of his numbers brought into *Greece* might serve to lay open unto him all places, without need of using violence; and, secondly, that in any such great enterprise, there could not be chosen a more unfit man to be employed in the king's service, than was that famous *Hannibal*, the *Carthaginian*. For he said, that the king should as greatly feel the loss of a fleet or army, perishing under such a notable commander, if his fortune were bad, as if the same had miscarried under one of meaner quality; whereas, nevertheless, if *Hannibal* prevailed, *Hannibal* alone should have all the honour, and not *Antiochus*. In this regard he was of opinion, that such a renowned warrior should be always near unto the king's person, to give advice; which being followed as often as it was found commodious, the good success would wholly redound unto the honour of him that had the sovereign command, even of the king himself. *Antiochus* gladly hearkened unto this admonition;

being jealous of the virtue that shined brighter than the majesty of his own fortune. And thereupon he laid aside the determination, which tended more to the advancement of his desires, than did any thing else by him then or after thought upon.

Presently after this, he made ready for *Greece*. Before his setting forth, in a frivolous pomp of ceremony, he went up from the sea-side to *Ilium*, there to do sacrifice to *Minerva* of *Troy*. Thence passing over the *Egean* sea, he came to *Demetrias*. *Eurylochus*, the *Magnetian*, the same whom the *Etolians* had lately waited on home, when by that pretext they won *Demetrias*, was now the chief man and ruler of his nation. He therefore, with his countrymen, in great frequency, came to do their duties to the king *Antiochus*, and bid him welcome. The king was glad of this, and took it as a sign of good luck, to be so entertained at the beginning. But it may be suspected, that the *Magnetians* found not the like cause of joy; for whereas they had expected a fleet and army somewhat like to that of *Xerxes*; they saw three hundred ships, of which no more than forty were serviceable for the wars, with an army of ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants. The *Etolians* no sooner heard of his coming, than they called a parliament, and made decree, whereby they invited him into their country. He knew before that they would so do, and was therefore well onward on his way towards them, when they met him that brought the decree. At his coming to *Lania*, the *Etolians* gave him as joyful entertainment as they could devise. Being brought into their council, he made an oration, wherein he desired them to hold him excused, that he came not followed with a greater army. This was, he said, in true estimation, a sign of his goodwill; in that he staid not to make all things ready, but hastened unto their aid, even whilst the season was unfit for navigation. Yet it should not be long, ere the hope of all those which had expected him, would be satisfied unto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all *Greece* with armies, and all the sea-coasts with his fleets. Neither would he spare for any charge, travel, or danger, to follow the business which he had undertaken, even to drive the *Romans* and their authority out of *Greece*; leaving the country free indeed, and the *Etolians* therein the chief. Now as the armies that were following him, should be very great; so was it his meaning, that all provisions to them belonging should be correspondent, because he would not be any way burdensome unto his confederates. But at the present he must needs intreat them, having thus hastily come over unto their aid, unprovided of many necessities, that they would help him with corn and other victuals, whereof he stood in need. So he left them to their consultation, the conclusion whereof was, after a little dispute (for a vain motion was made by some, that the differences between the *Romans* and them should be put by compromise to the decision of *Antiochus*) that they would yield unto the king's desire, and assist him with all their forces. Here we may observe, how vain a thing it is for an absolute prince to engage himself, as did *Antiochus*, in a business of dangerous importance, upon the promised assurance of a state that is merely popular. For if the vehemency of *Thoas*, and some other of that faction, had not prevailed in this council, the *Etolians*, for gain of two or three towns, yea, for hope of such gain that might have deceived them, were like to have abandoned this king, their friend, unto the discretion of the *Romans*. And what remedy had there been, if this had so fallen out? He could have bemoaned himself to *Thoas*, and complained of the

wrong; but he must have been contented with this answer, that the fault was in those of the opposite side, whom *Thoas* would therefore have pronounced to be very wicked men. It happened much better for the present; though in the future it proved much worse, both for him, and for the *Etolians*. He was chosen general of all their forces: and thirty commissioners were appointed to be about him, as a council of war for the nation. These armed such as readily they could, whilst it was in dispute where they should begin the war. *Chalcis* was thought the meetest place to be first undertaken: whither if they came suddenly, they should not peradventure need to use much force. The king had brought with him into *Etolia* but a thousand foot; leaving the rest behind him at *Demetrias*. With these he hastened away directly towards *Chalcis*; being overtaken by no great number of the *Etolians*, which accompanied him thither. At his coming, the magistrates, and some of the chief citizens, issued forth to parley with him. There the *Etolians* began, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the *Romans* had only in words and false semblance set *Greece* at liberty. But such liberty as might be true and useful, they said would never be obtained; until by removing the necessity of obeying their pleasure that were most mighty, every several estate had where to find redress of any pressure. And to this end was the great *Antiochus* come thither; a king well able to counterpoise, yea to over-weigh the *Romans*: who nevertheless desired them only, so to join with him in league, as that if either the *Romans* or he should offer them wrong, they might keep it in their power, to seek and redress at the other hands. The *Carthaginians* made hereto the same answer, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: That their freedom was not imaginary, but absolute; for which they were to thank the *Romans*; without whose good liking, they would enter into no new confederacy. That which they spake of themselves, they could likewise affirm of all the *Greeks*: forasmuch as none of them payed any tribute; was kept under, by any garrison; or lived otherwise than by their own *Laws*, and without being tied unto condition which displeased them. Wherefore they wondered, why the king should thus trouble himself, to deliver cities that were already free. But since he, and the *Etolians*, requested their friendship: they besought both him, and the *Etolians*, to do a friendly office, in departing from them quietly, and leaving them in such good case as they were. With this answer the king departed: for he was not, as then, strong enough to force them. But very soon after, he brought thither a greater power; which terrified them, and made them yield, before all the succours could arrive, which *Titus* had sent for their defence.

The chief city of *Eubœa* being thus gotten; all the rest of the island shortly yielded to *Antiochus*. Four or five hundred *Roman* soldiers, that came over-late to have defended *Chalcis*, reposed themselves at *Delium*, a little town of *Boœtia*, lying over-against the island; where was a temple and grove, consecrated unto *Apollo*, that had the privilege of an inviolable sanctuary. In this place were some of them walking, and beholding the things there to be seen, whilst others were busied as they found cause: without fear of any danger; as being in such a place, and no war hitherto proclaimed. But *Menippus*, one of *Antiochus's* captains, that had wearied himself in many vain treaties of peace; took advantage of their carelessness,

and used them with all extremity of war. Very few of them escaped: fifty were taken; and the rest slain. Hereat *Quintius* was grieved: yet so as it pleased him well to consider, that his *Romans* had now more just cause, than before, to make war upon the king.

Antiochus liked well these beginnings, and sent ambassadors into all quarters of *Greece*; in hope, that his reputation should persuade very many to take his part. The wiser sort returned such answer, as the *Chalcidians* had done. Some reserved themselves until he should come among them: knowing that either, if he came not, he must hold them excused for not daring to stir; or, if he came, the *Romans* must pardon their just fear, in yielding to the stronger. None of those that lay far off, joined with him in true meaning; save the *Eleans*, that always favoured the *Etolians*, and now feared the *Acheans*. Little reason there was, that he would think to draw the *Acheans* to his party. Nevertheless he assayed them, upon a vain hope that the envy, which *Titus* was said to bear unto *Philopœmens's* virtue, had bred a secret dislike between that nation and the *Romans*. Wherefore both he and the *Etolians* sent ambassadors to the council at *Ægium*, that spared not brave words, if the *Acheans* would have so been taken. The king's ambassador told of great armies and fleets that were coming: reckoning up the *Dabans*, *Medians*, *Elimeans* and *Cadusians*; names that were not every day heard of, and therefore, as he thought, the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at sea, the *Sydonians*, *Tyrians*, *Aradians*, and *Pamphylians* were; such indeed as could not be resisted. Now concerning money, and all warlike furniture; it was, he said, well known, that the kingdoms of *Asia* had always thereof great plenty. So as they were much deceived: who, considering the late war made against *Philip*, did think that this with *Antiochus* would prove the like: the case was too far different. Yet this most powerful king, that for the liberty of *Greece* was come from the utmost parts of the east, requested no more of the *Acheans*, than that they would hold themselves as neutral, and quietly look on, whilst he took order with the *Romans*. To the same effect spake the *Etolian* ambassador: and further added, That in the battel at *Cynoscephalæ*, neither *Titus* had done the part of a general, nor the *Romans* of good soldiers: but that both he and his army had been there destroyed, had they not been protected by virtue of the *Etolians*, which carried the day. *Titus* was present at the council, and heard all this; to which he made as fit answer, as could have been desired. He told the *Acheans*, That neither the king's ambassador, nor the *Etolian*, did so greatly labour to persuade those unto whom they addressed their orations; as to vaunt themselves the one unto the other. So as a man might well discern, what good correspondence in vanity it was, that had thus linked the king and the *Etolians* together. For even such brags as here they made, before the *Acheans* who knew them to be liars, had the *Etolians* also made unto king *Antiochus*: proclaiming the victory over *Philip* to be merely their act: and the whole country of *Greece* to be dependant on them. Interchangeably had they been scalled by the king, with such tales as his ambassador told even now; of *Dabans*, and *Aradians*, and *Elimeans*, and a many others; that were all but a company of *Syrians*, such as were wont to be sold about for bond-slaves, and good for little else. These divers names of rascally people were, he said, like to the diversity of venison, wherewith

wherewith a friend of his at *Chalcis* (no such vaunter as were these ambassadors) had sometime feasted him. For all that variety, whereat he wondered, was none other, as his host then merrily told him; than so many pieces of one tame swine, dress'd after several fashions with variety of sauces. Setting therefore aside this vanity of idle pomp: it were good to make judgment of the great king, by his present doings. He had, notwithstanding all this great noise, no more than ten thousand men about him: for which little army he was fain, in a manner, to beg victuals of the *Etolians*; and take up money at usury, to defray his charges. And thus he ran up and down the country; from *Demetrias* to *Lamia*; thence back to *Chalcis*; and being there shut out, to *Demetrias* again. These were the fruits of lies; wherewith since both *Antiochus* and the *Etolians* had each deluded other; meet it was that they should, as perhaps already they did, repent, whilst wiser men took heed by their example. To a favourable auditory much perswasion is needless. The *Acheans* did not love so well the *Etolians*, as to desire that they should become princes of *Greece*: but rather wished to see them, of all other, made the veriest abjects. Wherefore they stood not to hearken after news, what *Antiochus* did, how he sped in *Eubœa*, or what other cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaimed war against him, and against the *Etolians*.

How the hatred between these two nations grew inveterate, sufficiently appears in the story foregoing. Now have they gotten each their patrons; the one, the *Romans*; the other king *Antiochus*. Herein did each of them unwisely: though far the greater blame ought to be laid on the turbulent spirits of the *Etolians*. For when the *Romans* departed out of *Greece*, and left the country at rest: there was nothing more greatly to have been desired, than that they might never find occasion to return with an army thither again. And in this respect ought the *Greeks* to have fought, not how *Smirna* and *Lampsacus* might recover their liberty (which had never been held a matter worth regarding, until now of late) but how the powers of the east and west, divided and kept asunder by their country, as two seas by an *Isthmus* or neck of land might be kept from overflowing the bar that parted them. Neither had the *Romans* any better pretence for their seeking to make free those base *Asiatics*, which originally were *Greeks*; than the general applause wherewith all the nation entertained this their loving offer. Yet were *Lysimachia*, and the towns in *Thrace*, lately gotten by *Antiochus*, pretended as a very great cause of fear, that should move them to take arms even in their defence. But if all *Greece* would have made intercession, and requested that things might continue as they were, promising jointly to assist the *Romans* with their whole forces both by land and sea, whensoever king *Antiochus* should make the least offer to stir against them: then had not only this quarrel been at an end; but the *Roman* patronage over the country, had been far from growing, as soon after it did, into a lordly rule.

The *Acheans* were at this time, in a manner, the only nation of *Greece*, that freely and generously declared themselves altogether for the *Romans*, their friends and benefactors. All the rest gave doubtful answers of hope unto both sides; or if some few, as did the *Thessilians*, were firm against *Antiochus*; yet helped they not one another in the quarrel, nor shewed themselves his enemies, till he pressed them with open force. The *Beoti-*

ans willingly received him, as soon as he entered upon their borders, not so much for fear of his power, as in hatred of *Titus* and the *Romans*, by whom they had been somewhat hardly used. *Aminander*, the *Atthamanian*, besides his old friendship with the *Etolians*, was caught with a bait; which it may be doubted, whether he did more foolishly swallow, or *Antiochus* cast out. He had married the daughter of an *Arcadian*, that was an idle-headed man, and vaunted himself to be descended from *Alexander* the great: naming his two sons, in that regard, *Philip* and *Alexander*. *Philip*, the elder of these brethren, accompanied his sister to the poor court of *Atthamania*: where having made his folly known, by talking of his pedigree; he was judged by *Antiochus* and the *Etolians*, a man fit for their turns. They made him believe, that in regard of his high parentage, and the famous memory of *Alexander*, his fore-father; it was their purpose, to do their best for the conquest of *Macedon* to his behoof: since no man had thereto so good title as he. But for the enabling of them hereunto; it behoved him to draw *Aminander* to their party, that so they might the sooner have done with the *Romans*. *Philip* was highly pleased herewith; and by perswasions of himself, or of his sister, effected as much as they desired. But the first piece of service done by this imaginary king (whether it proceeded from his own phrenzy, in hope to get love of the *Macedonians* that should be his subjects, or whether from some vanity in king *Antiochus* that employed him) wrought more harm to his friends, than he and *Aminander* were able to do good. There were two thousand men committed to his leading: with which he marched unto *Cynoscephalæ*, there to gather up the bones of the slaughtered *Macedonians*: whom their king had suffered all this while to lie unburied. The *Macedons* troubled not themselves to think on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all: but king *Philip* took it in high indignation; as intended merely unto his despight. Wherefore he presently sent unto the *Romans*; and gave them to understand, that he was ready, with all his power, to aid them wherein they should be pleased to use him.

The *Etolians*, *Magnetians*, *Eubeans*, *Beotians*, and *Atthamanians*, having now all joined with him; *Antiochus* took counsel of them about the prosecution of the war in hand. The chief question was, Whether it were meet for him to invade *Thessaly*, that would not hearken to his perswasions; or whether to let all alone until the spring: because it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, and some another: confirming each his own sentence, with the weightiest reasons which he could alledge; as in a matter of great importance. *Hannibal* was at this meeting: who had long been cast aside, as a vessel of no use; but was now required to deliver his opinion. He freely told the king, That what he should now utter, was even the same which he would have spoken, had his counsel at any time before been asked since their coming into *Greece*. For the *Magnetians*, *Beotians*, and other their good friends, which now so willingly took their parts: what were they else than so many poor c-flates, that, wanting force of their own, did ad-join themselves for fear unto him, that was strongest at the present; and would afterwards, when they saw it expedient, be as ready to fall to the contrary side, alledging the same fear for their excuse? wherefore he thought it most behovelul, to win king *Philip* of *Macedon* unto their party: who (besides that being once engaged, he should

not afterwards have power to recoil and forsake them at his pleasure) was a mighty prince, and one that had means to sustain the Roman war with his proper forces. Now that *Philip* might be easily persuaded to join with them; the benefit likely to redound unto himself, by their society, was a very strong argument: though indeed what need was there, of proving by inference the likelihood of this hope? For, said he, *these Etolians here present; and namely this Thoas, being lately ambassador from them into Asia, among other motives which he then used to excite the king unto this expedition, insisted mainly on the same point. He told us, that Philip was moved beyond all patience, with the lordly insolence of the Romans: likening that king to some wild beast that was chained, or lock'd up within some grate, and would fain break loose. If this be so, let us break his chain, and pull down the gate; that he may regain his liberty, and satisfy his angry stomach, upon those that are common enemies to us and him. But if it prove otherwise, and that his fear be greater than his indignation; then shall it behove us to look unto him, that he may not seek to please his good masters the Romans, by offending us. Your son Seleucus is now at Lysimachia, with part of your army: if Philip will not hearken to your embassy; let Seleucus be in readiness, to fall upon Macedon, and find him work to defend his own on the other side, without putting us here to trouble. Thus much concerning Philip; and the present war in Greece. But more generally for the managing of this great enterprise, wherein you are now embarked against the Romans; I told you my opinion at the beginning. Whereto had you then given ear; the Romans by this time should have heard other news, than that Chalcis in Eubœa was become ours. Italy and Gaul should have been on fire with war: and, little to their comfort, they should have understood, that Hannibal was again come into Italy. Neither do I see what should hinder us even now from taking the same course. Send for all your fleet, and army hither (but in any case let ships of burden come along with them, laden with store of victuals: for as the case now stands, we have here too few hands, and too many mouths.) Whercof let the one half be employed against Italy; whilst you in person with the other half, tarrying on this side the Ionian sea, may both take order for the affairs of Greece, and therewithal make countenance, as if you were even ready to follow us into Italy: yea, and be ready to follow us indeed, if it shall be requisite. This is my advice: who though perhaps I am not very skilful in all sorts of war: yet how to war with the Romans, I have been instructed by long experience, both to their cost and mine own. Of this counsel which I give, I promise you my faithful and diligent service for the execution: but what counsel soever you shall please to follow; I wish it may be prosperous.* Many were pleased with the great spirit of the man; and said, he had spoken bravely: but of all this was nothing done; save only that one was sent into *Asia*, to make all things ready there. In the mean while, they went in hand with *Thessaly*; about which they had before disputed. There when they had won one town by force, many other places, doubting their own strength, were glad to make submission. But *Larissa*, that was chief of the country, stood out: nor regarding any terrible threats of the king, that lay before the walls with his whole army. This their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For *M. Baebius*, a Roman propretor, did send help thither. Likewise *Philip* of *Macedon*, professed himself enemy unto *Antiochus*: whereby the same of

the succour coming to *Larissa*, grew such, as wrought more than the succour could have done, had it arrived. For *Antiochus* perceiving many fires on the mountain's tops afar off; thought that a great army of *Romans* and *Macedonians* had been coming upon him. Therefore excusing himself, by the time of the year; he broke up his siege, and marched away to *Chalcis*. At *Chalcis* he fell in love with a young maiden, daughter unto a citizen of the town: whom, without regard of the much disproportion that was between them, both in years and fortune, he shortly married; and so spent the winter following, as delightfully as he could, without thinking upon the war in hand. His great men and captains followed his example; and the soldiers as readily imitated their captains: in such wise, that when he took the field, he might evidently perceive in what loose manner of discipline his army had passed the winter. But *M. Acilius Glabrio*, the Roman consul, shall meet him very shortly, and help him to reclaim them from this looseness of nuptial revels; by setting them to harder exercise.

M. Acilius was chosen consul with *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*. The war against *Antiochus* fell to him by lot; whereas otherwise he was no way to honourable, as *Nasica's* colleague: unto whom fell a charge, of far less credit and importance. *Nasica*, besides the great nobility of his family, had been long since, in time of the *Punic* war, crowned with the title of *The best man in Rome*: when the senate, for very fear and superstition, durst not have so pronounced him, had they not so thought him; as being commanded by oracle, That none other man than the very best, should entertain an old stone, which the devil then taught them to call *The mother of the Gods*. But no prerogative of birth, virtue, or good opinion, gave such advantage to the better man, as to make choice of his own province; or arrogate more unto himself, than his lot should afford him. This impartial distribution of employments, helped well to maintain peace and concord. *P. Scipio* therefore was appointed to make war against the *Boians*: wherein he purchased the honour of a triumph, nothing so glorious as was that of his colleague; though purchased with harder service, requiring the more ability in matter of war. But *M. Acilius* went over into *Greece*, with ten thousand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen elephants. *Ptolemy*, king of *Egypt*, notwithstanding his late alliance with king *Antiochus*; and *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, had lately sent ambassadors to *Rome*, making offer to come each of them in person with all his forces into *Etolia*, there to assist the consul in this war. *Ptolemy* sent also gold and silver, toward the defraying of charges, as one that meant none other than good earnest. But he was too young, and dwelt too far off. So his money was returned unto him with thanks, and his loving offer as lovingly refused. Unto *Philip's* ambassadors answer was made, That this his friendly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the senate and people of *Rome* would think themselves beholden to him, for the assistance that he should give to *Acilius* the consul. *Masaniissa* likewise, and the *Carthaginians*, did strive, which of them should be most forward in gratifying the *Romans*. Each of them promised a great quantity of grain; which they would send partly to *Rome*, partly to the army in *Greece*. And herein *Masaniissa* far out went the poor city of *Carthage*: as also, in that he offered to lend the consul five hundred horse, and twenty elephants. On the other side, the *Cartha-*
gians

ginians undertook to set out a fleet at their own charges: and to bring in at one payment all the tribute-money, which was behind, and ought to be discharged by many yearly pensions. But the *Romans* did neither think it good, to let them arm a fleet; nor would let them redeem themselves out of tribute, by paying all at once. As for the corn; it was accepted with condition, That they should be contented to receive the price of it.

The hasty and ridiculous issue of this war, that began with such noise and preparations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great, between the *Roman* and the *Asiatic* soldier. *Antiochus* had gotten this spring a few towns of *Acarmania*, after the same manner as he had prevailed in other parts of *Greece*; partly by fair words, and treason of the rulers; partly by terror, that was like to prove their excuse, when they should again forsake him. But king *Philip* and *Bæbius*, having recovered many places; and the *Roman* consul being arrived, against whom none made resistance; he was glad to withdraw himself. *Aminander* fled out of his *Atbamania*: which the *Macedonian* took and enjoyed; as in recompence of his good service to the *Romans*. *Philip*, the brother of *Aminander's* wife, was taken by the consul; made a mocking-stock; and sent away prisoner to *Rome*. The *Theffalians* used much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yielding to the king. All their cities, one after another, gave up themselves: the garrisons of *Antiochus*, compounding only for their own lives, and departing unarmed: yet so, that a thousand of them staid behind, and took pay of the *Romans*. This did wonderfully perplex *Antiochus*: who having withdrawn himself to *Chalcis*, and hearing how things went, cried out upon his friends: and said, That they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deal of toil during one half of a winter, and spent the other half in such nuptials, as were little to his honour: after which, in time of need, he found all the promises of the *Etolians* merely verbal; and himself reduced into terms of great extremity. He therefore admired *Hannibal* as a wise man, yea, a very great prophet, that had foreseen all this long before. Nevertheless he sent word to the *Etolians*, that they should now make ready all their forces: as considering their own need to be no less than his. But the *Etolians* had cause to think, that they themselves were shamefully disappointed by *Antiochus*: who having promised to do great wonders, was in all this while seconded by no greater numbers out of *Asia*, than so many as would fill up the same ten thousand which he first brought over. Yet came there some of them, though fewer than at any time before, which joined with him. Hereat the king was angry: and could get no better satisfaction, than that *Thoas* and his fellows had done their best, in vain, to have made all the nation take arms. Since therefore neither his own men came over to him out of *Asia*, nor his friends of *Greece* would appear in this time of danger; he seized upon the streights of *Thermopylae*; as meaning to defend them against the *Romans*, until more help should come. Of the streights of *Thermopylae* there hath been spoken enough before, upon many occasions: and then chiefly, when they were defended by *Leonidas* against the huge army of *Xerxes*. Wherefore it may easily be conceived, how the *Romans*, that landed about *Apollonia*, and so came onwards into *Theffaly*, were unable to pass that ledge of moun-

tains, dividing the one half of *Greece*; unless they could win this difficult entrance. But there was great difference between *Leonidas* and *Antiochus*. The former of these, with an handful of men, defended this passage two or three days together, against a world of men coming to invade the country. The latter, having taken upon him to do great miracles, and effect what he listed himself in *Greece*; did commit himself unto the safety of this place, when he was charged by not many more than he had in his own army. There whilst he lay, he sent earnest messages one after another to the *Etolians*, entreating them not to forsake him thus: but at leastwise now to help, and keep the tops of the mountains, lest the *Romans*, finding any by-path, should come down upon him. By this importunity, he got of them two thousand, that undertook to make good the few passages by which only, and not without extream difficulty, it was possible for the enemy to ascend. The *Roman* consul in like sort, prepared to force the streights; without staying to expect king *Philip*, that was hindered by sickness from accompanying him. He had with him *M. Porcius Cato*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, that had both of them been consuls. These he sent forth by night with two thousand men, to try whether by any means they could get up to the *Etolians*. He himself encouraged his army: not only by telling them, with what base-conditioned enemies they had to deal; but what rich kingdoms *Antiochus* held, that should bountifully reward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battel. All that night *Cato* had a sore journey (for what happened unto *L. Valerius* it is uncertain, save only that he failed in his intent) and so much the worse, for that he had no skilful guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tired, with climbing up steepy rocks, and crooked ways: he commanded them to repose themselves; whilst he, being a very able man of body, took in hand the discovery, accompanied with no more than one of like mettle to himself. After a great deal of trouble, he found at length a path: which he took to be, as indeed it was, the best way leading unto the enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the same path till towards break of day. It was a place not haunted, because in time of peace there was a fair way through the streights below, that required no such trouble of climbing: neither had this entrance of the *Thermopylae* been so often the seat of war, as might cause any travellers to search out the passages of those desolate mountains. Wherefore the way that *Cato* followed, though it were the best; yet did it lead him to a bog at the end, which would suffer him to pass no further. So he staid there until day-light: by which he discovered both the camp of the *Greeks* underneath him; and some of the *Etolians* very near unto him, that were keeping watch. He therefore sent forth a lusty crew of his men, whom he thought fittest for that service; and willed them by any means to get him some prisoners. This was effected: and he thereby understood, that these *Etolians* were no more than six hundred; as also that king *Antiochus* lay beneath in the valley. So he presently set upon the *Etolians*, overthrew them, slew a great part of them, and chased the rest; that by flying to their camp, guided him unto it. The fight was already begun between the armies below; and the *Romans*, that had easily repelled the king's men, and driven them into their camp, found it in a manner a despe-

rate piece of work to assault the camp it self, which occupied the whole breadth of the streights, was notably fortified; and not only defended by *Antiochus's* long pikes, which were best at that kind of service, but by archers and slingers that were placed over them on the hill-side, and poured down a shower of weapons upon their heads: but *Cato's* approach determined the matter. It was thought at first that the *Etolians* had been coming to help the king's men; but when the *Roman* arms and ensigns were discovered, such was the terror, that none made offer of resistance; but all of them forsook the camp, and fled. The slaughter was not great, for that the badness of the way did hinder the *Roman* army from making pursuit. Yet this day's loss drove *Antiochus* out of *Greece*, who directly fled to *Chalcis*; and from thence, with the first opportunity, got him back into *Asia*.

All the cities that had embraced the friendship of *Antiochus*, prepared forthwith to entertain the *Romans*, and intreat for pardon; setting open their gates, and presenting themselves unto the consuls in manner of suppliants. Briefly, in few days all was recovered that *Antiochus* had gained, the *Etolians* only standing out, because they knew not what else to do. Neither did the consul give them any respite. At his return from *Chalcis*, he met with king *Philip*, that, having recovered health, came to join with him against *Antiochus*; over whom, since the victory was already gotten, he did gratulate unto the *Romans* their good success; and offered to take part with them in the *Etolian* war. So it was agreed, that the consul should besiege *Heraclea*, and *Philip Lamia* at the same time. Each of them plied his work hard; especially *Philip*, who fain would have taken *Lamia* before the consul should come to help him. But it could not be, for his *Macedonians*, that used to work by mine, were over-much hindered by the stony ground. Yet was *Lamia* even ready to be taken, when the consul, having won *Heraclea*, came thither; and told *Philip*, that the spoil of these towns was a reward unto those that had fought at *Thermopylae*. Herewith *Philip* must be contented, and therefore went his way quietly. But *Acilius*, that could so ill endure to see *Philip* in likelihood of thriving by the *Romans* victory, got not *Lamia* himself, until such time as another consul was ready to ease him of his charge.

The loss of *Heraclea* did so affright the *Etolians*, that they thought no way safer than to desire peace: yet had they sent unto king *Antiochus*, presently after his flight, intreating him not to forsake them utterly, but either to return with all those forces which he had purposed to bring into *Greece*; or, if any thing withheld him from coming in person, at leastwise to help them with money and other aid.

They prayed him to consider, that this did not only concern him in honour, but appertained unto his own safety; since it would be much to his hurt, if the *Etolians*, being wholly subdued, the *Romans*, without any enemies at their backs, might set upon him in *Asia*. He considered well of this, and found their words true. Therefore he delivered unto *Neander*, one of their ambassadors, a sum of money that might serve to defray the charges of the war; promising, that ere long he would send them strong aid both by land and sea. *Thoas*, another of their ambassadors, he retained with him; who willingly stayed, that he might urge the king to make his word good. But when *Heraclea* was taken from them, then did the *Etolians* lay aside all hopes of amending their fortune by the help of *Antio-*

chus; and made suit unto the consul to obtain peace upon any reasonable condition. The consul would scarce vouchsafe to give them audience; but said, he had other business in hand: only he granted them ten days of truce, and sent *L. Valerius Flaccus* with them to *Hypata*; willing them to make him acquainted with as much as they would have delivered unto himself. At their coming to *Hypata*, they began, as men favouring their own cause, to alledge how well they had deserved of the *Romans*. Whereto *Flaccus* would not hearken. He told them plainly, that the memory of all such good offices pass'd, was quite obliterated by the malice which they had shewed of late. Wherefore he willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to intreat pardon. Better they thought to do so even betimes, than to stay till they were reduced into terms of more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to commit themselves unto the faith of the *Romans*; and to that effect sent ambassadors to the consul. This phrase of *committing unto the faith*, signified, in their use of it, little else than the acknowledgment of a fault done, and the craving of pardon. But the *Romans* used those words in another sense; and counted them all one as *yielding to discretion*. Wherefore, when the consul heard them speak in this manner, he asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They answered that it was, and shewed him the decree of their nation, lately made to this purpose. Then, said he, I command you first of all, that none of ye presume to go into *Asia* upon any business, private or publick; then, that ye deliver up unto me *Dicaearchus* the *Etolian*, *Menesstratus* the *Epirot*, *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, and such of his countrymen as have followed him in revolting from us. Whilst he was yet speaking, *Phameas*, the ambassador, interrupted him; and prayed him not to mistake the custom of the *Greeks*, who had yielded themselves unto his faith, not unto slavery? What? (said the consul) Do ye stand to plead custom with me, being now at my discretion? Bring hither a chain. With that, chains were brought; and an iron collar, by his appointment, fitted unto every one of their necks. This did so affright them, that they stood dumb, and knew not what to say. But *Valerius*, and some others, intreated the consul not to deal thus hardly with them, since they came as ambassadors; though since their condition was altered. *Phameas* also spake for himself, and said, that neither he, nor yet the *Apocleti*, or ordinary council of the nation, were able to fulfill these injunctions, without approbation of the general assembly. For which cause he intreated yet further ten days respite, and had granted unto him truce for so long.

This surcease of war, during ten and other ten days together, began presently after the taking of *Heraclea*; when *Philip* had been commanded away from *Lamia*, that else he might have won. Now because of the indignity herein offered unto that king, and to the end that he might not return home with his army, like one that could not be trusted in employment; especially the *Romans* being like hereafter to have farther need of him, in the continuance of this war: he was desired to set upon the *Athamanians*, and some other petty nations, their borderers, whilst the consul was busy with the *Etolians*; taking for his reward all that he could get. And he got in that space all *Athamania*, *Perrhebia*, *Aperantia*, and *Dolopia*. For the *Etolians*, hearing what had befallen their ambassadors, were so enraged, that although they were very ill provided for war,

yet they could not endure to hear more talk of peace. And it happened that *Nicander*, about the same time was come back from *Antiochus*, with money, and hopeful promises, the *Romans* abiding still about *Heraclea*; and *Philip* having lately risen from before *Lamia*, yet not being far gone thence. His money *Nicander* conveyed into *Lamia*, by very unusual dexterity. But he himself being to pass further to the assembly of the *Etolians*, there to make report of his embassy, was very much perplexed about this his journey, which lay between the *Roman* and *Macedonian* camps. Yet he made the adventure, and keeping as far as he could from the *Roman* side, fell upon a station of *Macedonians*, by whom he was taken, and led unto their king. He expected no good, but either to be delivered unto the *Romans*, or used ill enough by *Philip*. But it seems that the king had not hitherto concocted well the indignity of his being sent away from *Lamia*. For he commanded his servants to intreat *Nicander* friendly: and he himself being then at supper, did visit him as soon as he rose up; giving him to understand, That the *Etolians* did now reap the fruits of their own madness; forasmuch as they could never hold themselves contented, but would needs be calling strangers into *Greece*. They had pleased themselves well in their acquaintance, first with the *Romans*, and then with king *Antiochus*: but himself, being their neighbour, they could never well endure. It was now therefore, he said, high time, for them to have regard unto his friendship, whereof hitherto they had never made any trial: for surely their good affection, one unto the other, would be much more available unto each of them, than their mutual catching of advantages; whereby they had wrought themselves much displeasure. Thus much the king willed *Nicander* to signify unto his countrymen; and privately to hold in mind the courtesy which he then did him, in sending him safe home. So giving him a convoy to guard him to *Hydruntum*; he lovingly dismissed him. For this benefit, *Nicander* was always after dutifully affected to the crown of *Macedon*: so as in the war of *Perseus* he made himself suspected unto the *Romans*; and therefore was had away to *Rome*; where he ended his life.

When the consul understood, that the *Etolians* refused to make their submission, in such wise as he required it; he forthwith meant to prosecute the war against them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head against him at *Naupactus*: whither he therefore directly marched, to try what they could or durst. The siege of *Naupactus* was of greater length, than the *Romans* had pre-conceived it: for it was a strong city, and well manned. But *Aulus* stood upon point of honour; wherein he thought that he should have been a loser, by rising from before it without victory. So he staid there well-near all the following time of his consulship; whilst the *Macedonian* king, and the *Acheans*, made far better use of the *Roman* victory. *Philip*, as is said before, being allowed to take in such places as had revolted unto *Antiochus*, and were not hitherto reclaimed, won the strong city of *Demetrias*; and with an hasty course of victory, subdued the *Albanians* and others. The *Acheans* called to account the *Eleans* and *Messenians*: which had long been addicted to the *Etolian* side; and followed it in taking part with *Antiochus*. The *Eleans* gave good words; whereby they saved themselves from trouble awhile. The *Messenians* being more stout, before they were invaded, had none other help,

when the *Achean* pretor wasted their country, than to offer themselves unto the *Romans*. *Titus* was then at *Corinth*: to whom they sent word, That at his commandment, their gates should be opened; but that unto the *Acheans* it was not their meaning to yield. A message from *Titus* to the *Achean* pretor, did suffice to call home the army, and finish the war: as also the peremptory command of the same *Titus*, caused the *Messenians* to annex themselves unto the *Acheans*, and become part of their common-weal. Such was now the majesty of a *Roman* ambassador. *Titus* did favour the *Acheans*; yet could not like it well, that either they, or any other, should take too much upon them. He thought it enough, that they had their liberty, and were strong enough to defend it against any of their neighbours. That they should make themselves great lords, and able to dispute with the *Romans* upon even terms; it was no part of his desire. They had lately brought the isle of *Zacynthus*, which had once been *Philip's*, and was afterwards given by him to *Aminander*, who sent a governour thither. But when *Aminander*, in this present war, was driven out of his own kingdom by *Philip*: then did the governour of *Zacynthus* offer to sell the island to the *Acheans*; whom he found ready chapmen. *Titus* liked not of this; but plainly told them, That the *Romans* would be their own carvers, and take what they thought good of the lands belonging to their enemies, as a reward of the victory which they had obtained. It was bootless to dispute. Wherefore the *Acheans* referred themselves unto his discretion. So he told them, That their commonwealth was like tortoise, whereof *Peloponnesus* was the shell: and that holding themselves within that compass, they were out of danger; but if they would needs be looking abroad, they should lie open to blows, which might greatly hurt them. Having settled things thus in *Peloponnesus*, he went over to *Naupactus*: where *Glabrio*, the consul, had lain two months, that might have been far better spent. There, whether out of compassion which he had upon the *Etolians*, or out of dislike of king *Philip's* thriving so fast: he perswaded the consul to grant unto the besieged, and to the whole nation, so long truce, that they might send ambassadors to *Rome*; and submitting themselves, crave pardon of the senate. Most like it is, that *Naupactus* was in great danger: else would not the *Etolians* have made such earnest suit as they did unto *Titus*, for procuring of this favour. But if *Glabrio* had been sure to carry it, in any short space; it may well be thought he would not have gone away without it; since the winning of that town, wherein was then the whole flower of the nation, would have made the promised submission much more humble and sincere. When they came to *Rome*, no intreaty could help them to better conditions, than one of these two: That either they should wholly permit themselves to the good pleasure of the senate; or else pay a thousand talents, and make neither peace nor war with any, further than as the *Roman* should give approbation. They had not so much money; neither could they well hope to be gently dealt withal, if they should give themselves away unto discretion; which what it signified, they now understood. Wherefore they desired to have it set down, in what points, and how far forth, they should yield unto the good pleasure of the senate. But hereof they could get no certain answer: so that they were dismissed as enemies, after long and vain attendance.

Whilst

Whilst the *Etolians* were pursuing their hopes of peace, the consul had little to do in *Greece*; and therefore took upon him gravely to set things in order among the tractable *Acheans*. He would have had them to restore the banished *Lacedemonians* home into their country; and to take the *Eleans* into the fellowship of their commonwealth. This the *Acheans* liked well enough: but they did not like it, that the *Roman* should be meddling in all occurrences. Wherefore they deferred the restitution of the banished *Lacedemonians*: intending to make it an act of their own mere grace. As for the *Eleans*, they were loth to be beholden to the *Romans*, and thereby to disparage the *Acheans*: into whose corporation they were desirous to be admitted; and saw that they should have their desire, without such compulsive mediation.

The *Roman* admiral, *C. Livius*, much about the same time, fought a battel at sea with *Polyxenidas*, admiral to the king *Antiochus*. King *Eumenes* brought help to the *Romans*, though it was not great: and five and twenty sail of *Rhodians* came after the battel, when they were following the chace. The king's fleet was the better of sail: but that of the *Romans* the better manned. Wherefore *Polyxenidas* being vanquished in fight, was yet out of danger, as soon as he betook himself to a speedy retreat.

And such end had the first year's war, between king *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. After this, as many of the *Greeks* as had followed the vain hopes of the *Etolians*, were glad to excuse themselves by fear; thinking themselves happy when by ambassadors they had obtained pardon. On the contrary side, *Philip* of *Macedon*, arch-enemy of late unto the *Romans*, did now send to gratulate this their victory: and, in recompence of his good affection, had restored unto him *Demetrius*, his younger son; whom some few years they had kept as an hostage. Also king *Ptolemy* of *Egypt*, gratulating the *Roman* victory, sent word how greatly all *Asia* and *Syria* were thereby terrified. In which regard he desired the senate not to fore-slow time; but to send an army, as soon as might be, into *Asia*: promising, that his assistance, wherein soever it pleased them to use it, should not be wanting. This *Ptolemy* was the son-in-law of king *Antiochus*: but he was the friend of fortune. He understood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the contention, that the *Romans* were like to have the upper-hand. The same did *Antiochus* now begin to suspect, who had thought himself a while as safe at *Ephesus*, as if he had been in another world: but was told by *Hannibal*, That it was not so far out of *Greece* into *Asia*, as out of *Italy* into *Greece*; and that there was no doubt, but the *Romans* would soon be there, and make him try the chance of a battel for his kingdom.

SECT. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, having with him Publius, the African, his elder brother, for his lieutenant, is sent into Greece. He grants long truce to the Etolians, that so he might at leisure pass into Asia. Much troublesome business by sea; and divers fights. An invasion upon Eumenes's kingdom; with the siege of Pergamus, raised by an handful of the Acheans. L. Scipio, the consul, comes into Asia: where Antiochus most earnestly desireth peace, and is denied it. The battel of Magnesia: wherein Antiochus being vanquished, yielded to the Roman's good pleasure. The conditions of the peace. In what sort the Romans used their victory. L.

Cornelius Scipio, after a most sumptuous triumph over Antiochus, is surnamed The Asiatic, as his brother was stiled the African.

Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the brother of *P. Scipio, the African*, was chosen consul at *Rome*, with *C. Lælius*. *Lælius* was very gracious in the senate: and therefore being desirous (as generally all consuls were) of the more honourable employment, offered to refer to the arbitrement of the senate, if *L. Cornelius* would be so pleased, the disposition of their provinces; without putting it to the hazard of a lottery. *Lucius*, having talked with his brother *Publius*, approved well of the motion. Such a question had not of long time been put unto the *Fathers*: who therefore were the more desirous to make an unblamable decree. But the matter being otherwise somewhat indifferent; *P. Scipio, the African*, said openly thus much, That if the senate would appoint his brother to the war against *Antiochus*, he himself would follow his brother in that war, as his lieutenant. These words were heard with such approbation, that the controversy was forthwith at an end. For if *Antiochus* relied upon *Hannibal*, and should happen to be directed wholly by that great captain: what better man could they oppose, than *Scipio*; that had been victorious against the same great worthy. But indeed a worse man might have served well enough the turn. For *Hannibal* had no absolute command, nor scarce any trust of great importance: excepting now and then in consultation; where his wisdom was much approved, but his liberty and high spirit as much disliked. It is worthy of remembrance; as a sign of the freedom that he used in his censures, even whilst he lived in such a court. *Antiochus* mustered his army in presence of this famous captain: thinking, as may seem, to have made him wish, that he had been served by such brave men in *Italy*. For they were gallantly decked, both men, horses, and elephants, with such costly furniture of gold, silver, and purple; as glittered with a terrible bravery on a shun-shine day. Whereupon the king, well-pleasing himself with that goodly spectacle, asked *Hannibal* what he thought; and whether all this were not enough for the *Romans*? *Enough* (said *Hannibal*) *were the Romans the most covetous men in all the world*: meaning, that all this cost upon the backs of cowardly *Asiatics*, was no better than a spoil to animate good soldiers. How little this answer pleased the king; it is easy to guess. The little use that he made of this *Carthaginian*, testifies that his dislike of the man, caused him to lose the use of his service, when he stood in greatest necessity thereof.

The *Scipio's* made all haste away from *Rome* as soon as they could. They carried with them, besides other soldiers newly press'd to the war, about five thousand volunteers, that had served under *P. Africanus*. There was also a fleet of thirty *Quinquereme* gallies, and twenty *Triremes* newly built, appointed unto *L. Æmilius Regillus*, that was chosen admiral the same year for that voyage. At their coming into *Greece*, they found the old consul *Glabrio* besieging *Amphissa*, a city of the *Etolians*. The *Etolians*, after that they were denied peace, had expected him once again at *Naupactus*. Wherefore they not only fortified that town: but kept all the passages thereto leading; which heedlessly, as in time of confusion, they had left unregarded the last year. *Glabrio* knowing this, deceived their expectation, and fell upon *Lamia*: which being not long since much weakened by *Philip*, and now by him attempted on the sudden,

was

was carried at the second assault. Thence went he to *Amphissa*; which he had almost gotten; when *L. Scipio*, his successor, came with thirteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse, and took charge of the army. The town of *Amphissa* was presently forsaken by the inhabitants: but they had a castle, or higher town, that was impregnable; whereinto they all retired. The *Athenian* ambassadors had dealt with *P. Scipio*, in behalf of the *Etolians*; intreating him to stand their friend, and help them in obtaining some tolerable condition of peace. He gave them gentle words; and willed them to persuade the *Etolians*, that they should faithfully, and with true meaning desire it. This was gladly taken. But many messages passing to and fro; though *Publius* continued to put them in good hope; yet the consul made still the same answer, with which they had been chased from *Rome*. The conclusion was, That they should sue for a longer time of respite from war: whereby at more leisure they might attend some better disposition of the senate; or any helpful commodity which time should afford. So they obtained half a year's leisure of breathing. Hereof were they not more glad, than was *P. Scipio*; who thought all time lost, which withheld the war from passing over into *Asia*.

The business of *Etolia* being thus laid aside; and the old consul, *Glabrio*, sent home into *Italy*: the *Scipios* marched into *Thessaly*; intending thence to take their way by land, through *Macedon* and *Thrace*, unto the *Hellepont*. Yet they considered, That hereby they must commit themselves unto the loyalty of king *Philip*, who might either do them some mischief by the way, if he were disposed to watch a notable advantage: or at the least, would he be unfaithful, though he were not so courageous; yet might he take such order with the *Tracians*, that even for want of victuals, if by no greater inconvenience, they should be disgracefully forced to return. He had promised them the utmost of his furtherance: wherein, whether he meant sincerely, they thought to make some trial; by causing a gentleman to ride post unto him, and observe his doings, as he should take him on the sudden. The king was merry at a feast, and drinking, when the messenger came: whom he lovingly bade welcome; and shewed him the next day, not only what provision of victuals he had made for the army, but how he had made bridges over the rivers, and mended the bad ways by which they were to pass. With these good news *Gracchus* returned back in haste unto the *Scipios*: who entering into *Macedon*, found all things in a readiness, that might help to advance their journey. The king entertained them royally; and brought them on their way, even to the *Hellepont*; where they staid a good while, until their navy was in readiness to transport them into *Asia*.

Much was done at sea in the beginning of this year; though, for the most part, little of importance. *Polyxenidas*, the admiral of *Antiochus*, was a banished *Rhodian*; true to the king, and desirous of revenge upon his countrymen that had expelled him. He, hearing that the *Rhodian* fleet was at *Samos*, the *Romans* and *Eumenes* having not as yet put to sea; thought to do somewhat upon those that were so early in their diligence, before their fellows should arrive to help them. Yet went he craftily to work; and sent word, as in great secrecy, to the *Rhodian* admiral, That if the sentence of his banishment might be repealed, he would, in requital thereof, betray all the king's fleet. After many passages to and fro, this was believed: and the *Rhodian* admiral grew so care-

less, expecting still, when he should receive a watchword from *Polyxenidas*, that he himself was taken by *Polyxenidas* in his own haven. The king's fleet setting forth from *Ephesus* by night; and, for fear of being discovered, resting one day in a harbour by the way; came the second night to *Samos*: where, by morning, it was ready to enter the haven. *Pausistratus*, the *Rhodian* admiral, seeing this, thought it his best way of resistance, to bestow his men on the two head-lands, or points of the haven; so to guard the mouth of it: for that he saw no likelihood of defending himself by sea. But *Polyxenidas* had already landed some companies, in another part of the island: which falling upon the back of *Pausistratus*, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboard. This could not be without great confusion; so as the enemies took him out of all order; and sunk or boarded all his navy, five excepted, that by a sudden device made shift to escape. Each of them hung out a burning Cresset upon two poles, at the beak-head: and then rowed forwards directly upon the enemy: who, having not bethought himself what shift to make against such unexpected danger of firing, was content to give way unto these desperate galleys; for fear lest they should burn, together with themselves, a part of the king's fleet.

Not long after this, the *Romans* had some loss by tempest: whereof *Polyxenidas* could not take such advantage as he had hoped; because, putting to sea for that purpose, he was driven back again by the like foul weather. But the *Rhodians*, to shew that they were not discouraged, set forth twenty other galleys: the *Romans* also, with king *Eumenes*, repaired their fleet; and all of them together, in great bravery, presented battel to *Polyxenidas*, before the haven of *Ephesus*. When he durst not accept it: they went from place to place, attempting many things, as either they were intreated by the *Rhodians*, or persuaded by some appearing hopes of doing good. Yet performed they little or nothing; for that one while they were hindered by storms at sea; and another while by strong resistance, made against them by land.

Eumenes, with his fleet, was compelled to forsake them; and return home to the defence of his own kingdom. For *Antiochus* wasted all the grounds about *Ilium* and *Pergamus*: and leaving his son *Selenus*, to besiege the royal city of *Pergamus*, did, with the rest of his army, spoil the whole country thereabout. *Attalus*, the brother of king *Eumenes*, was then in *Pergamus*; having with him no better men to defend the city, than were they that lay against it. Wherefore he had reason to stand in fear; being too much inferior in number. There came to his aid a thousand foot, and an hundred horse of the *Acheans*; old soldiers all, and trained up under *Philopæmen*; whose scholar, in the art of war, *Diophanes*, their commander, was. This *Diophanes*, beholding from the walls of *Pergamus*, which was an high town, the demeanour of the enemy; began to disdain, that such men as they should hold him besieged. For *Selenus's* army, which was encamped at the hill-foot; seeing that none durst fall upon them, grew so careless; as otherwise, than by spoiling all behind their backs, they seemed to forget that they were in an enemy's country. *Diophanes* therefore spake with *Attalus*; and told him, that he would go forth to visit them. *Attalus* had no liking to this adventure; for he said, that the match was nothing equal. But the *Achean* would needs have his will: and issuing forth, encamped not far from the enemy. They of *Pergamus* thought him little better

better than mad. As for the besiegers ; they wondered at first what his meaning was : but when they saw that he held himself quiet, they made a jest of his boldness ; and laughed to see with what an handful of men he looked so stoutly. So they returned unto their former negligence and disorders. Which *Diophanes* perceiving, he commanded all his men to follow him, even as fast as they well might : and he himself, with the hundred horse, brake out on the sudden upon the station that was next at hand. Very few of the enemies had their horses ready saddled ; but more few, or none, had the hearts to make resistance : so as he drove them all out of their camp ; and chased them as far as he might safely adventure, with great slaughter of men, and no loss of his own. Hereat all the citizens of *Pergamus* (who had covered the walls of the town, men and women, to behold this spectacle) were very joyful ; and highly magnified the virtue of these *Acheans*. Yet would they not therefore issue forth of their gates, to help the *Acheans* in doing what remained to be done. The next day *Seleucus* encamped half a mile further from the town, than he had done before : and against him went forth *Diophanes* the second time ; who quietly rested awhile in his old station. When they had staid many hours, looking who should begin ; *Seleucus*, in fair order, as he came, withdrew himself towards his lodging, that was further off. *Diophanes* moved not whilst the enemy was in sight : but as soon as the ground between them hindered the prospect, he followed them in all haste ; and soon overtaking them with his horse, charged them in rear ; so as he brake them, and with all his forces pursued them at the heels, to their very trenches. This boldness of the *Acheans*, and the baseness of his own men, caused *Seleucus* to quit the Siege, little to his honour. Such being the quality of these *Asiatics*, *Philopæmen* had cause to tell the *Romans*, That he envied their victory. For when *Antiochus* lay feasting at *Chalus*, after his marriage, and his soldiers betook themselves to riot, as it had been in a time of great security : a good man of war might have cut all their throats, even as they were tipling in their victualling-houses ; which *Philopæmen* said that he would have done, had he been general of the *Acheans*, and not, as he then was, a private man.

Antiochus was full of business : and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deal of travel, brought almost nothing to pass. He had been at *Pergamus* : into which *Eumenes*, leaving the *Romans*, did put himself, with a few of his horse, and light armature. Before *Pergamus* he left his son, as before hath been shewed, and went to *Elea* : whither he heard that *Amilius*, the *Roman* admiral, was come to bring succour to *Eumenes*. There he made an overture of peace : about which to consult, *Eumenes* was sent for by *Amilius*, and came from *Pergamus*. But when it was considered, that no conclusion could be made without the consul ; this treaty brake off. Then followed the overthrow newly mentioned ; which caused *Seleucus* to give over the siege of *Pergamus*. Afterwards, four or five towns, of scarce any worth or note, were taken by the king : and the *Syrian* fleet, being of seven and thirty sail, was beaten by the *Rhodians*, which was of like number. But of this victory the *Rhodians* had no great cause to rejoice ; for that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, who, together with *Apollonius* a courtier of *Antiochus*, was admiral of the *Syrians*, did them in a manner as great hurt as they could do to *Apollonius* ; and having the victory taken out of his hand by *Apol-*

lonius's flight, yet made such a retreat, that the *Rhodians* durst not far adventure upon him. Now of these actions, which were but as prefaces unto the war ; the last and greatest was a victory of the *Romans* by sea, against *Polyxenidas*, the king's admiral. The battel was fought by *Myonesius*, a promontory in *Asia* : where *Polyxenidas* had with him fourscore and nine gallies ; and five of them greater than any of the *Romans*. This being all the strength which he could make by sea : we may note the vanity of those brags, wherewith *Antiochus* vaunted the last year, That his *Armada* should cover all the shoars of *Greece*. The *Romans* had eight and fifty gallies ; the *Rhodians*, two and twenty : the *Roman* being the stronger built, and more stoutly manned ; the *Rhodian*, more light timber'd, and thin plank'd, having all advantage of speed, and good sea-men. Neither forgot they to help themselves by the same device, with which five of their gallies had lately escaped from *Samos*. For with fire in their prows they ran upon the enemy : who declining them for fear, laid open his side : and was thereby in greater danger of being stemmed. After no long fight, the king's navy hoisted sail : and having a fair wind, bore away toward *Ephesus* as fast as they could. Yet forty of their gallies they left behind them : whereof thirteen were taken ; all the rest burnt or sunk. The *Romans*, and their fellows, lost only two or three ships : but got hereby the absolute mastery of the sea.

The report of this misadventure may seem to have taken from *Antiochus* all use of reason. For as if no hope had been remaining, to defend those places that he held in *Europe* : He presently withdrew his garrisons from *Lyfimachia* : which might easily have been kept, even till the end of winter following, and had reduced the besiegers (if the siege had been continued obstinately) to terms of great extremity. He also gave over the siege of *Colophon* : and laying aside all thought, save only of defence, drew together all his army, and sent for help to his father-in-law, king *Ariarathes*, the *Capadocian*.

Thus the *Roman* consul, without impediment, not only came to the *Hellefpont* ; but had yielded unto him all places there, belonging to *Antiochus* on *Europe* side. The fleet was then also in readiness, to transport him over into *Asia* : where *Eumenes* had taken such care before, that he landed quietly at his own good ease ; even as if the country had been his already. The first news that he heard of the enemy, was by an ambassador that came to sue for peace. This ambassador declared in his master's name, That the same things which had hindered him from obtaining peace of the *Romans* heretofore, did now persuade him, that he should easily come to good agreement with them. For in all disputations heretofore, *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, and *Lynmachia*, had been the places about which they varied. Seeing therefore the king had now already given over *Lyfimachia* ; and was further purposed, not to strive with the *Romans* about *Lampsacus* and *Smyrna* : what reason was there, why they should need to trouble him with war ? If it was their desire, that any other towns upon the coast of *Asia*, not mentioned by them in any former treaties, should be also set at liberty, or otherwise delivered into their hands ; the king would not refuse to gratify them therein. Briefly, let them take some part of *Asia* : so as the bounds, dividing them from the king, might not be uncertain ; and it should be quietly put into their hands. If all this were
not

not enough: the king would likewise bear half the charges, whereat they had been in this war. So praying the *Romans* to hold themselves content with these good offers, and not to be too insolent upon confidence of their fortune; he expected their answer. These offers, which to the ambassador seemed so great, were judged by the *Romans* to be very little. For they thought it reasonable, that the king should bear all the charges of the war, since it began through his only fault: and that he should not only depart out of those few towns which he held in *Æolis* and *Ionia*; but quite out of *Asia the less*, and keep himself on the other side of mount *Taurus*. When the ambassador therefore saw, that no better bargain could be made, he dealt with *P. Scipio* in private: and to him he promised a great quantity of gold, together with the free restitution of his son; who (it is uncertain by what mischance) was taken prisoner, and most honourably entertained by the king. *Scipio* would not hearken to the offer of gold: nor otherwise to the restitution of his son, than upon condition, that it might be with making such amends for the benefit, as became a private man. As for the publick business: he only said thus much, that since *Antiochus* had already forsaken *Lyfimachia*, and suffered the war to take hold on his own kingdom: there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yield to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, said he, tell your king in my name, that I would advise him to refuse no condition whereby he may have peace.

The king was not any whit moved with this advice. For, seeing that the consul demanded of him no less, than if he had been already subdued: little reason there was, that he should fear to come to battel; wherein he could lose, as he thought, no more, than by seeking to avoid it he must give away. He had with him threescore and ten thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse; besides two and fifty *Indian* elephants, and many chariots armed with hooks or scythes, according to the manner of the eastern countries. Yet was he nothing pleased, to hear that the consul drew near him apace, as one hastning to fight. But howsoever he was affected; he made so little shew of fear, that hearing *P. Scipio* to lie sick at *Eleea*, he sent thither unto him his son without ransom: as one both desirous to comfort this noble warrior in his sickness, and withal not desirous to retain the young gentleman for a pledge of his own safety. Thus ought his bounty to be constant. Otherwise it might be suspected, that herein he dealt craftily. For since he could have none other ransom of *Scipio*, than such as an honourable man, that had no great store of wealth, might pay: better it was to do such a courtesie before the battel, as would afterwards have been little worth; than to stay until the *Romans*, perhaps victorious, should exact it at his hands. *P. Scipio* was greatly comforted with the recovery of his son: so as the joy thereof was thought to have been much available unto his health. In recompence of the king's humanity, he said only thus much unto those that brought him this acceptable present, *I am now able to make your king none other amends, than by advising him not to fight, until he shall hear that I am in the camp.* What he meant by this, it is hard to conjecture. *Antiochus* resolved to follow his counsel: and therefore withdrew himself from about *Thyazira*, beyond the river of *Thyngius* or *Iyllus*, unto *Migneſta* by *Sipylus*: where encamping, he fortified himself as strongly as he could. Thither followed him *L. Scipio* the consul; and sat down

within four miles of him. About a thousand of the king's horse, most of them *Gallo-Greeks*, came to bid the *Romans* welcome: of whom at first they slew some; and were anon, with some loss driven back over the river. Two days were quietly spent, whilst neither the king nor the *Romans* would pass the water. The third day the *Romans* made the adventure: wherein they found no disturbance; nor were at all opposed, until they came within two miles and a half of *Antiochus's* camp. There, as they were taking up their lodging, they were charged by three thousand horse and foot; whom the ordinary *corps du guard* repelled. Four days together after this, each of them brought forth their armies, and set them in order before the trenches, without advancing any farther. The fifth day, the *Romans* came half way forward, and presented battel; which the king would not accept. Thereupon the consul took advice, what was to be done: For either they must fight upon whatsoever disadvantage, or else resolve to abide by it all winter, far from any country of their friends, and therefore subject unto many difficulties; unless they would stain their honour by returning far back, to winter in a more convenient place; and so defer the war until the next spring. The *Roman* soldier was thoroughly persuaded of that enemy's base temper: Wherefore it was the general cry, that this great army should be assailed, even in the camp where it lay; as if rather there were so many beasts to be slaughtered, than men to be fought with. Yet a day or two passed, in discovering the fortifications of *Antiochus*, and the safest way to set upon him. All this while *P. Scipio* came not. Wherefore the king, being very loth to dishearten his men, by seeming to stand in fear of his enemy, resolved to put the matter to trial. So, when the *Romans* took the field again, and ordered their battels; he also did the like, and advanced so far, that they might understand his meaning to fight.

The *Roman* army consisted of four legions, two *Roman* and two *Latin*; in each of which were five thousand and four hundred men. The *Latins*, as usually, were in the points; the *Romans* in the main battel: All of them, in their wonted form, were divided into maniples. The *Hastati* had the leading; after them followed the *Principes*, at such distance as was usual; and last of all the *Triarii*. Now besides these, there were about three thousand auxiliaries; partly *Acheans*, and partly such as belonged to *Eumenes*; which were placed in an equal front beyond the *Latins* in the right wing. Utmost of all (save some five hundred *Cretans*, and of the *Trallians* were almost three thousand horse;) of which, *Eumenes* had brought thither eight hundred, the rest being *Roman*. The left wing was fenced by the bank of the river; yet four troops of horse were placed there, tho' such help seemed in a manner needless. Two thousand voluntaries, *Macedonians* and *Thracians*, were left to guard the camp. The consul had with him sixteen *African* elephants, which he bestowed in his rear; forasmuch as had they come to fight with those of *Antiochus*, they only would have served to discourage his men, as being sure to be beaten; the *Indian* being far the greater, and more courageous beasts: whereof *Antiochus* had likewise much advantage in number.

The king's army being compounded of many nations, diversly appointed, and not all accustomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the several kinds, in such wise as each might be of most use. The main strength of his foot consisted in sixteen thousand, armed all *Macedonian* like,
and

and called *Phalangiers*. These he placed in the midst, and divided into ten battalions; every one having two and thirty in file, and fifty in front. Between every battalion were two elephants, goodly beasts, and such as being adorned with frontals, high crests, towers on their backs; and besides him that governed the elephant, four men in every tower, made a gallant and terrible shew. On the right hand of these were fifteen hundred horse of the *Gallo-Greeks*: then, three thousand barb'd horse; and a regiment of almost a thousand horse called the *Agema*, that were all *Medians*, the choice of the country, and accompanied by some others. All which troops of horse divided in their several kinds, do seem to have followed one another in depth, rather than to have been stretched out in front. Adjoyning to these were sixteen elephants together in one flock. A little further to the right hand, was the king's own regiment: called the *Argyraspides* or *silver-shields*, by a name borrowed from their furniture; but nothing like so valiant as those of the same name, that had served under great *Alexander*: then twelve hundred archers on horseback, three thousand light-armed foot, two thousand and five hundred archers of *Mysia*; with four thousand slingers and archers of the *Cyrteans*, and *Elymeans*. On the left hand of the *Phalangiers*, were placed the like numbers of *Gallo-Greeks* and barb'd horse: as also two thousand horse that were sent to *Ariarathes*, with two thousand and seven hundred of divers nations, and a regiment of a thousand horse more lightly armed, that were called the *king's troop*, being *Syrians*, *Phrygians*, and *Lydians*. In front of all these horse were the chariots armed with hooks or scythes, and the *Dromedaries*, whereon sat *Arabians* with long rapiers, that would serve to reach from those high camels. Beyond these were, as in the right wing, a rabble of many nations, *Carians*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphylians*, *Pisidians*, *Cyrteans*, *Elymeans*, and many others, having also with them sixteen elephants. *Antiochus* himself commanded in the right wing; *Seleucus* in the left; and three of his principal captains commanded over the *Phalangiers*.

The first onset was given by the *Dromedaries*, and armed chariots: of which the one, being like to terrify the horse; the other, to break the squadrons of the foot; *Eumenes* with a few light-armed *Cretans*, archers, darters, and slingers, easily made frustrate the danger threatened by them both. For with shoutings, and noises, and some wounds, they were driven out of the field; and running back upon their own men, did the same harm which they had intended to the enemies. Wherefore the *Roman* horse following this advantage, charged upon the left wing: where they found no resistance; some being out of order; others being without courage. It is shameful to rehearse, and so strange, that it may hardly seem credible: that the *Phalangiers*, with such variety of auxiliaries, made little or no resistance; but all of them fled, in a manner as soon as they were charged. Only the king, *Antiochus* himself, being in the left wing of his own battle: and seeing the *Latins*, that stood opposite unto him weakly flanked with horse; gave upon them courageously, and forced them to retire. But *M. Amilius*, that had the guard of the *Roman* camp, issued forth with all his power to help his fellows: and, what by persuasion, what by threats, made them renew the fight. Succour also came from the right wing, where the *Romans* were already victorious: whereof, when *Antiochus* discovered the approach; he not only turned his horse

about, but ran away upon the spur, without further tarriance. The camp was defended a little while: and with no great valour; though by a great multitude that were fled into it. *Antiochus* is said to have lost in this battle fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse; besides those that were taken. Of the *Romans*, there were not slain above three hundred foot, and four and twenty horse: of *Eumenes's* followers five and twenty.

Antiochus fled into *Sardes*, and from thence to *Apamea*, the same night, hearing that *Seleucus* was gone thither before. He left the custody of *Sardes*, and the castle there, to one whom he thought faithful. But the townsmen and soldiers were so dismayed with the greatness of the overthrow; that one man's faith was worth nothing. All the towns in those parts; without expecting summons, yielded up themselves by ambassadors: whom they sent to the *Romans*, whilst they were on the way. Neither were there many days spent, ere *Antiochus's* ambassador was in the camp: having none other errand, than to know what it would please the *Romans* to impose upon the king his master. *P. Scipio* was now come to his brother; who obtained leave to make the answer, because it should be gentle. They required no more than they had lately done: which was, that he should quite abandon his dominions on this side of *Taurus*. For their charges in that war, they required fifteen thousand talents: five hundred in hand; two thousand and five hundred, when the senate and people of *Rome* should have confirmed the peace; and the other twelve thousand, in twelve years next ensuing by even portions. Likewise they demanded four hundred talents for *Eumenes*; and some store of corn, that was due to him upon a reckoning. Now besides twenty hostages which they required, very earnest they were to have *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, and *Thoas* the *Etolian*, with some others, who had stirred up the king to this war, delivered into their hands. But any wise man might so easily have perceived, that it would be their purpose to make this one of their principal demands; as no great art was needful to beguile their malice. The king's ambassador had full commission, to refuse nothing that should be enjoined. Wherefore there was no more to do, than to send immediately to *Rome* for the ratification of the peace.

There were new consuls chosen in the mean while at *Rome*, *M. Fulvius*, and *Cn. Manlius Volso*. The *Etolians* desired peace, but could not obtain it; because they would accept neither of the two conditions before propounded. So it was decreed, that one of the consuls should make war upon the *Etolians*, the other upon *Antiochus* in *Asia*. Now though shortly there came news, that *Antiochus* was already vanquished in battle, and had submitted himself unto all that could be required at his hands: yet since the state of *Asia* was not like to be so thoroughly settled by one victory, but that many things might fall out worthy of the *Romans* care; *Cn. Manlius*, to whom *Asia* fell by lot, had not his province changed.

Soon after this came the ambassadors of king *Antiochus* to *Rome*, accompanied with *Rhodians* and some others; yea, by king *Eumenes* in person; whose presence added a goodly lustre to the business in hand. Concerning the peace to be made with king *Antiochus*, there was no dispute; it was generally approved. All the trouble was, about the distribution of the purchase. King *Eumenes* reckoned up his own deserts; and comparing himself with *Masaniissa*, hoped that the *Romans* would be more bountiful to him than they had been

been to the *Numidian*, since they had found him a king indeed, whereas *Masanissa* was only such in title; and since both he and his father had always been their friends, even in the very worst of the *Roman* fortune. Yet was there much ado to make him tell what he would have: he still referring himself to their courtesie; and they desiring him to speak plain. At length he craved that they would bestow upon him, as much of the country by them taken from *Antiochus*, as they had no purpose to keep in their own hands. Neither thought he it needful, that they should trouble themselves with the care of giving liberty to many of the *Greek* towns, that were on *Asia* side. For since the most of those towns had been partakers with the king in his war, it was no reason that they should be gainers by his overthrow. The *Rhodians* did not like of this. They desired the senate to be truly patrons of the *Grecian* liberty; and to call to mind, that no small part of *Greece* itself had been subject unto *Philip*, and served him in his war: which was not alledged against him as a cause why they should not be made free, after that *Philip* was overcome. But the main point whereon they insisted, was this, That the victory of the *Romans* against king *Antiochus* was so great, as easily might satisfy the desires of all their friends. The senate was glad to hear of this, and very bountifully gave away so much, that every one had cause to be well pleased.

Such end had the war against king *Antiochus*: after which, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, returning home, had granted unto him the honour of a triumph; the pomp whereof exceeded in riches, not only that of *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, but of any ten that *Rome* had beheld until that day. Now forasmuch as the surname of *The African* had been given unto *P. Scipio*, it was thought convenient by some, to reward *L. Scipio* with the title of *The Asiatic*: which the fortune of his victory had no less deserved; though the virtue requisite to the purchase thereof, was no way correspondent.

S E C T. IX.

The Etolians and the Gallo-Greeks, vanquished by the Roman consuls, Fulvius and Manlius. Manlius hardly obtains a triumph: being charged (among other objections) with attempting to have passed the bounds appointed as fatal to the Romans by Sibyl. Of Sibyl's prophecies; the books of Hermes; and that inscription, Simoni Deo Sancto. The ingratitude of Rome to the two Scipio's. Of the beginning of faction among the Roman nobility.

M*Arc. Fulvius* and *Cn. Manlius* had the same charge divided between them, which *L. Cornelius Scipio*, now stiled *Asiaticus*, had lately undergone. It was found more than one man's work, to look at once to *Greece* and *Asia*. And for this reason was it apparent, that *L. Scipio* had granted so long a truce to the *Etolians*. But since, in this long *interim* of truce, that haughty little nation had not sought to humble it self to the *Roman Majesty*, it was now to be brought unto more lowly terms than any other of the *Greeks*. The best was, that so great a storm fell not unexpected upon the *Etolians*. They had foreseen the danger, when their ambassadors were utterly denied peace at *Rome*: and they had provided the last remedy; which was, to entreat the *Rhodians* and *Athenians* to become intercessors for them. Neither were they so dejected, with any terrible apprehensions, that they could not well devise, upon helping them-

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selves, even by re-purchase of countries lost, where they spied advantage.

Poor king *Aminander* lived in exile among them, whilst *Philip* of *Macedon* kept, for him, possession of his lands and castles. But the *Atbamians* (besides that many of them bore a natural affection to their own prince) having been long accustomed to serve a mountain lord, that conversed with them after an homely manner; could not endure the proud and insolent manner of command, used by the captains of *Philip's* garrisons. They sent therefore some few of them to their king, and offered their service towards his restitution. At the first there were only four of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fifty, which undertook the work. Yet assurance, that all the rest would follow, made *Aminander* willing to try his fortune. He was at the borders with a thousand *Etolians*, upon the day appointed: at which time his two and fifty adventurers, having divided themselves into four parts, occupied, by the ready assistance of the multitude, four the chief towns in the country, to his use. The fame of this good success at first; with divers letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to do their best in helping forward the action: made the lieutenants of *Philip* unable to think upon resistance. One of them held the town of *Theium* a few days, giving thereby some leisure unto his king to provide for the rescue. But when he had done his best, he was forced thence; and could only tell *Philip*, whom he met on the way, that all was lost. *Philip* had brought from home six thousand men, of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in such a running march, he left all, save two thousand behind him, and so came to *Athenæum*, a little *Atbamian* castle that still was his, as being on the frontier of *Macedon*. Thence he sent *Zeno*, who had kept *Theium* awhile, to take a place lying over *Argithea*, that was chief of the country. *Zeno* did as he was appointed: yet neither he, nor the king, had the boldness to descend upon *Argithea*: for that they might perceive the *Atkamians*, all along the hill sides, ready to come down upon them, when they should be busy. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a safe retreat; especially when *Aminander* came in fight with his thousand *Etolians*. The *Macedonians* were called back from-wards *Argithea*, and presently withdrawn by their king towards his own borders. But they were not suffered to depart in quiet, at their pleasure. The *Atbamians* and *Etolians* way-layed them, and pursued them so closely, that their retreat was in a manner of a plain flight, with great loss of men and arms; few of those escaping that were left behind, as to make a countenance of holding somewhat in the country, until *Philip's* return.

The *Etolians*, having found the business of *Atbamania* so easy, made an attempt in their own behalf, upon the *Amphilochians* and *Aperantians*. These had belonged unto their nation, and were lately taken by *Philip*; from whom they diligently revolted, and became *Etolian* again. The *Dolopians* lay next; that had been ever belonging to the *Macedonian*, and so did still purpose to continue. These took arms at first: but soon laid them away; seeing their neighbours ready to fight with them in the *Etolian* quarrel, and seeing their own king so hastily gone, as if he meant not to return.

Of these victories the joy was the less; for that news came of *Antiochus's* last overthrow, and

of *M. Fulvius* the new consul's hastning with an army into *Greece*. *Aminander* sent his excuses to *Rome*, praying the senate, not to take it in despite, that he had recovered his own from *Philip*, with such help as he could get. Neither seems it that the *Romans* were much offended to hear of *Philip's* losses: for of this fault they neither were sharp correctors, nor earnest reprovers. *Fulvius* went in hand with the business about which he came, and lay'd siege to *Ambracia*, a goodly city, that had been the chief seat of *Pyrrhus's* kingdom. With this he began; for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the *Etolians*: yet could not by them be relieved, unless they would adventure to fight upon equal ground. To help the *Ambracians*, it was not in the *Etolians* power: for they were at the same time vexed by the *Illyrians* at sea, and ready to be driven from their new conquest, by *Perseus* the son of *Philip*, who invaded the countries of the *Amphilochians* and *Dolopians*. They were unable to deal with so many at once; and therefore as earnestly sought peace with the *Romans*, as they stoutly made head against the rest. In the mean while, the *Athenian* and *Rhodian* ambassadors came; who besought the consul to grant them peace. It helped well that *Ambracia* made strong resistance, and would not be terrified by any violence of the assailants, or danger that might seem to threaten. The consul had no desire to spend half his time about one city, and so be driven to leave unto his successor the honour of finishing the war. Wherefore he gladly hearkened unto the *Etolians*, and bade them seek peace with faithful intent, without thinking it over-dear, at a reasonable price; considering with how great a part of his kingdom their friend *Antiochus* had made the same purchase. He also gave leave to *Aminander*, offering his service as a mediator, to put himself into *Ambracia*, and try what good his persuasions might do with the citizens. So, after many demands and excuses, the conclusion was such, as was grievous to the weaker, but not unsufferable. The same ambassadors of the *Athenians* and *Rhodians* accompanied those of the *Etolians* to *Rome*, for procuring the confirmation of peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needful in this intercession; for that *Philip* had made very grievous complaint about the loss of those countries, which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the senate could not but take notice; though it hindered not the peace, which those good mediators of *Rhodes* and *Athens* did earnestly sollicite. The *Etolians* were bound to uphold the majesty of the people of *Rome*, and to observe divers articles, which made them less free, and more obnoxious to the *Romans*, than any people of *Greece*; they having been the first that called these their masters into the country. The isle of *Cephalenia* was taken from them by the *Romans*: who kept it for themselves (as not long since they had gotten *Zacynthus* from the *Acheans*, by slightly pressing their own right) that so they might have possession along the coast of *Greece*, whilst they seemed to forbear the country. But concerning those places, whereto *Philip*, or others, might lay claim, there was set down an order so perplexed, as would necessarily require to have the *Romans* judges of the controversies, when they should arise. And hereof good use will be shortly made; when want of employment elsewhere shall cause a more lordly inquisition to be held, upon the affairs of *Macedon* and *Greece*.

C. Manlius, the other consul, had at the same time war in *Asia*, with the *Gallo-Greeks* and o-

thers. His army was the same that had followed *L. Scipio*; of whose victory his acts were the consummation. He visited those countries on the hither side of *Taurus*, that had scarce heard of the *Romans*; to whom they were abandoned by *Antiochus*. Among these were some petty lords, or tyrants, some free cities, and some that were together at wars, without regard of the great alteration happened in *Asia*. From every of these he got somewhat; and by their quarrels found occasion to visit those provinces, into which he should else have wanted an errand. He was even laden with booty, when, having fetch'd a compass about *Asia*, he came at length upon the *Gallo-Greeks*. These had long domineered over the country: though of late times it was rather the fame and terour of their forepassed acts, than any present virtue of theirs, which held them up in reputation. Of the *Romans* they had lately such trial, when they served under king *Antiochus*, as made them to acknowledge themselves far the worse men. Wherefore they thought it no small part of their safety, that they dwelt upon the river *Halys*, in an inland country, where those enemies were not very like to search them out. But when such hopes failed; and when some princes of their own nation, that had been friends of *Lumenes*, exhorted the rest to yield: then was no counsel thought so good, as to forsake their houses and country, and, with all that they could carry or drive, to betake themselves unto the high mountains of *Olympus* and *Margana*. These mountains were exceeding hard of access, though none should undertake the custody. Being therefore well manned and victualled for a long time; as also the natural strength being help'd, by such fortification as promised greatest assurance; it was thought, that the consul would either forbear the attempt of forcing them, or easily be repelled; and that finally, when he had stay'd there a while, winter, and much want, should force him to dislodge. Yet all this availed not. For whereas the *Gallo-Greeks* had been careless of furnishing themselves with casting weapons, as if the stones would have served well enough for that purpose: the *Romans*, who came far otherwise appointed, found greater advantage in the difference of arms, than impediment in disadvantage of ground. Archers and slingers did easily prevail against casters of stones; especially being such as were these *Gallo-Greeks*, neither exercised in that manner of fight, nor having prepared their stones before-hand, but catching up what lay next, the too great, and the too little, oftner than those of a fit size. Finally, the *Barbarians*, wanting defensive arms, could not hold out against the arrows and weapons of the *Roman* light armature: but were driven from a piece of ground, which they had undertaken to make good, up into their camp on the top of the mountain; and being forced out of their camp, had no other way left, than to cast themselves headlong down the steep rocks. Few of their men escaped alive: all their wives, children, and goods, became a prey unto the *Romans*. In the very like manner, were the rest of that nation overcome soon after, at the other mountain; only more of them saved themselves by flight, as having fairer way at their backs.

These wars being ended: *Fulvius* and *Manlius* were appointed, by the senate, each of them to retain as proconsul his province for another year. *Fulvius*, in his second year, did little or nothing. *Manlius* gave peace to those whom he had vanquished, as likewise to *Ariarathes* the *Cappado-*
cian,

cian, and some others, not by him vanquished, but submitting themselves for fear of the *Roman* arms. He drew from them all what profit he could ; and laid upon them such conditions as he thought expedient. He also did finish the league of peace with *Antiochus* ; whereto he swore, and received the king's oath by ambassadors, whom he sent for that purpose. Finally, having set in order the matters of *Asia*, he took his way towards the *Hellepont*, loaden with spoil, as carrying with him (besides other treasures) all that the *Gallo-Greeks* had in so many years extorted from the wealthy provinces which lay round about them. Neither did this army of *Manlius* return home rich in money alone, or cattel, or things of needful use, which the *Roman* soldiers had been wont to take as the only good purchase ; but furnished with sumptuous household-stuff, and slaves of price, excellent cooks and musicians for banquets ; and, in a word, with the seeds of that luxury, which finally over-grew and choaked the *Roman* virtue.

The country of *Thrace* lay between *Hellepont* and the kingdom of *Macedon*, which way *Manlius* was to take his journey homeward. *L. Scipio* had found no impediment among the *Thracians* : * either for that he passed through them, without any such booty as might provoke them ; or perhaps rather, because *Philip* of *Macedon* had taken order, that the *Barbarians* should not stir. But when *Manlius* came along with an huge train of baggage, the *Thracians* could not so well contain themselves. Neither was it thought, that *Philip* took it otherwise than very pleasantly, to have this *Roman* army robbed, and well beaten on the way. He had cause to be angry ; seeing how little himself was regarded, and what great rewards were given to *Eumenes*. For he understood, and afterwards gave the *Romans* to understand, that *Eumenes* could not have abiden in his own kingdom, if the people of *Rome* had not made war in *Asia* : whereas contrariwise, *Antiochus* had offered unto himself three thousand talents, and fifty ships of war, to take part with him and the *Etolians* ; promising moreover to restore unto him all the *Greek* cities, that had been taken from him by the *Romans*. Such being the difference between him and *Eumenes*, when the war began : he thought it no even dealing of the *Romans*, after their victory, to give away not only the half of *Asia*, but *Cherfonesus* and *Lyfismachia* in *Europe*, to *Eumenes* ; whereas upon himself they bestowed not any one town. It agreed not indeed with his nobility, to go to *Rome* and beg provinces in the senate, as *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* had lately done. He had entertained lovingly the two *Scipio's*, whom he thought the most honourable men in *Rome* ; and was grown into near acquaintance with *Publius*, holding correspondence with him by letters, whereby he made himself acquainted with the wars in *Spain* and *Afric*. This perhaps he deemed sufficient, to breed in the *Romans* a due respect of him. But *Eumenes* took a surer way. For the *Scipio's* had not the disposing of that which they won from *Antiochus* ; as neither indeed had *Manlius*, nor the ten delegates assisting him ; but the senate of *Rome*, by which those delegates were chosen, and instructed how to proceed. When *Philip* therefore saw these upstart kings of *Pergamus*, whom he accounted as base companions, advanced so highly, and made greater than himself ; yea himself unregarded, contemned, and exposed to ma-

ny wrongs : then found he great cause to wish ; that he had not so hastily declared himself against *Antiochus*, or rather that he had joined with *Antiochus* and the *Etolians*, by whom he might have been freed from his insolent masters. But what great argument of such discontentedness the *Macedonian* had, we shall very shortly be urged to discourse more at large. At the present it was believed, that the *Thracians* were by him set on, to assail the *Romans* passing through their country. They knew all advantages : and they fell unexpected upon the carriages, that were bestowed in the midst of the army ; whereof part had already passed a dangerous wood, through which the baggage followed ; part was not yet so far advanced. There was enough to get, and enough to leave behind ; though both the getting, and the saving, did cost many lives, as well of the *Barbarians* as of the *Romans*. They fought until it grew night ; and then the *Thracians* withdrew themselves ; not without as much of the booty, as was to their full content. And of such trouble there was more, though less dangerous, before the army could get out of *Thrace* into *Macedon*. Through the kingdom they had a fair march into *Epirus* ; and so to *Apollonia*, which was their handle of *Greece*.

To *Manlius*, and to *Fulvius*, when each of them returned to the city, was granted the honour of triumph. Yet not without contradiction, especially to *Manlius* ; whom some of the ten delegates appointed to assist him, did very bitterly tax, as an unworthy commander. Touching the rest of their accusation ; it sufficeth, that he made good answer, and was approved by the chief of the senate. One clause is worthy of more particular consideration. Reprehending his desire to have hindered the peace with *Antiochus* ; they said, ^b *That with much ado he was kept from leading his army over Taurus, and adventuring upon the calamity threatened by Sibyl's verses, unto those that should pass the fatal bounds.* What calamity or overthrow this was, wherewith *Sibyl's* prophecy threatned the *Roman* captain or army, that should pass over *Taurus*, I do not conceive. *Pompey* was the first that marched with an army beyond those limits : though the victories of *Lucullus* had opened unto him the way, and had before-hand won, in a sort, the countries on the other side of the mount ; which *Lucullus* gave to one of *Antiochus's* race, though *Pompey* occupied them for the *Romans*. But we find not, that either *Lucullus* or *Pompey* suffered any loss, in presuming to neglect the bounds appointed by *Sibyl*. Indeed the accomplishment of this prophecy, fell out near about one time, with the restitution of *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* ; that was forbidden unto the *Romans* by the same *Sibyl*. It may therefore seem to have had reference unto the same things that were denounced, as like to happen unto the reduction of the *Egyptian* king. Whether the oracles of *Sibyl* had in them any truth, and were not, as *Tully* noteth, ^c *forced at random in the large field of time*, there to take root, and get credit by event ; I will not here dispute. But I hold this more probable, than the restitution of *Ptolemy* to his kingdom by *Gabinus* the *Roman*, should have any way betokened the coming of our Saviour : as some both ancient and modern *Christian* writers have been well pleased to interpret *Sibyl* in that Prophecy. Of the *Sibylline* predictions I have sometimes thought reverently : though not knowing what they were (as I think few men know) yet following the common belief and good autho-

* Liv. l. 39.

b Liv. l. 38.

c Tull. de Divin. l. 2.

city. But observation of the shameful idolatry, that upon all occasions was advanced in *Rome* by the books of *Sibyl*, had well prevailed upon my credulity, and made me suspect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the judgment of *Eusebius*: when that learned and excellent work of master *Casauban* * upon the *Annals* of cardinal *Baronius*: did altogether free me from mine error; making it apparent, That not only those prophecies of *Sibyl*, wherein *Christ* so plainly was fore-shewed, but even the books of *Hermes*, which have borne such reputation, were no better than counterfeited pieces, and at first entertained (who-soever devised them) by the undiscerning zeal of such, as delighted in seeing the *Christian* religion strengthened with foreign proofs. And in the same rank, I think, we ought to place that notable history, reported by *Eusebius* from no mean authors, of the honour which was done to *Simon Magus* in *Rome*; namely of an altar to him erected, with an inscription *Simoni Deo Sancto*, that is, *To Simon the holy God*. For what can be more strange, than that a thing so memorable, and so publick, should have been quite omitted by *Tacitus*, by *Suetonius*, by *Dion*, and by all which wrote of those times? Philosophers and poets would not have suffered the matter to escape in silence, had it been true; neither can it be thought that *Seneca*, who then lived and flourished, would have abstained from speaking any word of an argument so famous. Wherefore I am perswaded, that this inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, was, by some bad *Critic*, taken amiss in place of *Semoni Sango*; a title four hundred years older than the time of *Simon Magus*. For the goods of one *Vitruvius* a rebel, had many ages before been consecrated *Semoni Sango*, that is, *to the spirit or demi-god Sangus*, in whose chapel they were bestowed. So as either by the ill shape of the old *Roman* letters, or by some spoil that time had wrought upon them; it might easily come to pass, that the words should be mis-read, *Simoni Santto*, and that some *Christian* who had heard of *Simon Magus*, but not of *Sangus*, there-upon should frame the conjecture, which now passeth for a true history. Such conjectures, being entertained without examination, find credit by tradition; whereby also, many times, their fashion is amended, and made more historical, than was conceived by the author. But it cannot be safe, to let our faith (which ought to stand firm upon a sure foundation) lean over-hardly on a well painted, yet rotten, post.

Now concerning the triumph of *Cn. Manlius*, it may be numbred among a few of the richest, which ever the city beheld. Out of that which he brought into the treasury, was made the last payment of those monies, which the common-wealth had borrowed from private men, in the second *Punic* war. So long was it, that *Rome* had still some feeling of *Hannibal*: which being past, there was remaining neither care, nor memory, of any danger. This triumph of *Manlius* was deferred by him, even so long as he well could: for that he thought it not safe, to make his entrance into the city, until the heat of an inquisition, then raging therein, should be allayed. The two *Scipio's* were called, one after another, into judgment, by two tribunes of the people; men only by this accusation, known to posterity. *P. Scipio* the *African*, with whom they began, could not endure that such unworthy men should question him, of purloining from the common treasury, or of being

hired with bribes by *Antiochus*, to make an ill bargain for his country. When therefore his day of answer came; he appeared before the tribunes, not humbly as one accused, but followed by a great train of his friends and clients, with which he passed through the midst of the assembly, and offered himself to speak. Having audience, he told the people, That upon the same day of the year he had fought a great battel with *Hannibal*, and finished the *Punic* war by a signal victory. In memory whereof, he thought it no fit season to brabble at the law; but intended to visit the *Capitol*, and there give thanks to *Jupiter* and the rest of the Gods, by whose grace, both on that day and at other times, he had well and happily discharged the most weighty business of the common-wealth. And hereto he invited with him all the citizens: requesting them, *That if ever since the seventeenth year of his life, until he now grew old, the honourable places by them conferred upon him, had prevented the capacity of his age, and yet his deserts had exceeded the greatness of those honourable places; then would they pray, that the princes and great ones of their city might still be like to him.* These words were heard with great approbation; so as all the people, even the officers of the court, followed *Scipio*; leaving the tribunes alone, with none about them, excepting their own slaves and a crier, by whom ridiculously they cited him to judgment, until for very shame, as not knowing what else to do, they granted him, unrequested, a further day. After this, when the *African* perceived that the tribunes would not let fall their suit, but enforce him to submit himself to a disgraceful trial, he willingly relinquished the city, and his unthankful *Romans*, that could suffer him to undergo so much indignity. The rest of his time he spent at *Liternum*; quietly, with a few of his inward friends, and without any desire of seeing *Rome* again. How many years he lived, or whether he lived one whole year, in this voluntary banishment; it is uncertain. The report of his dying in the same year, with *Hannibal* and *Philopæmen*, as also of his private behaviour at *Liternum*, render it probable, that he outlived the tribuneship of his accusers; who meant to have drawn him back to his answer, if one of their colleagues (as one of them had power to hinder all the rest from proceeding) had not caused them to desist. Howsoever it was; the same tribunes went more sharply to work with *L. Scipio* the *Asiatic*. They propounded a decree unto the people, touching money received of *Antiochus*, and not brought into the common treasury; that the senate should give charge unto one of the prætors, to inquire, and judicially determine thereof. In favour of this decree an oration was made by *Cato*, the supposed author of these contentions, and instigator of the tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect, virtue: temperate, valiant, and of singular industry; frugal also, both of the publick, and of his own; so as in this kind he was even faulty: for though he would not be corrupted with bribes, yet was he unmerciful and unconscionable, in seeking to encrease his own wealth, by such means as the law did warrant. Ambition was his vice; which being poisoned with envy, troubled both himself, and the whole city, whilst he lived. His mean birth caused him to hate the nobility, especially those that were in chief estimation. Neither did he spare to bite at such as were of his own rank, men raised by desert, if their advancement

* Isaac. Casaub. Exercitat. 1. ad Annal. Bar. n. 10. & 11.

† Hatch. Lect. Hist. 1. 2. c. 13.

were like to hinder his ; but lately before this, when *Glabrio*, whose lieutenant he had been at *Thermopylae*, was his competitor for the censorship, and likely to carry it, he took an oath against him, which was counted as no better than malicious perjury, That he had not brought into the common treasury some vessels of gold and silver, gotten in the camp of *Antiochus*. Now the hatred which he bore unto the *Scipio's* grew partly (besides his general spight at the nobility) from his own first rising, wherein he was countenanced by *Fabius Maximus*, who brooked not the *African* ; partly from some check, that was given unto himself, in the *African* voyage by *P. Scipio*, whose treasurer he then was. For when *Cato* did utter his dislike of the consul's bad husbandry (judging magnificence to be no better) in some peremptory manner, *Scipio* plainly told him, That he had no need of such double diligence in his treasurer. Wherefore, either not caring what lies he publish'd, or for want of judgment thinking unworthily of the virtue that was far above him, *Cato* filled *Rome* with untrue reports against his general, whose noble deeds confuted sufficiently the author of such false tales. And thus began the hatred ; which being not regarded, nor thought upon by the *Scipio's*, whilst it was nourish'd by their enemy, broke out upon advantage, especially against *L. Scipio*, his brother being dead, or out of the way. A severe inquiry and judgment being appointed of purpose against *Scipio* matters were so carried, that he was soon condemn'd in a sum of money, far exceeding his ability to pay. For non-payment, his body should have been laid up in prison ; but from this rigour of the law he was freed by *Tiberius Gracchus*, the same tribune who had caused the suit against the *African* to be let fall. In his estate, which was confiscated to the use of the city, when there neither appeared any sign of his having been beholden to *Antiochus*, nor was found so much as what he had been condemned to pay ; then fell his accusers, and all whose hands had been against him, into the indignation of the people. But for this was *L. Scipio* no whit the better. His kindred, friends, and clients made such a collection for him, as would have set him in better estate than before, if he had accepted it. He took no more than such of his own goods, as were of necessary use, being redeemed for him by his nearest friends.

And thus began the civil war of the *tongue*, in the *Roman* pleadings ; which had either not been, or not been much regardable, until now, since the *Punic* war. Security of danger from abroad, and some want of sufficient employment, were especial helps to the kindling of this fire ; which first caught hold upon that great worthy, to whose virtue *Rome* was indebted, for changing into so great security her extrem danger. But these factious contentions did no long while contain themselves within heat of words, and cunning practice : for when the art of leading the multitude, in such

quarrelsome business, grew to perfection, they that found themselves over-match'd by their adversaries at this kind of weapon, began to make opposition, first with clubs and stones, afterwards with swords ; and finally, proceeded from frays and murders in the streets, unto battel in the open field. *Cornelia*, daughter of *Scipio* the *African*, a lady of rare virtue, that, in honour of her two sons, was more commonly named *Mother of the Gracchi*, saw those her two sons, whilst they were but young, slaughter'd in *Rome* together, with some of their friends, by those whom they opposed ; and their death not revenged by order of law, but rather approved by the senate. At these times the senators began to take upon them authority, more than was to them belonging. They conferred upon the consuls all the whole power of the city, under this form, *Let the consuls provide, that the commonweal receive no detriment*. By this decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any citizen *enemy to the state*, they thought to have won a great advantage over the multitude. But after the death of *C. Gracchus*, and of *Saturninus*, a popular man, whom, by such authority, they did put out of the way ; it was not long ere *Marius*, a famous captain of theirs, was so condemn'd, who, by force of arms, return'd into the city, and murder'd all the principal senators : whereupon began the civil wars ; which giving unto *Sylla*, who prevailed therein, means to make himself absolute lord of *Rome*, taught *Cesar*, a man of higher spirit, to affect and obtain the like sovereign power, when by the like decree of the senate he was provoked. It is true, that never any consul had finally cause to rejoice, of his having put in execution such authority to him committed by the senate. But, as the fury of the multitude, in passing their laws, by throwing of stones, and other violence, made the city stand in need of a sovereign lord : so the vehemency of the senate, in condemning as enemies those that would not submit themselves, when they were over-topp'd by voices in the house, did compel *Cesar*, or give him at least pretence, to right himself by arms ; where-with prevailing against his adversaries, he took such order, that neither senate, nor people, should thenceforth be able to do him wrong. So by intestine discord, the *Romans* consuming all or most of their principal citizens, lost their own freedom, and became subjects unto the arbitrary government of one : suffering this change in three generations, after this beginning of their insolent rule, wherein they took upon them, as the highest lords on earth, to do even what they listed. Yet had not *Rome* indeed attained hitherto unto compleat greatness, nor believed of herself as if she had, whilst a king sat crowned on the throne of *Alexander*, continuing and upholding the reputation of a former empire. Wherefore, this consummation of her honour was thought upon betimes. How it was effected, the sequel will discover.

C H A P. VI.

The second Macedonian war.

S E C T. I.

The condition wherein those princes and estates remained, which were associates of the Romans, when the war with Antiochus was finished. The Romans quarrel with Philip. They deal insolently with the Achæans. The Macedonian, being unready for war, obtains peace at Rome, by his son Demetrius; of whom thenceforth he becomes jealous.

AFTER the overthrow of *Antiochus*, although *Philip* of *Macedon*, *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, the commonweal of the *Achæans*, and all other the states of *Greece*, were governed by the same laws and magistrates, as they formerly had been, before the arrival of the *Romans* in those parts: yet in very truth (the publick declaration excepted) they were none other than absolute vassals to the people of *Rome*. For of those five prerogatives belonging to a monarch, or unto sovereign power, in whomsoever it rest; namely, to make laws, to create magistrates, to arbitrate peace and war, to beat money; and to reserve (as the *French* call it) *le dernier resort*, or the last appeals, the *Romans* had assumed four; and the greatest of them so absolutely, that is, the appeal, or last resort, as every petty injury offered to each other by the fore-named kings or states, was heard and determined either by the *Roman* ambassadors, or commissioners, in those places whence the complaint came, or otherwise by the senators themselves within *Rome*: from whose arbitrement, or direction, if either king, or commonweals declined, he or they were beaten, and enforced to obedience; or had their estates and regalities utterly dissolved. Nevertheless it is true, that they had their own laws, and officers of their own ordaining: yet so, as neither their laws were of force, when the *Romans* interposed their will to the contrary; neither was their election of magistrates so free, as that they had not therein especial regard unto the good pleasure of these their masters.

And to such degree of servitude the several estates of *Greece* did bow very gently: either as being thankful for their deliverance from a yoke more sensibly grievous; or, as being skilful in the art of flattery, and therein taking delight, since therein consisted their chief hope of thriving; or, as being more fearful of displeasing the strongest, than mindful of their own honour. But *Eumenes* living further off, and being most obsequious unto the *Romans*, was not of long time questioned about any of his doings: his conformity unto them in matter of war and peace, together with the diversion of their thoughts another way, giving him leave to use his own even as he listed, until they should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was it a little available to him, that his kingdom bordered upon the nations, by them not thoroughly subdued. For upon the same reason (as well as upon his own high deserts) were they very loving unto *Masaniissa*, and to his house, until *Carthage* was ruined, and their dominion settled in *Africa*: as likewise afterwards to the kings of *Mauritania*,

Cappadocia, and others: holding people in subjection unto themselves, by the ministry of kings: especially of such kings, as were useful and obsequious unto them.

Now the *Macedonian* was of a more noble temper, and shewed himself not forgetful of his own former greatness, the honour of his race, or the high reputation of his kingdom. But such magnanimity was none otherwise construed by the *Romans*, than as want of due reverence to their estate, and a valuation of himself against them: which, in the pride of their fortune, they could not endure. Wherefore, notwithstanding that he had lately given passage to their armies through his country, prepared the ways for them, and furnished them both with victuals, and other things needful, to transport them over the *Hellepont* into *Asia*, against *Antiochus*: yet upon the complaint of *Eumenes*, and the states of *Theffaly* and *Thrace*, he was commanded to abandon the cities of *Ænus* and *Maronea*, with all pieces and places demanded by any of his neighbours; whereof many of them he had lately conquered, by direction, or licence, even from the *Romans* themselves.

These towns of *Ænus* and *Maronea* had been part of *Lyfimachus's* kingdom: who from *Thrace* northwards, and to the north-west, extended his dominion very far. He is thought to have made himself lord of *Transylvania*: in which province it is said, ^a that innumerable medals of gold have been found in the age of our grandfathers, each of them weighing two or three crowns, and stamped with his image on the one side, on the other side with *victory*. Of all these lordships, the possession, or rather the title (for he lived not to settle his estate in *Europe*) fell to *Seleucus Nicator* by right of war, wherein he vanquished and slew *Lyfimachus*: as also, by the like right, *Ptolemy Ceraunus* thought them his own, when he had murdered *Seleucus*. But the inundation of the *Gauls*, which the kingdom of *Macedon* could not sustain, did shortly and easily wash away from that crown, together with the more part of *Thrace*, all those heaps of land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by *Antigonus* the son of *Demetrius*, and his successors: though not much; for they were otherwise busied. The fury of the *Gauls* being over-past, those countries which lately had been oppressed by them, recovered their liberty; and not only held it, but learned some of them, especially the *Dardanians* and wild *Thracians*, to find their advantages, and make use of them, even upon *Macedon*. Against the mischiefs commonly done by these, king *Philip* did provide the most convenient remedies; by shutting up the ways, whereby the *Dardanians* might enter into his kingdom; and by occupying *Lyfimachia*, with some other towns in *Thrace*, which he fortified, as bulwarks of his own country, against the *Barbarians*. Now, although it behoved him thus to do, for the defence of his own estate: yet inasmuch as these towns were, in a manner, at absolute liberty, his possession of them was thought to partake more of violence than of justice. And in this respect, he

^a History of Hungary by Mart. Luth., lib. 5.

was formerly accused by the *Etolians* of wrongful usurpation and oppression, in his having occupied *Lyfimachia*. Hereto he made a good answer, that his garrison did only save it from the *Thracians*: who, as soon as he thence withdrew his men, did seize upon the town, and ruin it. The like perhaps he might have said, touching *Ænus* and *Maronea*; that they were places unable to defend themselves, and gates, by which the *Barbarians* might have entrance into his kingdom. But this plea had not availed him, in the disputation about *Lyfimachia*: and in the present question, the *Romans* were not without their own title; since *Antiochus* had gotten all the country thereabout, whilst *Philip* was busied in his former war; and since they, by their victory, had gotten unto themselves all the title, which *Antiochus* thereto could pretend. Wherefore he only submitted his right unto the good pleasure of the senate: referring it unto their disposition, whether *Ænus* and *Maronea* should be set at liberty, whether left in his hand, or whether bestowed upon *Eumenes*; who begged them, as an appendix to *Lyfimachia* and *Chersonesus*, that were already his by their gift. What they would determine, he might easily perceive, by the demeanor of their ambassadors towards him: who sitting as judges between him and all that made complaint upon him, gave sentence against him in every controversy. Nevertheless, he sent ambassadors to *Rome*, there to maintain his right unto those towns, wherein he thought, that equity (if it might prevail) was wholly on his side. For he had holpen their consuls in the war against *Antiochus* and the *Etolians*: wherein whatsoever he had gotten for himself, was now taken from him by their ambassadors: and would they now deprive him of those two towns, lying so fitly for the guard of his kingdom, which he had gotten to himself out of the ruins of *Antiochus*, like as out of his own ruins *Antiochus* had gotten in those quarters a great deal more? By such allegations either he was likely to prevail, or at leastwise to gain time, wherein he might bethink himself what he had to do. It was not long ere he had word from *Rome*, that the senate were no more equal to him than had been their ambassadors. Wherefore, considering how insolently the *Maronites* had behaved themselves, in pleading against him for their liberty, he took counsel of his own passions; and (as by nature he was very cruel) gave order to *Onomastus*, that was warden of the sea-coasts, to handle these *Maronites* in such sort, as they might have little joy of the liberty by them so earnestly desired. *Onomastus* employed *Cassander*, one of the king's men, dwelling in *Maronea*, and willed him to let in the *Thracians* by night, that they might sack the town, and use all cruelties of war. This was done, but so ill taken by the *Roman* ambassadors, who had better notice than could have been feared of these proceedings, that the king was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more strictly, than became his majesty, to an account. He would have removed the blame from himself, and laid it even upon the *Maronites*; affirming, that they, in heat of their factions, being some inclinable to him, other some to *Eumenes*, had fallen into such an outrage, that they had cut one another's throats. And hereof he willed the ambassadors to enquire among the *Maronites* themselves, as well knowing, that they who survived were either his own friends, or so terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durst not utter an offensive word. But he found the *Romans* more severe, and more thoroughly

informed in the business, than to rest contented with such an answer. He was plainly told, that if he would discharge himself of the crime objected, he must send *Onomastus* and *Cassander* to *Rome*, there to be examined as the senate should think fit. This did not a little trouble him; yet he collected his spirits, and said, that *Cassander* should be at their disposition; but concerning *Onomastus*, who had not been at *Maronea*, nor near to it, he requested them not to press him; since it stood not with his honour, so lightly to give away his friends. As for *Cassander*, because he should tell no tales, he took order to have him poisoned by the way. By this we see that the doctrine which *Machiavel* taught unto *Cesar Borgia*, to employ men in mischievous actions, and afterwards to destroy them when they have performed the mischief, was not of his own invention. All ages have given us examples of this goodly policy, the latter having been apt scholars in this lesson to the more ancient; as the reign of *Henry* the eighth here in *England*, can bear good witness; and therein especially the lord *Cromwell*, who perished by the same unjust law that himself had devised for the taking away of another man's life.

Such actions of *Philip* made an unpleasant noise at *Rome*; and were like to have brought upon him the war which he feared; before he was ready to entertain it. Wherefore he employed his younger son *Demetrius* as ambassador unto the senate, giving him instructions how to make answer to all complaints; and willed to deliver his own grievances in such wise; that if ought were amiss, yet might it appear that he had been strongly urged to take such courses. The sum of his embassy was, to pacify the *Romans*, and make all even for the present. *Demetrius* himself was known to be very acceptable unto the senate; as having been well approved by them when he was hostage in *Rome*, and therefore seemed the more likely to prevail somewhat; were it only in regard that would be borne unto his person.

Whilst this business with the *Macedonian* hung in suspense, and whilst he, by his readiness to make submission, seemed likely to divert from himself some other way the *Roman* arms, the same ambassadors, that had been judges between him and his neighbours, made their progress through the rest of *Greece*; and took notice of the controversies which they found between some estates in the country. The greatest cause that was heard before them, was the complaint of the banished *Lacedemonians* against the *Acheans*. It was objected unto the *Acheans*, that they had committed a grievous slaughter upon many citizens of *Lacedemon*; that unto this cruelty they had added a greater, in throwing down the walls of the city: as also further, in changing the laws, and abrogating the famous institutions of *Lycurgus*. Hereto *Lycortas*, then pretor of the *Acheans*, made answer, that these banished *Lacedemonians*, who now took upon them to accuse the nation that had once protected them, were notoriously known to be the men who had themselves committed that murder, whereof shamelessly they laid the blame upon others; the *Acheans* having only called those unto judgment, that were supposed to be chief authors of a rebellion against both them and the *Romans*; and these plaintiffs having slain them upon private, though just hatred, as they were coming to make answer for themselves. Concerning their throwing down the walls of *Lacedemon*, he said, it was most agreeable to *Lycurgus's* ordinance, who, having persuaded his citizens to defend their town and liberty by their proper virtue, did inhibit unto them all kinds of fortifications, as the retreats and
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nefts either of cowards, or (whereof *Lacedemon* had woful experience) of tyrants and usurpers. Further, he shewed, how the same tyrants, that had built these walls, and hemmed in the *Spartans*, had also quite abolished *Lycurgus's* ordinances, and governed the city by their own lawless will. As for the *Acheans*, they communicated their own laws, which they held for the best, or else would change them, and take better unto the *Lacedemonians*, whom they found without laws, or any tolerable form of policy. For conclusion, *Lycortas* plainly told *App. Claudius*, the chief of the ambassadors, that he and his countrymen held it strange, being friends and faithful allies of the *Romans*, to see themselves thus constrained to answer and give account of their actions, as vassals and slaves unto the people of *Rome*. For if they were indeed at liberty, why might not the *Acheans* as well require to be satisfied about that which the *Romans* had done at *Capua*, as the *Romans* did busy themselves to take account how things went at *Lacedemon*? For, if the *Romans* would stand upon their greatness, and intimate, as they began, that the liberty of their friends was nothing worth, longer than should please themselves to ratify it; then must the *Acheans* have recourse unto those agreements that were confirmed by oath, and which, without perjury, could not be violated; as reverencing, and indeed fearing the *Romans*, but much more the immortal gods. To this bold answer of *Lycortas*, *Appius* found little to reply. Yet, taking state upon him, he pronounced more like a master than a judge, that if the *Acheans* would not be ruled by fair means, and earn thanks whilst they might, they should be compelled with a mischief to do what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This altercation was in the parliament of the *Acheans*, which groaned to hear the lordly words of *Appius*. Yet fear prevailed above indignation, and it was permitted unto the *Romans* to do as they listed. Hereupon the ambassadors restored some banished and condemned men; but the *Roman* senate, very soon after, did make void all judgment of death or banishment that had been laid by the *Acheans* upon any citizen of *Lacedemon*; as likewise they made it a matter of disputation, whether or no the city and territory of *Lacedemon* should be suffered to continue a member of the *Achean* commonwealth, or taken from them, and made, as it had been, an estate by it self. By bringing such a matter into question, the *Romans* well declared, that they held it to depend upon their own will, how much or how little any of their confederates should be suffered to enjoy, though by contributing *Sparta* to the council of *Achaia*, they discovered no less, as to them seemed, the love which they bare unto the *Acheans*, than the power which they had over them.

Into such slavery had the *Greeks*, and all kings and common-wealths whatsoever bordering upon any part of the *Mediterranean* seas, reduced themselves, by calling in the *Romans* to their succour. They wanted not the good counsel and persuasions of many wise and temperate men among them; they had also the examples of the *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Africans*, all subdued by the *Romans*; and, by seeking patronage, made mere vassals, to instruct them what, in the like case, they should expect: yet could not the true reasons of estate and policy so prevail with them, but their private passions and neighbouring hatred, which hath evermore bought revenge at the price of self ruin, brought them from the honour which they enjoyed, of being free princes and cities, into most base and fearful servility.

All this made well for *Philip* of *Macedon*, who, though he saw the *Greeks* very far from daring to stir against those, by whom both he and they were kept in awe; yet was he not without hope that (few of them excepted, whom the *Romans*, by freeing from his subjection, had made his implacable enemies) in hearty affection all the country would be his whensoever he should take arms, as shortly he was like to do. Young *Demetrius*, coming home from *Rome*, brought with him the desired ratification of peace; though qualified with much indignity soon following. He had been lovingly used at *Rome*, and heard with great favour in the senate. There being confounded with the multitude of objections, whereto his youth, unskilful in the art of wrangling, could not readily make answer; it was permitted unto him to read such brief notes as he had received from his father, and out of those the senate were contented to gather satisfaction; more for *Demetrius's* own sake, as they then said and wrote into *Macedon*, than for any goodness in the defence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the intreaty of his son, together with some insolence of his son, growing (as appeared) from this favour of the *Romans*, did increase in *Philip* his hatred unto *Rome*, and breed in him a jealousy of his too forward son. To set him forward in these passions, there came daily new ambassadors from *Rome*; some bringing one commandment; some another; and some requiring him to fulfill those things which had been imposed upon him by their fore-goers. Neither were there wanting that observed his countenance; and when he had fulfilled all that was required at his hands, yet laid it to his charge that he had done things unwillingly, and would be obedient no longer than he needs must. With these ambassadors young *Demetrius* was conversant; rather perhaps out of simplicity, and for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious respect; yet a great deal more than was pleasing to his father. So the rumour grew current through all *Macedon*, that *Perseus*, the elder son of the king, should not succeed unto his father; but that the diadem should be conferred upon *Demetrius*, if not by some other pretence, yet by mere favour of the *Romans*. This offended not only *Perseus*, but *Philip* himself, who suspected his younger son, as more *Roman* than his own; and accordingly misconstrued all his doings. But ere we proceed unto the bitter fruits of this jealousy, it will not be amiss to speak of some memorable accidents that were in the mean time.

S E C T. II.

The death of Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Scipio. That the military profession is of all other the most unhappy, notwithstanding some examples which may seem to prove the contrary.

THE *Romans*, wanting other matter of quarrel in the continent of *Greece*, had of late been so peremptory with the *Acheans*, that they seemed not unlikely to take part against them in any controversy that should be moved. Hereupon the *Messenians*, who against their will were annexed unto the *Achean* common-wealth, having long been of a contrary faction thereto, grew bold to withdraw themselves from that society, with purpose to set up again an estate of their own, severed from communion with any other. This was the device of some that were powerful in their city, who, finding the multitude only inclinable to their purpose, and not over-strongly affected in the business, were careful

ful to seek occasion of reducing things to such pass, that all their citizens might be entangled in a necessity of standing out, and of not returning to the *Achean* league. And hereupon they began to do some acts of hostility, whereby it was probable that blood should be drawn, and either side so far exasperated, that little hopes of agreement would be left. Upon the fame of their commotion and proceedings, *Philopæmen*, then pretor of the *Acheans*, levied such forces as he could in haste, and went against them. Many principal gentlemen of the *Acheans*, especially of the *Megalopolitans*, were soon in a readiness to wait upon him. Besides these, which were all, or for the most part, horse; he had some auxiliaries out of *Thrace* and *Crete*, that usually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with *Dinocrates*, captain of the *Messenians*, whom he charged and forced to run. But whilst his horsemen were too earnest in following the chace, there arrived by chance a supply of five hundred from *Messene*, which gave new courage unto those that fled. So the enemies began to make head again, and with the help of those who very seasonably came to their aid, compelled *Philopæmen*'s horsemen to turn back. *Philopæmen* himself had long been sick of an ague, and was then very weak; yet the greatness of his courage would not suffer him to be negligent of their safety, which had so willingly adventured themselves under his conduct. He took upon him to make the retreat; and suffering his horsemen to pass along by him in a narrow lane, he often turned about against the *Messenians*, whom his reputation, and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrify from approaching over-near to him. But it fell out unhappily, that, being cast to the ground by a fall of his horse, and being withal in very weak plight of body, he was unable to get up again. So the enemies came upon him, and took him; yet scarce believed their fortune to be so good, although their eyes were witnesses. The first messenger that brought this news to *Messene*, was so far from being believed, that he was hardly thought to be in his right wits. But when the truth was affirm'd by many reports, all the city ran forth to meet him, and behold the spectacle seeming so incredible. They caused him to be brought into the theatre, that there they might satisfy themselves with beholding him. The greatest part of them had compassion on his misfortune; and, in commemoration both of his virtue, and of the singular benefits by him done unto them, especially in delivering them from *Nabis* the tyrant, began to manifest their good will for his delivery. Contrariwise, *Dinocrates*, and his faction, were desirous hastily to take away his life; because they held him a man implacable, and one that would never leave any disgrace or injury done to him unrevenged. They durst not one trust another with the keeping of him; but committed him into a strong vault under ground, that had been made for the custody of their treasure. So thither they let him down fast bound, and with an engine laid an heavy stone upon the mouth of the vault. There he had not staid long, ere his enemies had concluded his present death. The hangman of the city was let down unto him, with a cup of poison, which *Philopæmen* took in his hand; and asking no more than whether the horsemen were escaped, and particularly whether *Lycortas* was safe: when he heard an answer to his mind, he said it was well; and so, with a cheerful countenance, drank his last draught. He was seventy years old, and weaken'd with long sickness, whereby the poison wrought the sooner, and easily took away his life.

No. 47.

The *Acheans*, when they missed him in their flight, were marvellously offended with themselves, for that they had been more mindful to preserve their own lives, than to look unto the safety of so excellent a commander. Whilst they were devising what to do in such a case, they got advertisement of his being taken. All *Achaia* was by this report vehemently afflicted: so as ambassadors were forthwith dispatch'd unto *Messene*, craving his enlargement; and yet preparation made withal to obtain it by force, in case that fair means would not serve. *Lycortas* was chosen general of the army against *Messene*; who coming thither, and laying siege to the town, forced it in a short time to yield. Then *Dinocrates*, knowing what he was to expect, laid hands upon himself, and made an end of his own life. The rest of those that had been partakers in the murder, were compelled to wait in bonds upon the ashes of *Philopæmen*, that were carried home in solemn pomp to *Megalopolis*; where they were all of them slain at his funeral, as sacrifices to his ghost, whom they had offended. *Q. Martius*, a Roman ambassador, was then in *Greece*; whence, upon one occasion or other, the Roman ambassadors were seldom absent. He would have intermeddled in this business of *Messene*, had not *Lycortas* made short work, and left him nothing to do.

About the same time was *T. Quintius Flaminius* sent ambassador to *Prusias*, king of *Bithynia*; not so much to withdraw him from prosecuting the war against *Eumenes*, as to intreat him that he would deliver *Hannibal*, the most spiteful enemy in all the world unto the senate and people of *Rome*, into his hands. *Prusias* (therein unworthy of the crown he wore) did readily condescend; or rather (as *Livy* thinks) to gratify the *Romans*, he determined either to kill *Hannibal*, or to deliver him alive to *Flaminius*. For upon the first conference between the king and *Flaminius*, a troop of soldiers were directed to guard and environ the lodging where *Hannibal* lay. That famous captain having found cause, before this, to suspect the faith of *Prusias*, had devised some secret sallies under ground, to save himself from any treasonable and sudden assault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-closed, he had recourse to his last remedy; which he then was constrained to practise, as well to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing over him, as to save himself from their torture and merciless hands; who, as he well knew, would neither respect his famous enterprises, his honour, nor his age. When therefore he saw no way of escape, nor counsel to resort unto, he took the poison into his hand, which he always preserved for a sure antidote against the sharpest diseases of adverse fortune; which being ready to swallow down, he uttered these words: *I will now (said he) deliver the Romans of that fear, which hath so many years possess'd them; that fear, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This victory of Flaminius over me, which am disarmed, and betrayed into his hands, shall never be numbred among the rest of his heroic deeds: No, it shall make it manifest to all the nations of the world, how far the ancient Roman virtue is degenerate and corrupted. For such was the nobleness of their fore-fathers; as, when Pyrrhus invaded them in Italy, and was ready to give them battel at their own doors, they gave him knowledge of the treason intended against him by poison: whereas these of a latter race have employed Flaminius, a man who hath heretofore been one of their consuls, to practise with Prusias, contrary to the ho-*

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nour of a king, contrary to his faith given, and contrary to the laws of hospitality, to slaughter, or deliver up his own guest. He then cursing the person of *Prusias*, and all his, and desiring the immortal Gods to revenge his infidelity, drank off the poison, and died.

In this year also (as good authors have reported) to accompany *Philopæmen* and *Hannibal*, died *Scipio the African*: these being, all of them, as great captains as ever the world had; but not more famous than unfortunate. Certainly, for *Hannibal*, whose tragedy we have now finished, had he been prince of the *Carthaginians*, and one who by his authority might have commanded such supplies, as the war which he undertook required; it is probable, that he had torn up the *Roman* empire by the roots. But he was so strongly cross'd by a cowardly and envious faction at home; as his proper virtue, wanting publick force to sustain it, did lastly dissolve itself in his own, and in the common misery of his country and common-weal.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the envy of our equals, and jealousy of our masters, be they kings, or common-weals, That there is no profession more unprosperous, than that of men of war, and great captains, being no kings. For, besides the envy and jealousy of men; the spoils, rapes, famine, slaughter of the innocent, vastation, and burnings, with a world of miseries laid on the labouring man, are so hateful to God, as with good reason did *Monluc*, the marshal of *France*, confess, That were not the mercies of God infinite, and without restriction, it were in vain for those of his profession to hope for any portion of them: seeing the cruelties, by them permitted and committed, were also infinite. Howsoever, this is true, That the victories, which are obtained by many of the greatest commanders, are commonly either ascribed to those that serve under them, to fortune, or to the cowardise of the nation against whom they serve. For the most of others, whose virtues have raised them above the level of their inferiors, and have surmounted their envy: yet have they been rewarded in the end, either with disgrace, banishment, or death. Among the *Romans* we find many examples hereof; as *Coriolanus*, *M. Livius*, *L. Emilius*, and this our *Scipio*, whom we have lately buried. Among the *Greeks* we read of not many, that escaped these rewards. Yea, long before these times, it was a legacy that *David* bequeathed unto his victorious captain *Joab*. With this fare *Alexander* feasted *Parmenio*, *Philotas*, and others; and prepared it for *Antipater* and *Cassander*. Here to *Valentinian*, the emperor, invited *Ætius*: who, after many other victories, overthrew *Attila* of the *Hunnes*, in the greatest battel, for the well fighting and resolution of both armies, that ever was stricken in the world; for there fell of those that fought, besides run-aways, an hundred and fourscore thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told unto the emperor, by *Proximus*, That in killing of *Ætius*, he had cut off his own right hand with his left: for it was not long after, that *Maximus* (by whose persuation *Valentinian* slew *Ætius*) murder'd the emperor, which he never durst attempt, *Ætius* living. And, besides the loss of that emperor, it is true, that with *Ætius* the glory of the western empire was rather dissolved than obscured. The same unworthy destiny, or a far worse, had *Bellisarius*; whose undertakings and victories were so difficult and glorious, as after-ages suspected them for fabulous: for he had his eyes torne out of his head by *Justinian*; and he died a blind beggar. *Narjes* also, to the great prejudice of the christian religion, was disgraced by *Justin*. That rule of *Cato*

against *Scipio* hath been well observed in every age since then; to wit, That the common-weal cannot be accounted free, which standeth in awe of any one man. And hence have the *Turks* drawn another principle, and indeed a *Turkish* one, That every warlike prince should rather destroy his greatest men of war, than suffer his own glory to be obscured by them. For this cause did *Bajazet the Second* dispatch *Bassa Acomat*, *Selim* strangle *Bassa Mustapha*; and most of those princes bring to ruin the most of their visiers. Of the *Spanish* nation, the great *Gonsalvo*, who drove the *French* out of *Naples*; and *Ferdinando Cortese*, who conquer'd *Mexico*, were crown'd with nettles, not with laurel. The earls of *Egmond* and *Horn* had no heads left them to wear garlands on: and that the great captains of all nations have been paid with this copper coin, there are examples more than too many. On the contrary it may be said, that many have acquired the state of princes, kings and emperors, by their great ability in matter of war. This I confess. Yet must it be had withal in consideration, that these high places have been given or offer'd unto very few, as rewards of their military virtue; though many have usurped them, by the help and favour of those armies which they commanded. Neither is it unregardable, that the tyrants which have oppressed the liberty of free cities, and the lieutenants of kings or emperors, which have traiterously cast down their masters, and stepped up into their seats, were not all of them good men of war; but have used the advantage of some commotion; or many of them, by base and cowardly practices, have obtained those dignities, which undeservedly were ascribed to their personal worth. So that the number of those that have purchased absolute greatness, by the greatness of their warlike virtue, is far more in seeming, than in deed. *Phocas* was a soldier, and by the help of soldiers he got the empire from his lord *Mauritius*: but he was a coward; and with a barbarous cruelty, seldom found in any other than cowards, he slew first the children of *Mauritius*, a prince that never had done him wrong, before his face; and after them *Mauritius* himself. This his bloody aspiring was but as a debt, which was paid unto him again by *Heraclius*; who took from him the imperial crown, unjustly gotten; and set it on his own head. *Leontius* laid hold on the emperor *Justin*, cut off his nose and ears, and sent him into banishment: but God's vengeance rewarded him with the same punishment, by the hands of *Tiberius*, to whose charge he had left his own men of war. *Justin*, having recovered forces, lighted on *Tiberius*, and barbed him after the same fashion. *Philippicus*, commanding the forces of *Justin*, murder'd both the emperor and his son. *Anastasius*, the vassal of this new tyrant, surpris'd his master *Philippicus*, and thrust out both his eyes. But with *Anastasius*, *Theodosius* dealt more gently; for, having wrested the scepter out of his hands, he enforced him to become a priest. It were an endless, and a needless work to tell, how *Leo* rewarded this *Theodosius*; how many others have been repaid with their own cruelty, by men alike ambitious and cruel; or how many hundreds, or rather thousands, hoping of captains to make themselves kings, have, by God's justice, miserably perish'd in the attempt. The ordinary, and perhaps the best way of thriving by the practice of arms, is to take what may be gotten by the spoil of enemies, and the liberality of those princes and cities in whose service one hath well deserved. But scarce one of a thousand have prospered by this course. For that

that observation made by *Solomon*, of unthankfulness in this kind, hath been found belonging to all countries and ages: *"A little city, and few men in it, and a great king came against it, and compassed it about, and builded forts against it: and there was found a poor and wise man therein, and he delivered the city by his wisdom; but none remembered this poor man."* Great monarchs are unwilling to pay great thanks, lest thereby they should acknowledge themselves to have been indebted for great benefits, which the unwiser sort of them think to favour of some impotency in themselves. But in this respect they are oftentimes censured and abused: which proves that weakness to be in them indeed, whereof they so gladly shun the opinion. Contrariwise, free estates are bountiful in giving thanks; yet so, as those thanks are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their captains have made, by enriching themselves with the spoil of the enemy, they are very inquisitive to search into it, and to strip the well-deservers out of their gettings; yea, most injuriously to rob them of their own, upon a false supposition, that even they, whose hands are most clean from such offences, have purloined somewhat from the common treasury. Hereof I need not to produce examples, that of the two *Scipio's* being so lately recited.

In my late sovereign's time, although for the wars, which for her own safety she was constrained to undertake, her majesty had no less cause to use the service of martial men both by sea and land, than any of her predecessors for many years had; yet, according to the destiny of that profession, I do not remember that any of hers, the lord admiral excepted, her eldest and most prosperous commander, were either enriched, or otherwise honoured, for any service by them performed. And that her majesty had many advised, valiant, and faithful men, the prosperity of her affairs did well witness, who in all her days never received dishonour, by the cowardise or infidelity of any commander, by her self chosen and employed.

For as all her old captains by land died poor men; as *Malbey*, *Randol*, *Drewry*, *Reade*, *Wilford*, *Layton*, *Pellam*, *Gilbert*, *Cunstable*, *Bourchier*, *Barkley*, *Bingham*, and others; so those of a later and more dangerous employment, whereof *Norrice* and *Vere* were the most famous, and who have done as great honour to our nation (for the means they had) as ever any did: those (I say) with many other brave colonels, have left behind them (besides the reputation which they purchased with many travels and wounds) nor title nor estate to their posterity. As for the *L. Thomas Burrough*, and *Peregrine Bertie*, *L. Willoughby* of *Eresby*, two very worthy and exceeding valiant commanders, they brought with them into the world their titles and estates.

That her majesty, in the advancement of her men of war, did sooner believe other men than her self; a disease unto which many wise princes, besides her self, have been subject: I say, that such a confidence, although it may seem altogether to excuse her noble nature, yet can it not but in some sort accuse her of weakness. And exceeding strange it were, were not the cause manifest enough, that where the prosperous actions are so exceedingly prized, the actors are so unprosperous, and so generally neglected. The cause, I say, which hath wrought one and the same effect in all times, and among all nations, is this, that those which are nearest the persons of princes (which martial men seldom are) can with no good grace commend, or at least magnify a profession far more noble than their own, seeing therein

they should only mind their masters of the wrong they did unto others, in giving less honour and reward to men of far greater deserving, and of far greater use, than themselves.

But his majesty hath already paid the greatest part of that debt; for, besides the relieving by pensions all the poorer sort, he hath honoured more martial men than all the kings of *England* have done for this hundred years.

He hath given a coronet to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, for his chargeable and remarkable service, as well in the year 1588, as at *Calais*, the islands, and in our own seas; having first commanded as a captain, twice admiral of a squadron, and twice admiral in chief. His majesty hath changed the baronies of *Montjoy* and *Burley* into earldoms, and created *Sidney* viscount, *Knollys*, *Ruffel*, *Carew*, *Danvers*, *Arundel* of *Warder*, *Gerald*, and *Chichester*, barons, for their governments and services in the *Netherlands*, *France*, *Ireland*, and elsewhere.

SECT. III.

Philip making provision for war against the Romans, deals hardly with many of his own subjects. His negotiation with the Bastarnæ. His cruelty. He suspecteth his son Demetrius. Demetrius accused by his brother Perseus; and shortly after slain by his father's appointment. Philip repenteth him of his son's death, whom he findeth to have been innocent: and intending to revenge it on Perseus, he dieth.

Quintus Martius, the Roman ambassador, who travelled up and down, seeking what work might be found about *Greece*, had received instruction from the senate, to use the most of his diligence in looking into the estate of *Macedon*. At his return home, that he might not seem to have discovered nothing, he told the fathers, that *Philip* had done whatsoever they enjoined him; yet so, as it might appear, that such his obedience would last no longer, than mere necessity should enforce him thereunto. He added further, that all the doings and sayings of that king did wholly tend unto rebellion, about which he was devising. Now it was so indeed, that *Philip* much repented him of his faithful obsequiousness to the *Romans*, and foresaw their intent, which was, to get his kingdom into their own hands, with safety of their honour, if they could find convenient means; or otherwise (as to him seemed apparent) by what means soever. He was in an ill case, as having been already vanquished by them; having lost exceedingly both in strength and reputation; having subjects that abhorred to hear of war with *Rome*; and having neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto urged, would adventure to take his part; yet he provided as well as he could devise against the necessity which he daily feared. Such of his own people, as dwelt in the maritime towns, and gave him cause to suspect that they would do but bad service against the *Romans*, he compelled to forsake their dwellings, and removed them all into *Emathia*. The cities and country whence these were transplanted, he filled with a multitude of *Thracians*, whose faith he thought a great deal more assured against those enemies that were terrible to the *Macedonians*. Further, he devised upon alluring the *Bastarnæ*, a strong and hardy nation, that dwelt beyond the river of *Danubius*, to abandon their seat, and come to him with all their multitude; who, besides other great rewards, would help them to root out the *Dardanians*, and take possession of their

^a Eccles. c. 9. 14, and 15.

country. These were like to do him notable service against the *Romans*, being not only stout fighting men; but such, as being planted in those quarters by him, would bear respect unto him alone. The least benefit that could be hoped by their arrival, must be the utter extirpation of the *Dardanians*; a people always troublesome to the kingdom of *Macedon*, whensoever they found advantage. Neither was it judged any hard matter to persuade those *Bastarnæ*, by hope of spoil, and other inticements, unto a more desperate expedition, through *Illyria*, and the countries upon the *Adriatic* sea, into *Italy* itself. It was not known who should withstand them upon the way. Rather it was thought that the *Scordisci*, and peradventure some others, through whose countries they were to pass, would accompany them against the *Romans*, were it only in hope of spoil. Now to facilitate the remove of these *Bastarnæ* from their own habitations, into the land of the *Dardanians*, upon the border of *Macedon*; a long and tedious journey unto them, that carried with them their wives and children: *Philip* with gifts did purchase the good will of some *Thracian* princes, lords of the countries through which they were to pass. And thus he sought means to strengthen himself, with help of the wild nations, which neither knew the *Romans*, nor were known unto them; since he was not like to find assistance from any civil nation, about the whole compass of the *Mediterranean* seas. But these devices were long ere they took effect: so as the *Bastarnæ* came not before such time as he was dead; his death being the overthrow of that purpose. In the mean time he neglected not the training of his men to war, and the exercise of them in some small expeditions, against those wild people that bordered upon him, and stood worst affected toward him.

But these his counsels and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell upon him, both in his kingdom, and in his own house. The families and whole townships, which he had caused much against their wills to forsake their ancient dwellings, and betake themselves to such new habitations, as he in his discretion thought meet for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at first contained itself within words: he having done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwise than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long lived: which also he did unwillingly, being himself over-ruled by necessity, that seemed apparent. This evil therefore would soon have been determined, had not his cruel and vindictive nature made it worse. He could not pardon words proceeding from just sorrow: but imputed all to traitorous malice; and accordingly sought revenge where it was needless. In his rage he caused many to die: among whom, were some eminent men; and few or none of them deservedly. This encreased the hatred of the people, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curses. Which grew the more general; when the king, in a most barbarous and base fury, mistrusting all alike whom he had injured, thought himself unlike to be safe, until he should have massacred all the children of those parents, whom tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his unmanly pleasure, some accidents, more tragical than perhaps he could have desired, gave men cause to think (as they could not in reason think otherwise) that, not without vengeance poured on him from heaven, he felt the like misery in his own children. It is hard to say what the *Romans* intended, in the extraordinary

favour which they shewed unto *Demetrius*, the king's yonger son. It may well be (though it may be also suspected) that they had no purpose to make and nourish dissension between the brethren, but only to cherish the virtue and towardliness of *Demetrius*: like as we find it in their histories. But their notable favour towards this young prince, and his mutual respect of them, bred extream jealousy in the father's head. If any custom of the *Romans*, the manner of their life, the fashion of their apparel, or the unsightly contriving and building (as then it was) of the town of *Rome*, were jested at in ordinary discourse and table-talk, *Demetrius* was sure to be presently on fire, defending and praising them, even in such points as rather needed excuse. This, and his daily conversation with their ambassadors, as often as they came, gave his father cause to think, that he was no fit partaker of any counsel held against them. Wherefore he communicated all his devices with his elder son *Perseus*; who, fearing so much lest his brother should step between him and the succession, converted wholly unto his destruction, that grace which he had with his father. *Perseus* was then thirty years old; of a stirring spirit, though much defective in valour. *Demetrius* was younger by five years, more open and unwary in his actions, yet thought old and crafty enough, to entertain more dangerous practices, than his free speeches discovered. The jealous head of the king having entertained such suspicions, that were much encreased by the cunning practice of his elder son, a slight occasion made the fire break out, that had long lain smothered. A muster, and ceremonious lustration of the army, was wont to be made at certain times with great solemnity. The manner of it at the present was thus. They cleft in twain a bitch; and threw the head and fore-part, with the entrails, on the right hand, and the hinder-part on the left hand of the way, which the army was to pass. This done, the arms of all the kings of *Macedon*, from the very first original, were borne before the army. Then followed the king between his two sons: after him came his own band, and they of his guard; whom all the rest of the *Macedonians* followed. Having performed other ceremonies, the army was divided into two parts: which, under the king's two sons, charged each other in manner of a true fight, using poles, and the like, instead of their pikes and accustomed weapons. But in this present skirmish there appeared some extraordinary contention for victory: whether happening by chance, or whether the two captains did over-earnestly seek each to get the upper hand, as a betokening of their good success in a greater trial. Some small hurt there was done, and wounds given, even with those stakes, until *Perseus's* side at length recoiled. *Perseus* himself was sorry for this, as it had been some bad presage: but his friends were glad, and thought, that hereof might be made good use. They were of the craftier sort: who perceiving which way the king's favour bent, and how all the courtes of *Demetrius* led unto his own ruin, addressed their services to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they said, that this victory of *Demetrius* would afford matter of complaint against him; as if the heat of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of that solemn pastime. Each of the brethren was that day to feast his own companions, and each of them had spies in the other lodging, to observe what was said and done. One of *Perseus's* intelligencers behaved himself so indiscreetly, that he was taken and well beaten by three or four of *Demetrius's* men, who turned him out of doors.

After

After some store of wine, *Demetrius* told his companions, that he would go visit his brother, and see what cheer he kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting such of them as had ill handled his brother's man: yet he would leave none of his train behind, but forced them all to bear him company. They, fearing to be ill-rewarded for their late diligence, armed themselves secretly to prevent all danger. Yet was there such good espial kept, that this their coming armed was forthwith made known to *Perseus*; who thereupon tumultuously locked up his doors, as if he stood in fear to be assaulted in his house. *Demetrius* wondered to see himself excluded, and fared very angrily with his brother. But *Perseus*, bidding him be gone as an enemy, and one whose murderous purpose was detected, sent him away with entertainment, no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the king. The elder brother accused the younger unto the father of them both. Much there was alledged, and in effect the same hath been here recited, save that by misconstruction all was made worse. But the main point of the accusation, and which did aggravate all the rest, was, That *Demetrius* had undertaken this murder, and would perhaps also dare to undertake a greater, upon confidence of the *Romans*; by whom he knew that he should be defended and borne out. For *Perseus* made shew, as if the *Romans* did hate him; because he bore a due respect unto his father, and was sorry to see him spoiled, and daily robbed of somewhat by them. And for this cause he said it was, that they did animate his brother against him: as also that they sought how to win unto *Demetrius* the love of the *Macedonians*. For proof hereof he cited a letter, sent of late from *T. Quintius* to the king himself: whereof the contents were, That he had done wisely in sending *Demetrius* to *Rome*; and that he should yet further do well to send him thither again, accompanied with a greater and more honourable train of *Macedonian* lords. Hence he enforced, That this counsel was given by *Titus*, of purpose to shake the allegiance of those, that should wait upon his brother to *Rome*; and make them, forgetting their duties to their old king, become servants to this young traitor *Demetrius*. Hereto *Demetrius* made answer, by rehearsing all passages of the day and night foregoing, in such manner as he remembered them, and had conceived of them: bitterly reprehending *Perseus*, that converted matters of pastime, and what was done or spoken in wine, to such an accusation, whereby he sought his innocent brother's death. As for the love which the *Romans* did bear him; he said that it grew, if not from his own virtue, at leastwise from their opinion thereof: so as by any impious practice, he were more like to lose it wholly, than to encrease it. In this wretched pleading, there wanted not such passions, as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren; besides those that are common to all plaintiffs and defendants, before ordinary judges. The king pronounced like a father, though a jealous father, That he would conclude nothing upon the excess or error, whatsoever it were, of one day and night, nor upon one hour's audience of the matter; but upon better observation of their lives, manners, and whole carriage of themselves both in word and deed. And herein he may seem to have dealt both justly and compassionately. But from this time forward, he gave himself over wholly to *Perseus*: using so little conference with his younger son, that when he had matters of weight in hand, such especially as concerned the

Romans, he liked neither to have him present, nor near unto him. Above all, he had especial care to learn out what had passed between *Demetrius* and *T. Quintius*, or any other of the *Roman* great ones. And to this purpose he sent ambassadors to *Rome*, *Philocles* and *Apelles*; men whom he thought no way interested in the quarrels between the brethren; though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they saw the more in grace. These brought home with them a letter, said to be written by *Titus* (whose seal they had counterfeited) unto the king. The contents whereof were, A deprecation for the young prince; with an intimation, as by way of granting it, That his youthful and ambitious desires had caused him to enter into practices unjustifiable, against his elder brother; which yet should never take effect, for that *Titus* himself would not be author, or abettor, of any impious device. This manner of excuse did forcibly persuade the king, to think his son a dangerous traitor. To strengthen him in this opinion, one *Didas*, to whom he gave *Demetrius* in custody, made shew as if he had pitied the estate of the unhappy prince; and so wrung out of him his secret intentions, which he shortly discovered unto *Philip*. It was the purpose of *Demetrius* to fly secretly to *Rome*; where he might hope not only to live in safety, from his father and brother, but in greater likelihood, than he could find at home, of bettering such claim as he had in reversion unto the crown of *Macedon*. Whatsoever his hopes and meanings were, all came to nought through the falshood of *Didas*: who, playing on both hands, offered unto the prince his help for making the escape, and in the mean while revealed the whole matter to the king. So *Philip* resolved to put his son to death, without further expence of time. It was thought behoveful to make him away privily, for fear lest the *Romans* should take the matter to heart, and hold it as a proof, sufficient at least, of the king's despight against them, if not of his meaning to renew the war. *Didas* therefore was commanded to rid the unhappy prince out of his life. This accursed minister of his king's unadvised sentence, first gave poison to *Demetrius*; which wrought neither so hastily, nor so secretly, as was desired. Hereupon he sent a couple of ruffians, to finish the tragedy: who villainously accomplished their work by smothering that prince, in whose life consisted the greatest hope of *Macedon*.

In all the race of *Antigonus* there had not been found a king, that had thus cruelly dealt with any prince of his own blood. The houses of *Lysimachus* and *Cassander* fell either with themselves, or even upon their heels, by intestine discord and jealousies, grounded on desire of sovereign rule, or fear of losing it. By the like unnatural hatred, had almost been cut off the lines of *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus*: which though narrowly they escaped the danger, yet were their kingdoms thereby grievously distempered. Contrariwise, it was worthy of extraordinary note, how that upstart family of the kings of *Pergamus* had raised it self to marvellous greatness, in very short space, from the condition of mere slavery: whereof a principal cause was, the brotherly love maintained by them, with singular commendation of their piety. Neither was *Philip* ignorant of these examples; but is said to have propounded the last of them, to his own children, as a pattern for them to imitate. Certainly he had reason so to do; not more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance

brance of the tender fosterage, wherewith king *Antigonus's* tutor had faithfully cherish'd him in his minority. But he was himself of an unmerciful nature; and therefore unmeet to be a good persuader unto kindly affection. The murders by him done upon many of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which, for the satiating of his blood-thirsty appetite, he delightfully had committed upon many innocents, both strangers and subjects of his own; did now procure vengeance down from heaven, that rewarded him with a draught of his own poison. After the death of his son, he too late began to examine the crimes that had been objected, and to weigh them in a more equal ballance. Then found he nothing that could give him satisfaction, or by good probability induce him to think, that malice had not been contriver of the whole process. His only remaining son *Perseus* could so ill dissemble the pleasure which he took, in being freed from all danger of competition, as there might easily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from some other cause, than the remove of those dangers which he had lately pretended. The *Romans* were now no less to be feared than at other times, when he, as having accomplish'd the most of his desires, left off his usual trouble of mind, and carefulness of making provision against them. He was more diligently courted, than in former times, by those that well understood the difference between a rising and a setting sun. As for old *Philip*, he was left in a manner desolate; some expecting his death, and some scarce enduring the tediousness of such expectation. This bred in the king a deep melancholy, and filled his head with suspicious imaginations; the like whereof he had never been slow to apprehend. He was much vexed; and so much the more, for that he knew neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof, to complain. One honourable man, a cousin of his, named *Antigonus*, continued so true to *Philip*, that he grew thereby hateful to *Perseus*; and thus becoming subject unto the same jealous impressions which troubled the king, became also partaker of his secrets. This counsellor, when he found that the anger conceived against *Perseus* would not vent itself, and give ease to the king, until the truth were known, whether *Demetrius* were guilty or no of the treason objected; as also that *Philotes* and *Apelles* (the ambassadors which had brought from *Rome* that epistle of *Flaminius*, that served as the greatest evidence against *Demetrius*) were suspected of forgery in the business; made diligent inquiry after the truth. In thus doing, he found one *Xichus*, a man most likely to have understood what false dealing was used by those ambassadors. Him he apprehended, brought to court, and presented unto the king; saying, that this fellow knew all, and must therefore be made to utter what he knew. *Xichus*, for fear of torture, utter'd as much as was before suspected; confessing against himself, that he had been employ'd by the ambassadors in that wicked piece of business. No wonder, if the father's passions were extreme, when he understood, that by the unnatural practice of one son, he had so wretchedly cast away another, far more virtuous and innocent. He raged exceedingly against himself, and withal against the authors of the mischief. Upon the first news of this discovery, *Apelles* fled away, and got into *Italy*. *Philotes* was taken; and either, so far as he could not deny it when *Xichus* confronted him, yielded himself guilty, or else was put to torture. *Perseus* was now grown stronger, than that he should need to fly the country; yet not so stout as to adventure himself into

his father's presence. He kept on the borders of the kingdom, towards *Thrace*, whilst his father winter'd at *Demetrius*. *Philip* therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his ungracious son, took a resolution to alien the kingdom from him, and confer it upon *Antigonus*. But his weak body, and excessive grief of mind, so disabled him in the travel hereto belonging, that ere he could bring his purpose to effect, he was constrained to yield to nature. He had reigned about two and forty years, always full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexing himself, with continual wars; of which that with the *Romans* was most unhappy, and few or none of the rest found the conclusion, which a wise prince would have desired, of bringing forth together both honour and profit. But for all the evil that befel him, he might thank his own perverse condition; since his uncle king *Antigonus* had left unto him an estate so great, and so well settled, as made it easy for him to accomplish any moderate desires, if he had not abhorred all good counsel. Wherefore he was justly punish'd, by feeling the difference between the imaginary happiness of a tyrant, which he affected, and the life of a king, whereof he little cared to perform the duty. His death, even whilst yet it was only drawing near, was fore-signified unto *Perseus*, by *Calligenes* the physician; who also concealed it a while from those that were about the court. So *Perseus* came thither on a sudden, and took possession of the kingdom; which, in fine, he no less improvidently lost, than he had wickedly gotten.

S E C T. IV.

How the Bastarnæ fell upon Dardania. The behaviour of Perseus in the beginning of his reign. Some wars of the Romans; and how they suffer'd Massinissa cruelly to oppress the Carthaginians. They quarrel with Perseus. They allow not their confederates to make war without their leave obtained. The treason of Callicrates; whereby all Greece became more obnoxious to Rome than in former times. Further quarrels to Perseus. He seeks friendship of the Achæans, and is withstood by Callicrates. The Romans discover their intent of warring upon him.

IMMEDIATELY, upon the death of *Philip*, came the *Bastarnæ* into *Thrace*; where order had been taken, long before, both for their free passage, and for the indemnity of the country. This compact was friendly observed, as long as none other was known than that *Philip* did live, to recompense all that should be done or sustained for his service. But when it was heard, that a new king reigned in *Macedon*, and not heard withal, that he took any care what became of the enterprize, then was all dash'd and confounded. The *Thracians* would no longer afford so good markets unto these strangers, as formerly they had done. On the other side, the *Bastarnæ* would not be contented with reason, but became their own carvers. Thus each part, having lost the rich hopes reposed in *Philip*, grew careful of thriving in the present, with little regard of right or wrong. Within a while they fell to blows; and the *Bastarnæ* had the upper hand, so as they chased the *Thracians* out of the plain countries. But the victors made little use of their good fortune. For, whether by reason of some overthrow, received by them, in assaulting a place of strength; or whether, because of extreme bad weather, which is said to have afflicted them, as it were miraculously; all of them return'd home, save thirty thousand, which pierced on into *Dardania*. How these thirty thousand

land sped in their voyage, I do not find. It seems, that, by the careless using of some victories, they drew loss upon themselves; and, finally, took that occasion to follow their companions back into their own country.

As for *Perseus*, he thought it not expedient, in the novelty of his reign, to embroil himself in a war so dangerous, as that with the *Romans* was likely to prove. Wherefore he wholly gave his mind to the settling of his estate; which, well done, he might afterwards accommodate himself, as the condition of his affairs should require, either for war or peace. To prevent all danger of rebellion, he quickly took away the life of *Antigonus*. To win love of his people, he sat personally to hear their causes in judgment (though herein he was so over-diligent and curious, that one might have perceived this his virtue of justice to be no better than feigned) as also he gratified them with many delightful spectacles, magnificently by him set forth. Above all, he had care to avoid all necessity of war with *Rome*; and therefore made it his first work to send ambassadors thither to renew the league, which he obtained, and was by the senate saluted king and friend unto the state. Neither was he negligent in seeking to purchase goodwill of the *Greeks*, and other his neighbours; but was rather herein so excessively bountiful, that it may seem a wonder, how in few years, to his utter ruin, he became so griping and tenacious. His fear was indeed the mastering passion which over-ruled him, and changed him into so many shapes, as made it hard to discern which of his other qualities were naturally his own. For proof of this, there is requisite no more than the relation of his actions pass'd and following.

The *Romans* continued, as they had long, busy in wars against the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*; people often vanquished, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They also conquered *Istria*; subdued the rebelling *Sardinians*; and had some quarrels, though to little effect, with the *Illyrians* and others. Over the *Carthaginians* they bore (as ever since the victory) a heavy hand; and suffered *Masanissa* to take from them what he listed. The *Carthaginians*, like obedient vassals to *Rome*, were afraid, though in defence of their own, to take arms, from which they were bound by an article of peace, except it were with leave of the *Romans*. *Masanissa* therefore had great advantage over them, and was not ignorant how to use it. He could get possession by force of whatsoever he desired, ere their complaining ambassadors could be at *Rome*; and then were the *Romans* not hardly intreated, to leave things as they found them.

So had he once dealt before, in taking from them the country of *Emporia*; and so did he use them again and again, with pretence of title, where he had any; otherwise, without it. *Gala*, the father of *Masanissa*, had won some land from the *Carthaginians*; which afterwards *Syphax* won from *Gala*; and, within a while, restored to the right owners, for love of his wife *Sophonisba*, and of *Asdrubal*, his father-in-law. This did *Masanissa* take from them by force, and by the *Romans*, to whose judgment the case was referred, was permitted quietly to hold it. The *Carthaginians* had now good experience, how beneficial it was for their estate, to use all manner of submissive obedience to *Rome*. They had scarcely digested this injury, when *Masanissa* came upon them again, and took from them above seventy towns and castles, without any colour of right. Hereof by their ambassadors they made lamentable complaint unto the *Roman* senate. They

shewed how grievously they were oppressed, by reason of two articles in their league; that they should not make war out of their own lands; nor with any confederates of the *Romans*. Now, although it were so, that they might lawfully withstand the violence of *Masanissa's* invading their country, howsoever he was pleased to call it his; yet since he was confederate with the *Romans*, they durst not presume to bear defensive arms against him, but suffered themselves to be eaten up, for fear of incurring the *Romans* indignation. Wherefore they intreated, that either they might have fairer justice, or be suffered to defend their own by strong hand; or at least, if right must wholly give place to favour, that the *Romans* yet would be pleased to determine how far forth *Masanissa* should be allowed to proceed in these outrages. If none of these petitions could be obtained, then desired they that the *Romans* would let them understand wherein they had offended since the time that *Scipio* gave them peace; and vouchsafe to inflict on them such punishment, as they themselves in honour should think meet; for that better and more to their comfort it were, to suffer at once, what should be appointed by such judges, than continually to live in fear, and none otherwise draw breath, than at the mercy of this *Numidian* hangman. And herewithal the ambassadors threw themselves prostrate on the ground, weeping, in hopes to move compassion. Here may we behold the fruits of their envy to that valiant house of the *Barbines*; of their irresolution, in prosecuting a war so important as *Hannibal* made for them in *Italy*; and of their halfpenny-worthing, in matter of expence, when they had adventured their whole estate in the purchase of a great empire. Now are they servants, even to the servants of those men, whose fathers they had often chased, slain, taken, and sold as bond-slaves in the streets of *Carthage*, and in all cities of *Afric* and *Greece*. Now have they enough of that *Roman* peace, which *Hanno* so often and so earnestly desired. Only they want peace with *Masanissa*, once their mercenary, and now their master, or rather their tormentor, out of whose cruel hands they beseech their masters to take the office of correcting them. In such case are they, and adore the *Romans*, whom they see flourishing in such prosperity as might have been their own. But the *Romans* had far better intreated *Varro*, who lost the battle at *Cannæ*; than *Hannibal*, that won it, was used by the *Carthaginians*: they had freely bestowed, every man of them all his private riches, upon the common-wealth; and employed their labours for the publick, without craving recompence: as also they had not thought it much, though being in extream want, to set out an army into *Spain*, at what time the enemy lay under their own walls. These were no *Carthaginian* virtues: and therefore the *Carthaginians*, having fought against their betters, must patiently endure the miseries belonging to the vanquished. Their pitiful behaviour bred peradventure some commiseration, yet their tears may seem to have been mistrusted, as proceeding no less from envy to the *Romans*, than from any feeling of their own calamity. They thought themselves able to fight with *Masanissa*: which estimation of their forces was able to make them, after a little while, enter into comparisons with *Rome*. Wherefore they obtained no such leave as they sought, of defending their own right by arms: but contrariwise, when without leave obtained they presumed so far, the destruction of *Carthage* was thought an easy punishment of that offence. At the present, they received a gentle answer, though they had otherwise little amends. *Gulussa* the

the son of *Masaniffa* was then in *Rome*; and had not as yet craved audience. He was therefore called before the senate, where he was demanded the reason of his coming; and had related unto him the complaint made by the *Carthaginians* against his father. He answered, That his father, not being thoroughly aware of any ambassadors thither sent from *Carthage*, had therefore not given him instructions, how to deal in that business. Only it was known, that the *Carthaginians* had held council divers nights, in the temple of *Æsculapius*: whereupon he himself was dispatched away to *Rome*, there to entreat the senate, that these common enemies of the *Romans* and of his father, might not be overmuch trusted; especially against his father, whom they hated most maliciously, for his constant faith to the people of *Rome*. This answer gave little satisfaction. Wherefore the senate replied, that for *Masaniffa's* sake they had done, and would do, whatsoever was reasonable; but that it stood not with their justice, to allow of this his violence, in taking from the *Carthaginians* those lands, which by the covenants of the league, were granted unto them freely to enjoy. With this mild rebuke they dismissed *Gulussa*; bestowing on him friendly presents (as also they did on the *Carthaginians*) and willing him to tell his father, that he should do well to send ambassadors, more fully instructed in this matter. This happened when the *Macedonian* war was even ready to begin: at which time the *Romans* were not willing too much to offend, either the *Carthaginians* (for fear of urging them unseasonably to rebellion) or *Masaniffa*, at whose hands they expected no little help. So were they aided both by the *Carthaginians*, and *Masaniffa*: by the *Carthaginians*, partly for fear, partly for hope of better usage in the future; by *Masaniffa*, in way of thankfulness; though if it had happened (which was unlikely) that they should be vanquished; he made none other account, than that all *Afric* round about him and *Carthage* therewithal should be his own.

In the midst of all these cares, the *Romans* had not been unmindful of *Perseus*. They visited him daily with ambassadors: that is, with honourable spies to observe his behaviour. These he entertained kindly at first, until (which fell out ere long) he perceived whereto their diligence tended. First, they quarrelled with him about the troubles in *Dardania*: neither would they take any satisfaction, until the *Bastarnæ* were thence gone; though he protested, that he had not sent for them. Afterwards, they pryed narrowly into his doings; and were no less ill contented with good offices, by him done to sundry of his neighbours, than with those wrongs, which (they said) that he did unto other some. Where he did harm to any; they called it making war upon their friends: where he did good; they called such his bounty, seeking friends to take his part against them. The *Dolopians*, his subjects (upon what occasion it is uncertain) rebelled, and with exquisite torments slew *Euphranor*, whom he had appointed their governour. It seems that *Euphranor* had played the tyrant among them. For they were a people without strength to resist the *Macedonian*: and therefore unlikely to have presumed so far; unless either they had been extremely provoked, or else were secretly animated by the *Romans*. Whatsoever it was that bred this courage in them; *Perseus* did soon allay it, and reclaim them by strong hand. But the *Romans* took very angrily this presumption of the

king, even as if he had invaded some country of their *Italian* confederates, and not corrected his own rebels at home. Fain they would have had him to draw in the same yoke with the *Carthaginians*; whereto had he humbled once his neck, they could themselves have done the part of *Masaniffa*; though *Euimenes*, or some other fit for that purpose, had been wanting. And to this effect, they told him, that conditions of the league between them were such, as made it unlawful, both to his father heretofore, and now to him, to take arms without their licence first obtained.

To the same pass they would also fain have reduced the *Greeks*, and generally all their adherents even such as had entred into league with them upon equal terms: whom usually they rewarded with a frown, whensoever they presumed to right themselves by force of arms, without seeking first the oracle at *Rome*. Hereof the *Acheans* had good experience: whose confidence in their proper strength made them otherwhiles bold to be their own carvers; and whose hope of extraordinary favour at *Rome* caused them the more willingly to refer their causes to arbitrement. For, when they went about to have chastised the *Messenians* by war, *T. Quintius* rebuked them, as too arrogant in taking such a work in hand, without his authority: yet by his authority he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Probably at other times were they reprehended, even with lordly threats, when they took upon them to carry any business of importance, by their own power, without standing unto the good grace of the *Romans*. Who nevertheless, upon submission, were apt enough to do them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their absolute liberty, as by which they were not like to thrive; especially in usurping the practice of arms, which belonged only to the imperial city. In learning this hard lesson, they were such untoward scholars, that they needed, and not long after felt very sharp correction. Yet, was there no small part of blame to be imputed unto their masters. For the *Roman* senate, being desirous to humble the *Acheans*, refused not only to give them such aid as they requested, and as they challenged by the tenor of the league between them; but further, with a careless insolency, rejected this honest and reasonable petition, that the enemy might not be supplied from *Italy* with victuals or arms. Herewith not content, the fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affairs of *Greece*, pronounced openly, that if the *Argives*, *Lacedemonians*, or *Corinthians*, would revolt from the *Acheans*, they themselves would think it a business no way concerning them. This was presently after the death of *Philopæmen*, at what time, it was believed, that the commonwealth of *Achaia* was like to fall into much distress, were it not upheld by countenance of the *Romans*. All this notwithstanding, when *Lycortas*, pretor of the *Acheans*, had utterly subdued the *Messenians* far sooner than was expected; and when as not only no town rebelled from the *Acheans*, but many entered into their corporation; then did the *Roman*, with an ill-favour'd grace, tell the same ambassadors, to whose petition they had made such bad answer (and who as yet were not gone out of the city) that they had strictly forbidden all manner of succour to be carried to *Alessene*. Thus thinking, by a feigned gravity, to have served their own turns, they manifested their condition; both to set on the weaker, against the

^a Polyb. legat. 51, & 53

stronger and more suspected; and also to assume unto themselves a sovereign power, in directing all matters of war, which dissemblingly they would have seemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their confederates: not permitting any of them to make war, whether offensive or defensive; though it were against meer strangers; without interposing the authority of the senate and people of *Rome*: unless peradventure sometimes they winked at such violence, as did help towards the accomplishment of their own secret malice. Now these *Roman* arts howsoever many (for gainful or timorous respects) would seem to understand them; yet were generally displeasing unto all men endued with free spirits. Only the *Athenians*, once the most turbulent city in *Greece*, having neither subjects of their own that might rebel, nor power wherewith to bring any into subjection; for want of more noble argument wherein to practise their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flattering the most mighty. So they kept themselves in grace with the *Romans*, remained free from all trouble, until the war of *Mitridates*: being men unfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as gratulators of the *Roman* victories, and pardon-cravers for the vanquished. Such were the *Athenians* become. As for those other common-weals and kingdoms, that with over-nice diligence strove to preserve their liberties and lands from consuming by piece-meal: they were to be devoured whole, and swallowed up at once. Especially the *Macedonian*, as the most unpliant, and wherein many of the *Greeks* began to have affiance, was necessarily to be made an example, how much better it were to bow than to break.

Neither *Perseus*, nor the *Romans* were ignorant, how the *Greeks* at this time stood affected. *Perseus*, by reason of his near neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce between them and his subjects, could not want good information of all that might concern him in their affairs. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger, which *Philopæmen* had long since foretold; of the miserable subjection, wherinto *Greece* was likely to be reduced by the *Roman* patronage. Indeed they not only perceived the approaching danger: but, as being tenderly sensible of their liberty, felt themselves grieved with the present subjection, whereto already they were become obnoxious: wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publick to fall out with the *Romans*: yet all of them had the care, to choose among themselves none other magistrates, than such as affected the good of their country, and would for no ambition, or other servile respect, be flatterers of the greatness which kept all in fear. Thus it seemed likely, that all domestical conspiracies would soon be at an end; when honesty and love of the common-weal, became the fairest way to preferment. Of this careful provision for the safety of *Greece*, the *Romans* were not thoroughly advertised: either because things were diligently concealed from their ambassadors, whom all men knew to be little better than spies; or because little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by such traytors (of whom every city in *Greece* had too many) as were men unregarded among their own people, and therefore more like to speak maliciously than truly; or perhaps because the ambassadors themselves, being all senators, and capable of

the greatest office or charge, had no will to find out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their own desires of employment. But it is hard to conceal that which many know, from those that are feared or flattered by many. The *Acheans* being to send ambassadors to *Rome*, that should both excuse them, as touching some point wherein they refused to obey the senate; and inform the senate better in the same business; chose one *Callicrates*, among others, to go in that ambassage. By their making choice of such a man; one may perceive the advantage, which mischievous wretches, who commonly are forward in pursuing their vile desires, have against the plain sort of honest men, that least earnestly thrust themselves into the troublesome business of the weal publick. For this *Callicrates* was in such wise transported with ambition; that he chose much rather to betray his country, than to let any other be of more authority than himself therein. Wherefore, instead of well discharging his credence, and alledging what was meetest in justification of his people: he uttered a quite contrary tale; and strongly encouraged the *Romans* to oppress both the *Acheans*, and all the rest of *Greece*, with a far more heavy hand. He told the senate, that it was high time for them, to look unto the settling of their authority, among his forward countrymen; if they meant not wholly to forego it. For now there was taken up a custom, to stand upon points of confederacy and laws: as if these were principally to be had in regard; any injunction from *Rome* notwithstanding. Hence grew it, that the *Acheans* both now, and at other times, did what best pleased themselves, and answered the *Romans* with excuses: as if it were enough to say, that by some condition of league, or by force of some law, they were discharged, or hindred, from obeying the decrees of the senate. This would not be so, if he, and some other of his opinion, might have their wills: who ceased not to affirm, that no columns or monuments erected, nor no solemn oath of the whole nation, to ratifie the observance of confederacy or statute, ought to be of force, when the *Romans* willed the contrary. But it was even the fault of the *Romans* themselves, that the multitude refused to give ear unto such persuasions. For howsoever in popular estates, the sound of liberty used to be more plausible, than any discourse tending against it: yet if they, which undertook the maintenance of an argument, seeming never so bad, were sure by their so doing, to procure their own good; the number of them would increase apace, and they become the prevalent faction. It was therefore strange, how the *fathers* could so neglect the advancement of those, that sought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the *Roman* majesty. More wisely, though with seditious and rebellious purpose, did the *Greeks*; who many times, yea, and ordinarily, conferred great honours, upon men otherwise of little account or desert; only for having uttered some brave words against the *Romans*. The *fathers*, hearing these and the like reasons, wherewith he exhorted them to handle roughly those that were obstinate, and by cherishing their friends, to make their party strong; resolved to follow this good counsel in every point, yea, to deprecate all those that held with the right, and to set up their own followers, were it by right or wrong. And to this end, they not only dealt thenceforth more peremptorily with the *Acheans*, than had been their manner in former times; but wrote at the present unto all cities of

* Polyb. legat 78.

Greece, requiring them to see that their mandate (which was concerning the restitution of those that were banished out of *Lacedemon*) should be fulfilled. Particularly in behalf of *Callicrates*; they advised all men, to be such, and so affected, as he was, in their several common-weals. With this dispatch, *Callicrates* returned home a joyful man: having brought his country into the way of ruin, but himself into the way of preferment. Nevertheless he forbore to vaunt himself, of his eloquence used in the senate. Only he so reported his ambassage, that all men became fearful of the danger, wherewith he threatened those that should presume to oppose the *Romans*. By such arts he obtained to be made pretor of the *Acheans*: in which magistracy, as in all his courses following, he omitted nothing, that might serve to manifest his ready obsequiousness unto those whom he had made his patrons.

Now as the *Romans* by threatening terms won many flatterers, and lost as many true friends: so *Perseus* on the other side, thinking by liberal gifts, and hopeful promises, to assure unto himself those that ill could brook his enemies; got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honester than his enemies had. Thus were all the cities of *Greece* distracted with factions: some holding with the *Romans*; some with the *Macedonian*; and some few, respecting only the good of the estates wherein they lived. Hereat the lords of the senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignity not sufferable, That a king, no better than their vassal, should dare to become head of a faction against them. This therefore must be reckoned in the number of his trespasses: whereof if not any one alone, yet all of them together, shall afford them just occasion to make war upon him. *Perseus* having finished his business among the *Dolopians*, made a journey to *Apollo's* temple at *Delphi*. He took his army along with him; yet went, and returned, in such peaceable and friendly wise, that no place was the worse for his journey, but the good affection towards him generally increased thereby. With those that were in his way, he dealt himself; to such as lay further off, he sent ambassadors, or letters: praying them, That the memory of all wrongs whatsoever, done by his father, might be buried with his father; since his own meaning was to hold friendship sincerely with all his neighbours. The *Romans* perhaps could have been pleased better, if he had behaved himself after a contrary fashion, and done some acts of hostility in his passage. Yet, as if he ought not to have taken such a journey, without their licence; this also was made a valuable matter, and cast into the heap of his faults. He laboured greatly to recover the love of the *Acheans*: which his father had so lost, that by a solemn decree, they forbid any *Macedonian* to enter their territories. It was jealousy perhaps no less than hatred, which caused them, at the first, to make such a decree. For howsoever *Philip* had by many vile acts, especially by the death of the two *Arati*, given them cause to abhor him: yet in the publick administration of their estate, he had, for the more part, been to them so beneficial, that not without much ado, and at length, without any general consent, they resolved to forsake him. Wherefore it was needful, even for preservation of concord among them, to use all circumspection; that he might not, by his agents, negotiate and hold intelligence with any, in a country towards him so doubtfully affected: especially when by hearkning to his messages, they might make themselves

suspected by their new friends. But the continuance of this decree beyond the time of war, and when all danger of innovation was past, was uncivil, if not inhumane, as nourishing deadly hatred, without leaving means of reconciliation. And hereof the *Acheans* reaped no good fruit. For although they were not in like sort forbidden the kingdom of *Macedon*: yet understanding what would be due to them, if they should adventure thither, none of them durst set foot therein. Hence it came to pass, that their bondmen, knowing a safe harbour, out of which their masters could not fetch them, ran daily away, in great numbers; exceedingly to the loss of such, as made of their slaves very profitable use. But *Perseus* took hold upon this occasion: as fitly serving to pacify those, whose enmity fain he would have changed into love. He therefore apprehended all these fugitives to send them home again: and wrote unto the *Acheans*, That as for good-will unto them, he had taken pains to restore back their servants; so should they do very well to take order for keeping them, that hereafter they might not run away again. His meaning was readily understood, and his letters kindly accepted by the greater part; being openly rehearsed by the pretor, before the council. But *Callicrates* took the matter very angrily: and bade them be advised what they did: for that this was none other than a plain device, to make them depart from the friendship of the *Romans*. Herewithal he took upon him, somewhat liberally, to make the *Acheans* before-hand acquainted with the war, that was coming upon *Perseus*, from *Rome*. He told them, how *Philip* had made preparations for the same war; how *Demetrius* had been made away; because of his good affection to the *Romans*; and how *Perseus* had, since his being king, done many things, tending to the breach of peace. Briefly he rehearsed all those matters, which were afterwards alledged by the *Romans*; the invasion of the *Bastarnæ*, upon the *Dardaniens*; the king's journey against the *Dolopians*; his voyage to *Delphi*, and finally his peaceable behaviour, which was (he said) a dangerous temptation of men to his party. Wherefore he advised them, to expect the event of things, and not over-hastily to enter into any degree of friendship with the *Macedonians*. Hereto good answer was made by the pretor's brother: That *Callicrates* was too earnest, in so light a matter; and that, being neither one of the king's cabinet, nor of the *Roman* senate, he made himself too well acquainted with all that had passed, or was like to follow. For it was well known, that *Perseus* had renewed his league with the *Romans*; that he was by them saluted king, and friend to the estate; and that he had lovingly entertained their ambassadors. This being so: why might not the *Acheans*, as well as the *Ætolians*, *Thessalians*, *Epirots*, and all the *Greeks*, hold with him such correspondence, as common humanity required? Nevertheless *Callicrates* was grown a man so terrible, by his *Roman* acquaintance, that they durst not over-stiffly gainsay him. Therefore the matter was referred unto further deliberation; and answer made the whilst, That since the king had only sent a letter without an ambassador, they knew not how to resolve. Better it was to say thus, than that they were afraid to do as they thought most reasonable and convenient. But when *Perseus*, herewith not contented, would needs urge them further, and send ambassadors: then were they fain, without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, and deny to give audience: which was proof sufficient (to one that could understand)

derstand) of the condition wherein they lived. For hearkening to this advice of *Callicrates*; they were soon after highly commended by a *Roman* ambassador: whereby it became apparent, that the *Romans* intended war upon the *Macedonian*; though hitherto no cause of war was given.

SECT. V.

How Eumenes, king of Pergamus, was busied with Pharnaces, the Rhodians, and others. His hatred to the Macedonian; whom he accuseth to the Roman senate. The senate honours him greatly, and contemns his enemies the Rhodians; with the causes thereof. The unusual stoutness of the Macedonian ambassadors. Perseus's attempt upon Eumenes. The brotherly love between Eumenes and Attalus. Perseus's device to poison some of the Roman senators; whereupon they decree war against him, and send him defiance. Other things concerning the justice of this war.

Eumenes, king of *Pergamus*, had been troubled about these times by the kings *Pharnaces* and *Mitridates*, his neighbours. He had taken the right course in making first his complaint to the *Romans*; by whom he was animated with comfortable words and promises, ^b That they, by their authority, would end the business to his content. But, in conclusion, by the help of the kings *Prusias* and *Ariarathes*, he ended the war himself; and brought his enemies to seek and accept peace, on such conditions as pleased him to give them. After this, being at good leisure, he began to consider how the affairs of *Macedon* stood under *Perseus*. His hatred to *Perseus* was very great; and therefore he was glad to understand, that the hatred of the *Romans*, to the same his enemy, was as great, and withal notorious. Now, besides his ancient and hereditary quarrel with the *Macedonian*, it vexed him exceedingly, that his own honours (whereof the *Greeks*, prodigal in that kind, had heaped immoderate store on his father and him) began to wax every where stale; whilst *Perseus*, either by his currying favour, or by the envy borne to the *Romans*, had gotten their best liking and wishes. For despite of this indignity, he stirred up the *Lycians* against the *Rhodians*, his old friends; and in helping these rebels was so violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, to open war. But small pleasure found he in these poor and indirect courses of revenge. The *Lycians* could not be saved by his patronage from severe and cruel chastisement, given to them by the *Rhodians*. This render'd him contemptible; as likewise his acts of hostility, little different from robberies, made him hateful to those which loved him before. ^c As for his honours in the cities of *Greece*, they not only continued falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a decree of the *Acheans*, as too unmeasured, mis-beseeming them to give, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deservings. ^d All this (which he needed not to have regarded, had he not been too vainly ambitious) betel him, especially for his being overserviceable to the *Romans*, and for his malice to that noble kingdom; which, if it fell, the liberty of *Greece* was not like to stand. Now for the redress hereof; he thought it in vain to strive any longer with bounty, against such an adversary, as by hopeful promises alone, without any great performance, had over-topped him in the general favour. And therefore he resolv'd even to overturn the foundations of this popularity, by inducing the *Ro-*

mans utterly to take away from the eyes of men, this idol, the *Macedonian* kingdom, which all so vainly worshipped. Neither would it prove a difficult matter, to persuade those that were already desirous: rather he was like to be highly thanked, for setting forward their wishes; and perhaps to be recompens'd with some piece of the kingdom, as he had been rewarded for the like service, when *Antiochus* was vanquish'd.

To this end he made a second voyage to *Rome*; where, though he had little to say, which they knew not before; yet his words were heard with such attention, as if they had contained some strange novelty, and so pondered by the fathers, as if the weight of them were to turn the ballance, that before was equal. The death of *Demetrius*; the expedition of the *Bastarnæ* into *Dardania*; that of *Perseus* himself against the *Dolopians*, and to *Delphi*; the great estimation of the *Macedonian* in *Greece*; his intermeddling in business of his neighbours; his riches, and his great provisions; were all the material points of *Eumenes's* discourse. Only he descended unto particulars, having searched into all (as he profess'd) like unto a spy. He said, that *Perseus* had thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse of his own; money in a readiness to entertain ten thousand mercenaries for ten years; arms to furnish a number thrice as great; the *Thracians* his friends at hand, ready at a call, to bring him soldiers as many as he should require; and that he prepared victuals for ten years, because he would not be driven, either to live upon spoil, or to take from his own subjects. Herewithal he prayed them to consider, that king *Seleucus*, the son and successor of *Antiochus* the great, had given his daughter *Laodice* in marriage to *Perseus*; *Perseus* not wooing, but *Seleucus* offering the match; that king *Prusias* of *Bitthynia*, by earnest suit, had gotten to wife the sister of *Perseus*; and that these marriages were solemnized with great concourse of ambassadors from all quarters. Neither spared he to tell them (though seeming loth to utter it plainly) that even the envy to their estate was the cause, why many that could not endure to hear of amity with *Philip*, were now grown marvellously well affected to his son. All this, and some facts of *Perseus*, which might either be denied, or justified (as that he had procured the death of some which were friends to the *Romans*; and that he had expelled *Abryopolis* the *Illyrian*, who invaded *Macedon*, out of his kingdom, or lordship) *Eumenes* failed not to amplify unto the most; saying, that he thought it his duty to forewarn them; since it would be to himself a great shame, if *Perseus* got the start of him, and were in *Italy* making war upon the *Romans*, ere *Eumenes* could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great folly, to believe that the *Romans* stood in fear of *Perseus*, lest he should set upon them in *Italy*. Nevertheless, inasmuch as they loved not to make war without fair pretence, not only of wrong done to them or their associates, but of further hurt intended, great thanks were given to *Eumenes*, who had every way furnished them with such goodly colour to beautify their intendment. Now tho' it were so, that he told them little else than what they knew before; yet his person, and the manner of his coming, made all seem greater. For, if upon any relation made by their own ambassadors, or upon tales devised by their flatterers and spies, they had warred against *Perseus*, ere he had committed any open act of hostility

^a Liv. lib. 42.

^b Polyb. legat. 56, & 59.

^c Polyb. legat. 74.

^d Liv. lib. 42.

against them, their injustice and oppression would have been most manifest. But when the wrongs to them done were so notorious, and the danger threatening them so terrible, that such a prince as *Eumenes* came out of his own kingdom, as far as from *Asia*, to bid them look to themselves, who could blame them, if they took the speediest order to obtain their own right and security? Toward this justification of the war, and magnifying the necessity that enforced them thereto, their more than usual curiosity, in concealing what *Eumenes* had uttered in the senate, when they could not but understand that his errand was well known, helped not a little. The *Macedonian* and *Rhodian* ambassadors were, at *Rome*, provided of answers to the words which they knew before-hand that he would speak; and with matter of recrimination. The vanity either of him, or of some about him, seems to have disclosed all, when the wariness of the *fathers*, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable shew of some fearful apprehension; against which, it behoved their wisdom to neglect no possible remedy. Wherefore, careless audience was given to the *Rhodian* ambassadors, who accused *Eumenes*, as one more troublesome to *Asia*, than *Antiochus* had ever been, and a provoker of the *Lycians* to rebellion. The *Rhodians* had, with great pomp, conveyed by sea unto *Perseus*, his bride *Laodice*; which friendly office, as the *Macedonian* bountifully requited, so the *Romans* despitefully accepted. Hence it grew, that when the *Lycians*, as already vanquished, were settling themselves in their obedience to the people of *Rhodes*, ambassadors came from *Rome* with strange news, which gave new life to the rebellion. For the senate pronounced, that it stood not with the manner of the *Romans*, to alien quite from their own protection any ^b people or nation by them vanquished; and that the *Lycians* were by them assigned unto those of *Rhodes*, not as mere vassals, but as dependants and associates. For proof hereof, they referred themselves unto the commentaries of the ten ambassadors, whom they had sent to dispose of things in *Asia*, after the victory against king *Antiochus*. Hereat *Eumenes*, *Masaniissa*, the *Etolians*, and all other kings or estates, that were beholden to *Rome* for increasing the number of their subjects, had cause to find themselves aggrieved, if they well considered the matter; since, by force of this, or the like decree, those their subjects might easily be made their fellows, whensoever it should please the senate; though it were so, that all men knew the present meaning of the senate, which was only to plague the *Rhodians* for their good-will to *Perseus*, by setting them and the *Lycians* together by the ears. The *fathers* could therefore see no reason to dislike *Eumenes*, upon this complaint made by the *Rhodian* ambassadors; which indeed more nearly touched themselves. Rather, they honoured the king so much the more, for that others (as they would needs take it) conspired against him, because of his love to *Rome*.

But the *Macedonian* embassy they heard not so carelessly, as angrily; though, peradventure, it well contented them to find cause of anger. For whereas at other times, all care had been taken to pacify them with gentle words and excuses; now heard they plainer language, and were told, that king *Perseus* desired much to give them satisfaction concerning any deed or word of his, that might savour of hostility; but that if his travel in this kind proved vain, then would he be ready to defend himself by arms, and stand to the chance of war, which often

falls out contrary to expectation. These big words may seem to have proceeded from the vehemency of *Harpalus*, that was chief of the ambassadors, rather than from instruction, given by the king, with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reason why *Perseus* himself might, at this time, think to speed better by a shew of daring, than he was like to do by any submission. For the eyes of all *Greece* being now cast upon him, as on the greatest hope of deliverance from the *Roman* servitude, it was not expedient that he should lessen, or perhaps utterly cut off, the general expectation, and the good affection borne to him, which thereon depended, by discovering his too much weakness of spirit, unanswerable to a work of such importance. Wherefore he, or his ambassador for him, was bold to set a good countenance on a game not very bad, but subject (in appearance) to fortune; which might have been his, had he known how to use it.

Now that this bravery (as better it may be termed than courage) proceeded from the king's own heat, it appears by his daring to adventure soon after, on a practice that more justly might anger the *Romans*, and give them fairer shew of reason to make war upon him. It was known that *Eumenes*, in returning home, would take *Delphi* in his way, and there do sacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perseus* deadly hating him, and, thirsting after his blood, resolved to way-lay him; and, by making there of him a sacrifice, to rid his own hands of a most mischievous enemy. So there were appointed three or four stout ruffians to do the murder; who, placing themselves behind a broken mud-wall, on the side of a very narrow path leading up from the sea to the temple, did thence assault the king, whom they sorely bruised with great stones, and left for dead. They might have finished their work, such was the opportunity of the place which they had chosen; but fear of being apprehended, made them, without staying to see all sure, flee in such haste, that they killed one of their own companions, who could not hold pace with them, because he should not discover them. *Eumenes* was conveyed away to the little isle of *Ægina*, where he was cured, being all the while kept so secretly, that the fame of his death was current in *Asia*. Hence it came that his brother *Attalus* took upon him as king, and either took, or would have taken to wife (supposing it belike a matter of state) *Stratonica*, the daughter of *Ariarathes*, whom he then thought the widow of *Eumenes*. It may well be number'd among the rare examples of brotherly love, that when the king returned alive home, *Attalus* going forth to meet him, and do his duty, as in former times, received none other check, than *That he should forbear to marry with the queen, until he were well assured of the king's death*. More than this, *Eumenes* never spake of these matters; but bequeathed at his death unto the same brother both his wife and his kingdom. As likewise *Attalus* forbore to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the king his brother, though the *Romans* (with whom he continued and grew in especial favour, when *Eumenes* fell into their hatred) were in good readiness to have transferred the kingdom from his brother to him. By such concord of brethren was the kingdom of *Pergamus* raised and upheld; as might also that of *Macedon* have been, if *Demetrius* had lived and employed his grace with the *Romans* to the benefit of *Perseus*.

^a Polyb. Legat. 60. & 61.^b Liv. lib. 41.

It is likely that *Perseus* was very glad, when he understood that his ministers had both accomplished his will, and had saved all from discovery. But, as he was deceived in the main point, and heard shortly after that *Eumenes* lived; so was he beguiled in that other hope, of the concealment, which he vainly esteemed the less material. For he had written to one *Praxo*, a gentlewoman of *Delphi*, to entertain the men whom he sent about this business; and she being apprehended by *C. Valerius*, a Roman ambassador then attending upon the matters of *Greece*, was carried to *Rome*. Thus all came to light. *Valerius* also brought with him to *Rome*, out of *Greece*, one *Rammius*, a citizen of *Brundisium*; who, coming newly from the court of *Macedon*, laden with a dangerous secret, had presently sought out the ambassador, and thereof discharged himself. *Brundisium* was the ordinary port for ships passing between *Italy* and *Greece*. There had *Rammius* a fair house, wherein he gave entertainment, being a wealthy man, to ambassadors, and other honourable personages, both *Romans* and *Macedonians*, journeying to and fro. By occasion of such his hospitality, he was commended to *Perseus*, and invited into *Macedon* with friendly letters; as one, whose many courtesies to his ambassadors the king was studious to requite. At his coming, he was much made of; and shortly, with more familiarity than he expected or desired, made partaker of the king's secrets. The sum of all was, that he must needs do a turn, in giving to such of the *Romans*, as the king should hereafter name, a poison of rare quality, sure in operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking, or afterwards. He durst not refuse to accept this employment, for fear lest the virtue of this medicine should be tried upon himself. But, being once at liberty, he discovered all. *Rammius* was but one man, and one whom the king had never seen before, nor was like to see again; and therefore, besides that the king's denial ought to be as good as such a fellow's affirmation, the accusation was improbable. Thus did *Perseus*, in time shortly following, answer for himself; and in like sort concerning the attempt upon *Eumenes*, denying to have had any hand either in the one or other; yet withal professing, that such objections were not to be made unto a king, to prove the righteousness of making war upon him; but rather unto a subject pleading for his life in judgment. But howsoever the *Romans* neglected the getting of stronger proof (which might have been easy) than any that we find by them produced; yet the base and cowardly temper of *Perseus* was very suitable to these practices. Neither did the senate greatly stand to dispute the matter with him, these his treacheries being held inexcusable. And as for his royal estate, wherein he supposed that they ought not to touch him for such private offences, it gave him no privilege, they judging him to have offended in the nature of a king. Herein surely they wanted not good reason. For, if he might not lawfully make war upon *Eumenes*, their confederate; that is, if he might not send men to waste the kingdom of *Pergamus*, or to besiege the towns, might he send ruffians to murder the king? If it were no less breach of the league to destroy the senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the sword; was it lawful for him to do it by poison? Wherefore they presently decreed war against him, and sent ambassadors to denounce it unto him, unless he would yield to make such amends as they should require. He seems, at this time, to have

been so confident in the general favour of *Greece*, and other comfortable appearances; that if he desired not war, yet he did not fear it; or at least he thought, by shew of courage, to make his enemies the more calm. He caused the ambassadors to dance attendance, till, being weary, they departed without audience. Then called he them back, and bade them do their errand. They made a tedious rehearsal of all matters, which they had long been collecting against him, and wherewith *Eumenes* had charged him; adding thereto, that he had entertained long and secret conference in the isle of *Samothrace*, with ambassadors sent to him out of *Asia*, about some ill purpose. In regard of all which, they peremptorily required satisfaction, as was their manner when they intended to give defiance. Better they might have stood upon the evidence brought against him by *Rammius* and *Praxo*. For, if those accusations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground whereon to build, of which otherwise they were destitute; it being no fault in a king to be strong, well-beloved, and well-friended. *Perseus* answered, for the present, in a rage; calling the *Romans* greedy, proud, insolent, and underminers of him, by their daily ambassadors, that were no better than mere spies. Finally, he promised to give them in writing their full answer, which was to this effect; That he would no longer stand to the league made between them and his father, and renewed by himself indeed only for fear; but wished them to descend to more equal conditions, whereupon he, for his part, would advise, as they might also do for theirs.

In the form of the league between *Philip* and the *Romans*, as it is set down by *Polybius*, we find no condition, binding the *Macedonian* to any inconvenience in the future, excepting those which he immediately performed. But *Livy* inserts a clause, whereby he was expressly forbidden to make any war abroad, without leave of the *Romans*. It is most likely, that all the *Roman* confederates were included in this peace, whereby every one of the neighbours round about *Macedon*, entering shortly into league with *Rome*, did so bind the king's hands, that he could no more make war abroad, than if he had been restrained by plain covenant. And thus might that seem an article of the peace, which never was agreed upon, but only was inferred by consequence. Now if the *Romans* would urge this point further, and say, that the *Macedonian* might not bear defensive arms without their permission; then had *Perseus* very just reason to find himself aggrieved. For since they had allowed his father, without controul, to make war in *Thrace* (whilst they themselves were unacquainted with the *Thracians*) and elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence, why should they now interpret the bargain after another fashion? Was it now become unlawful for him to chastise his own rebels, or to repay an *Illyrian* that invaded *Macedon*? By such allegations he maintained the right of his cause in very mild sort, when it was too late. At the present, by disclaiming the league, as unjust, he ministered occasion unto the ambassadors to give him defiance. Having heard the worst of their message, he commanded them to be gone out of his kingdom in three days. But either he should have been less vehement, or more constant in his resolution. For, if his heart could serve him to undertake the war, he should courageously have managed it, and have fallen to work immediately, whilst the enemy was unprepared; not have lost opportunity, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worse peace than the former.

^a Polyb. Legat. 9.

^b Liv. lib. 33.

S E C T. VI.

The Romans solicit the Greeks to join with them in the war against Perseus. How the Greeks stood affected in that war. The timorousness of Perseus. Martius, a Roman ambassador, deludes him with hopes of peace. His forces. He takes the field; and wins part of Thessaly. The forces of Licinius, the Roman consul: and what assistance the Romans had in this war. Of Tempe in Thessaly: and what advantages the Macedonian had, or might have had; but lost by his fear. Perseus braves the Romans; fights with them; knows not how to use his victory; sues for peace; and is denied it by the vanquished. Perseus, having the worse in a skirmish, forsakes all the country lying without Tempe. The Beotians rebel against the Romans, and are rigorously punished. The Roman commanders unfortunate in the war against Perseus. They vex the Greeks, their friends, for whose ease the senate makes provision, having heard their complaints. The flattering Alabanders.

SO long had the Romans been seeking occasion to take in hand this Macedonian war, that well might they have been ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behind-hand in provisions. But it was on a sudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences to make the war; whereof if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together seemed more than sufficient. This opportunity of making their cause honest in common opinion, was not to be neglected; though otherwise they were unprepared for the action. Wherefore knowing, or having reason to believe, that their own strength was such as would prevail in the end, they hastily embraced the fair occasion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of time. Neither was this their unreadiness a small help towards examining the disposition of the Greeks, and others, who must afterwards clearly pay for any backwardness found in their good-will. There was not indeed any cause to fear that all of the Greeks, or other eastern people, should conspire together, and take part with the Macedonian: such was the dissension between their several estates, howsoever the generality of them were inclined the same way. Nevertheless, ambassadors were sent to deal with them all, and to crave their help against *Perseus*, or rather to demand it, in no less ample manner, than heretofore they had yielded it against *Philip* and *Antiochus*, in wars, pretending the liberty of Greece. The ambassadors used as gentle words for fashion's sake, as if they had stood in doubt that their request might happen to be denied. But the Greeks were now grown well acquainted with such Roman courtesy, and understood, that not only such as made refusal, but even they who might seem to have granted half unwillingly, were like to hear other manner of words, when once this business was ended. Wherefore none of them were scrupulous in promising the best of their help to the Romans, the *Acheans* and *Rhodians*, which were chief among them, being rather doubtful, even when they had done their best, lest it should be ill taken, as if they had halted in some part of their duty. It is strange that men could be so earnest to set up the side, whereof they gladly would have seen the ruin. The vulgar sort was every-where addicted to *Perseus*; of the nobles and rulers, if some were vehemently Roman, they wanted not opposers that were wholly Macedonian; yea, the wisest and most honest, who

regarded only the benefit of their country, wished better to *Perseus* than to the Romans. And of this number, *Polybius*, the chief of historians, was one; who, though he^b judged the victory of *Perseus* like to prove hurtful to Greece, yet wished he the Romans ill to thrive, that so the Greeks might recover perfect liberty; for his endeavours in which course, he was at length tyrannically handled, as shall be shewed hereafter. This considered, it appears, that an extraordinary fear, and not only reverence of the imperial city, made the *Acheans*, and other estates of Greece thus conformable to the Romans. The occasion of this their fear, may be justly imputed unto the timorous demeanor of *Perseus* himself. He had undertaken a war, whereof the benefit should redound not only to his own kingdom, but unto all that were oppressed by the Romans. Yet no sooner were some few companies brought over-sea, to make a countenance of meaning somewhat against him, than he began to speak the enemy fair, and sue for peace at Rome. Since therefore it was known, that every small thing would serve to terrify him; and consequently, that it should at all times be in the Romans power, by giving him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take revenge at leisure upon those which had assisted him, little occasion was there, why any should adventure to partake with him. He made indeed a great noise; leading about his army; taking by force, or composition, some few towns; and soliciting all to join with him. But wise men could not be so beguiled: for at the same time he sought all means of pacification; and to that end, made humble suit unto the Roman ambassadors. *Q. Martius*, the chief of those ambassadors, and a man of more finess^e in cunning than was usual among the Romans, made shew of inclination to the king's desire; and gave out such comfortable words, that the king intreated and obtained a meeting at the river *Peneus*. There did *Martius* very gently rebuke the king, and charge him with those crimes that are before-mentioned. Whereunto though *Perseus* made none other answer, than the same which they could have made for him; yet the ambassadors, and especially *Martius*, took it in good part, as therewith satisfied: and advised him to give the like satisfaction to the senate. That this might conveniently be done; a truce was agreed upon. Thus had *Martius* his desire; which was to make the king lose time. For *Perseus* had all things then in readiness, and might have done much, ere the Roman army could have been in Greece. But by the interposition of this truce, he no way increased his forces; he suffered a most convenient season of winning upon the enemy, to slip away; and obtained in recompence nothing else, than leisure and vain hope. Yet was he pleased herewith, as it had been with some victory: publishing a copy of the disputation between him and the Romans, whereby he gave men to understand, how much he had the better, and what hope there was of peace. He sent ambassadors also to the *Rhodians*, of whose good will to him he was best perswaded; not only to let them know how much he was superiour in cause; but to intreat them, that they would take upon them, as moderators, to compound the differences between him and the Romans, if perhaps, notwithstanding the goodness of his cause, he should be denied peace. These were poor helps. For hereby it appeared, that his late standing upon point of honour, was no better than mere vanity: his own safety being the utmost of his ambition. This his fearfulness might seem ex-

^a Polyb. Legat. 73, 78, & 80.^b Polyb. Legat. l. 77.

cusable, and the blame thereof to appertain unto the *Greeks*; who deceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in a time of necessity, that was partly their own: had it not been his office, who took upon him as their champion to give such a manly beginning to the war, as might encourage all others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more averse from him, and grew careful, not to put their shoulders to a falling wall. The *Rhodians*, among whom he had many stout partizans, desired him not to crave any thing at their hands, in which they might seem to do against the good liking of the *Romans*. The *Beotians* also, who had entred of late into a strict society with the *Macedonian*, renounced it now, and made the like with the *Romans*: to whom further, in a fort, they yielded themselves as vassals. Neither was *Martius* contented to accept their submission under a general form; but caused their several towns to make covenant apart, each for it self; to the end, that being thus distracted into many little common-weals, they might not (were they never so desirous to rebel) have such force to do hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated in one, under the city of *Thebes*. This work, of separating the *Beotians* from *Thebes* their head, was more than *Agefilus* could effect, or *Epaminondas* would suffer, then when all *Greece* followed the *Lacedemonians*. So far more available to *Thebes*, being destitute of help from abroad, was the virtue of *Epaminondas*, and a few brave citizens; than was the society with king *Perseus*, against a number not so great as followed the *Lacedemonians*.

Martius brought this to effect, whilst the king sat still, as being bound by the truce: and having done this, he returned to the city; where vaunting what he had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though some reproved it as dishonest) employed it again by the senate, with commission to deal as he should think expedient. Touching the ambassadors which *Perseus* had sent; audience was given to them, for that they should not plainly see how their master was deluded: but neither excuse nor entreaty, would serve their turn; the senate being resolved before-hand what to do. It was enough that they were admitted into the city, and had thirty days respite allowed them to depart out of *Italy*: whereas they, who came last on the same errand, did their message without the walls, in the temple of *Belona* (the usual place of giving audience to open enemies, or to such commanders, as might not, by reason of some custom, enter the city) and had only the short warning of eleven days, to be gone out of *Italy*. Neither did this poor courtesy serve alone to hide the craft of *Martius*, as if he had meant none other than good earnest: but it was a likely mean, both to keep a long while from *Perseus* the knowledge of his business, and to stagger his resolution, when it should need it most firm.

And accordingly it fell out. For *Licinius*, the *Roman* consul, was at *Apollonia* in a manner as soon as the *Macedonian* ambassadors were with their king at *Pella*. Which though it were enough to have roused *Perseus*, and have made him lay aside all cowardly hope of getting pardon; yet was he content to deliberate awhile, Whether it were not better to offer himself tributary to the *Romans*, and to redeem their good-will with some part of his kingdom, that so he might enjoy the rest; than to put all at once to hazard. But finally, the stoutest counsel prevailed: which also was the wisest; and so would have proved, had it been

stoutly and wisely followed. He now began, as if the war had not begun until now, to do what should have been done long afore. He caused all his forces to be drawn together; and appointed their rendezvous at *Citium*, a town in *Macedon*. All being in readiness, he did royal sacrifice, with an hundred beasts, to I know not what *Minerva*, that was peculiarly honoured in his country: and then, with all his courtiers, and those of his guard, set forward to *Citium*. His army he found consisting of nine and thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse: whereof about twelve thousand foot, and a thousand horse, were strangers, of sundry nations, most part *Thracians*; the rest his own *Macedonians*. These he animated with lively speeches; laying before them the glory of their ancestors, the insolency of the *Romans*, the goodness of his cause, the greatness of his provisions, and the many advantages which they had of the enemy, especially in numbers. They answered him chearfully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all cities of *Macedon* there came likewise messengers, offering to help him with money and victuals, according to their several abilities. He gave them thanks: but answered, That his own provisions would abundantly suffice; willing them only to furnish him with carts, for his engines and munition.

Out of his own kingdom he issued forth into *Thessaly*: knowing that the *Romans* were to pass through that country, in their journey towards him. Some towns of *Thessaly* opened their gates unto him, without making offer to defend themselves; some he balked, thinking them too strong or well manned; and some he won by force. Of these last was *Myle*; a town thought impregnable, and therefore not more stoutly than proudly defended by the inhabitants, who gave contumelious language to the assailants. It was taken by reason of a fall, which the townsmen rashly made, and being driven back, received the *Macedonians*, that entred pell-mell with them at the gates. All cruelty of war was practised here, to the greater terror of the obstinate. So *Velatie* and *Comus* (towns of much importance, especially *Comus*, which stood in the streights of *Offa*, leading into *Tempe*) yielded at the first. Having well fortified this passage, the king marched onwards to *Sycorium*, a town seated on the foot of mount *Offa*; where he rested a while, expecting news of the enemy.

Licinius, the consul, brought with him only two *Roman* legions; being promised other strength of auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. *Eumenes*, and *Attalus's* brother, came to him in *Thessaly*, with four thousand foot and a thousand horse. Thither also came, from every part of *Greece*, such aid as the several estates could afford, or thought expedient to send: which from the most of them was very little. Of the kings abroad, *Masaniissa* sent thither his son *Misgenes*, with a thousand foot, as many horse, and two and twenty elephants. *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, by reason of his affinity with *Eumenes*, was friend to the *Romans*, and had sent to *Rome* his young son, there to be brought up: yet he did little or nothing in this war; perhaps because *Eumenes* himself began within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwise advised than he had been in the beginning. *Prusias* was content to be a looker on: as being allied to *Perseus*, and yet fearing the *Romans*. *Antiochus*, and *Ptolemy* (though *Ptolemy* was then young, and under tutors) had business of their own; the *Syrian* meaning to invade the *Egyptian*: yet each of them promised help to the

Romans,

Romans, which they cared not to perform. *Gentius* the *Illyrian* was inclinable to the *Macedonian*: yet made good countenance to the *Romans*, for fear. It was a pretty trick, wherewith *M. Lucretius*, the *Roman* admiral's brother served him for this his counterfeit good will. This king had four and fifty ships, riding in the haven of *Dyr-rachium*, uncertain to what purpose: all which *Lucretius* took away, after a very kind sort; making shew to believe, That for none other end than to serve the *Romans*, their good friend *Gentius* had sent thither this fleet. But whatsoever *Gentius* thought in the beginning; he foolishly lost both his kingdom and himself, in the end of this war; by offering, rather than giving, his help to *Perseus*.

With none other company than what he brought over the sea, *Licinius* came into *Theffaly*: so tired with a painful journey, through the mountainous country of *Atbamaia*, which stood in his way from *Epirus*; that if *Perseus* had been ready, attending his descent into the plains, the *Romans* must needs have taken a great overthrow. He refreshed himself and his wearied army, by the river *Peneus*; where he encamped, attending his auxiliaries, that came in as fast as they could. It was not any slender help, that could enable him to deal with *Perseus*. Therefore he resolved to abide where he then was, and keep his trenches, until his numbers were sufficiently increased: contenting himself in the mean while, to have gotten quiet entrance into the country. The land of *Theffaly*, in which these two armies lay, was better affected to the *Romans*, than any part of *Greece* besides: as having been freed by them, from a more heavy yoke of bondage to the *Macedonian*, when there was little hope or expectation of such a benefit. It was generally rich, fruitful, and abounding in all things needful to man's life. In the midst of it, but somewhat more to the east, was that beautiful valley of *Tempe*, so exceedingly full of all delights, that the name was often used at large, to signify the most pleasant and goodly places. This valley of itself was not great; but adding to it those huge mountains, *Ossa* and *Olympus* (famous in poesy) with their spurs or branches, by which it was on all sides enclosed; it occupied the better part of *Theffaly*. And this way were the *Romans* to enter into *Macedon*; unless they would make an hungry journey through the country of the *Dassareti-ans*, as in the former war with *Philip* they had long in vain attempted to do. *Perseus* therefore had no small advantage, by being master of the streights leading into *Tempe*: though far greater he might have had, if by mispending of time he had not lost it. For, if in defending the ragged passages of these mountains, he were able to put the *Romans* often to the worse; yea to win upon them (for a while) every year more than other, both in strength and reputation: questionless, he might have done far greater things, had he seized upon the streights of *Aous*, which his father once kept, and defended all the country behind the mountains of *Pindus*. Surely not without extream difficulty, must the *Romans* have either travelled by land, with all their carriages and impediments, through places wherein was no relief to be found; or else have committed their armies, and all things thereto needful, unto the mercy of seas that were very dangerous; if they would have sought other way into *Macedon*, than through the heart of *Greece*: upon neither of which courses they once devised, notwithstanding any trouble which they found in this present war. It may perhaps be said, that the

Greeks, and others, whom the king must have left on his back, would have made him unable to defend any places too far from his own home. But they were all, excepting the *Theffalians*, better affected now to him, than they had been to his father in the former war. The *Etolians*, upon whom the *Atbamanians* depended, grew into suspicion with the *Romans* (as we shall find anon) even as soon as they met with *Perseus*. The *Beotians*, how politic soever *Martius* had wrought with them, adventured themselves desperately in the *Macedonians* quarrel: what would they have done, if he at first had done his best? The *Rhodians*, *Illyrians*, yea, and *Eumenes* himself after a while began to waver, when they saw things go better with *Perseus*, than they had expected. So that if, instead of discouraging his friends, by suing basely for peace; he had raised their hopes, by any brave performance in the beginning; and increased the number of his well willers, yea, and bought down with money (as he might have done) some of his enemies, and among them *Eumenes*, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken head: then might the *Romans* perhaps have been compelled to forsake their imperious patronage over *Greece*; and to render the liberty, by them given, entire; which otherwise was but imaginary. Such benefit of this war, since it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reason have been expected at first, from greater advantages. But, as a fearful company running from their enemies, till some river stay their flight; are there compelled by mere desperation to do such acts, as done, while the battel lasted, would have won the victory: so fell it out with *Perseus*. In seeking to avoid the danger of that war, whereof he should have sought the honour; he left his friends that would have stood by him, and gave them cause to provide for their own safety; yet being overtaken by necessity, he chose rather to set his back to the mountains of *Tempe*, and defend himself with his proper forces; than to be driven into such misery, as was inevitable, if he gave a little further ground. What was performed by him or the *Romans*, all the while that he kept his footing in *Theffaly*, it is hard to shew particularly; for that the history of those things is much perished. Wherefore, we must be contented with the sum.

The consul, having no desire to fight until such time as all his forces were arrived, kept within his trenches, and lay still encamped by the river of *Peneus*, about three miles from *Larissa*. That which perswaded the consul to protract the time, did contrariwise incite the king to put the matter into a hasty trial. Wherefore he invited the *Romans* into the field, by waisting the land of the *Phereans*, their confederates. Finding them patient of this indignity, he grew bold to adventure even unto their trenches, out of which if they issued, it was likely that his advantage in horse would make the victory his own. At his coming they were troubled, for that it was sudden; yet no way terrified, as knowing themselves to be safely lodged. They sent out a few of king *Eumenes*'s horse, and with them some light-armed foot, to entertain skirmish. The captain, and some other of these, were slain; but no matter of importance done, for that neither *Licinius* nor *Eumenes* found it reasonable to hazard battel. Thus day after day, a while together, *Perseus* continued offering battel, which they still refused. whereby his boldness much increased; and much more his reputation, to the grief of those, who being so far come to make a conquest, could ill digest the shame that fell upon them by their enduring

enduring these bravadoes. The town of *Sycurium*, where *Perseus* then lay, was twelve miles from the *Romans*: neither was there any convenient watering in that long march, which used to take up four hours of the morning; but he was fain to bring water along with him in carts, that his men might not be both weary and thirsty when they came to fight. For remedy of these inconveniences, he found out a lodging, seven miles nearer to the enemy, whom he visited the next day by the sun-rising. His coming at such an unusual hour, filled the camp with tumult; insomuch, as though he brought with him only his horse and light armature, that were unfit to assail the trenches, yet the consul thought it necessary, and resolved to give check to his pride. Wherefore, he sent forth his brother *C. Licinius*, king *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and many brave captains, with all his power of horse, his *velites*, and all the rest of his light armature, to try their fortune: he himself remaining in the camp, with his legions in readiness. The honour of this morning, was the *Macedonian* king's; for he obtained the victory in a manner entire (though the *Theffalians* made a good retreat) with little loss of his own. But he discovered his weakness ere night, by hearkening, as princes commonly do, to counsel, given by one of his own temper. For, whereas the *Romans* were in great fear, lest he should assault their camp; and, to that purpose, upon the first news of his success, his phalanx was brought unto him by the captains, though unsent for: he nevertheless took it for sound advice, which indeed was timorous and base. To work warily, and moderate his victory; by which means it was said, that either he should get honest conditions of peace, or at leastwise many companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like that his good fortune would exalt the hope and courage of his friends. Yet had it been greater; and had he won the *Roman* camp, his friends would have been the more, and the bolder. But over-great was his folly, in hoping then for peace: and in suing for it, even when he had the victory, what else did he, than proclaim unto all which would become his partakers, that neither good nor bad fortune should keep him from yielding to the *Romans*, whensoever they would be pleased to accept him? At this time the joy of his victory would admit none of these considerations. He had slain of the *Roman* horse two hundred, and taken of them prisoners the like number. Of their foot he had slain about two thousand: losing of his own no more than twenty horse and forty foot. The *Roman* camp, after this disaster, was full of heaviness and fear; it being much doubted that the enemy would set upon it. *Eumenes* gave counsel to dislodge by night, and remove to a surer place beyond the river *Peneus*. The consul, though ashamed to profess, by so doing, in what fear he stood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the loss past, than by standing on proud terms, to draw upon himself a greater calamity. So he passed the river in the dead of the night, and incamped more strongly on the further side. The *Etolians* were sorely blamed for this loss; as if rather a traiterous meaning, than any true fear, had occasioned their flight, wherein the rest of the *Greeks* followed them. Five of them that were men of especial mark, had been observed to be the first which turned their backs: an observation likely to cost them dear, at a time of better leisure. As for the *Theffalians*, their virtue was honoured with reward: so as the *Greeks* might learn, by examples of either kind, that if they would shun indignation, or incur favour, then must they adventure no

less for their lords the *Romans*, than gladly they would do for their own liberty. Thus fared it with the consul and his army. *Perseus* came the next day to correct the former day's error; which how great it was, he not until then found. The *Romans* were gotten into a place of safety; whither they could never have attained, if the king had either pressed his victory, or given better heed to them that night: his light armature alone being sufficient to have routed them, whilst they were conveying themselves to the other side of *Peneus*. But it was vain to tell what might have been done, since there was no remedy. The *Romans* were beaten, even the flower of their city, the gentlemen of *Rome*; out of whom were chosen their senators, and consequently the generals themselves, pretors, consuls, and all that bore office or command among them; yea, they were beaten so shamefully, that they stole away by night, and suffered him to gather up the spoils of them without resistance, as yielding themselves overcome. With such brave words did the king set out the glory of his action; dividing the spoils among his followers. But there was much wanting within him, to have made his honour sound. He came nearer to the *Romans*, and encamped at *Mopselus*, a place in the mid-way between *Tempe* and *Larissa*: as if it were his meaning to press them somewhat harder. Nevertheless he was easily perswaded to use the occasion, which he seemed to have, of obtaining peace. Therefore he sent unto the consul, and offered to yield unto the same conditions, wherein his father had been bound to the *Romans*, if the war might so take end. It were needless here again to shew the folly of this his course. Towards the accomplishment of this desired peace, there was in the consul no greater power, than to grant a truce, whilst ambassadors might go to *Rome*: it resting in the senate and people to approve the conditions, and ratifie the league. And of such a truce granted by *Martius*, he had lately found no small discommodity redounding. But *Licinius* dealt plainly, and returned answer that other hope of peace there was none; save that *Perseus* would yield both his kingdom and person, simply and absolutely, to discretion of the senate. A manly part it was of *Licinius* to be so resolute in adversity. On the other side, it argued a faint heart in *Perseus*, that having received an answer so peremptory, he still persisted making vain offers of great tribute. Finding that the peace, which he so much desired, could not be purchased with money, the king withdrew himself back to *Sycurium*. There he lay hearkening what the enemy did; whose forces were well repaired by the coming of *Misagenes* the son of *Masaniissa*, with the aid before mentioned. This distance between the king and them, caused the *Romans* to wax the more bold in making their harvest: about which business they ranged all over the fields. Their careless demeanour gave him hope to do some notable exploit; which he attempted, both upon their camp, and upon those that were abroad. The camp he thought to have fired on the sudden: but the alarm being taken in good season, he failed in the enterprise. As for the foragers; he had a good hand upon them, if he could have withdrawn it, and given over in time. But whilst he strove to force a guard, he was visited by the consul; by whom either in a skirmish of horse, or (for the report is diverse) in a great battel he was overcome. This misadventure, whether great or small, caused *Perseus*, after a few days, to fall back into *Macedon*; as being naturally given to fear danger, even where none was; whereby what loss he felt will appear

hereafter. He left all behind him, save only *Tempe*, weakly guarded; and consequently an easy prey to the *Romans*.

After the king's departure, *Licinius* went straight unto *Connus*; hoping to have taken it, and so to have gotten entrance into *Tempe*. But finding the work too hard, he returned back upon the *Perrhebiens* and others; from whom he won some towns, and among the rest *Larissa*. There were sundry towns thereabout, bearing the same name of *Larissa*: so that this which the consul took, may seem not to have belonged unto the *Thessalians*; unless, perhaps, after this victory, *Perseus* did greater acts than we find recorded, and got some part of *Thessaly*.

Of matters happening in *Greece* at this time, it is hard to give a precise account; for that the histories of them are greatly defective. One may think it strange, that the *Beotians*, whom a *Roman* ambassador could terrify, and bring altogether to his own will, should not be afraid of a *Roman* army, then on foot in *Greece*, and a navy on their coast. But more strange it is, that the *Thebans*, from whom their dependants were taken by the art of *Martius*, were more true to *Rome*, than other petty towns, which by that same distraction of the *Beotians*, became within themselves more abject, than formerly they had been. The causes hereof were to have been fought among the changes happening in their variable factions: whereof the knowledge is now lost. Some of them rebelled, and were thoroughly punished by *Lucretius* the *Roman* admiral: who got so much by spoiling them, that he would have brought others to rebel in like sort, if by extream oppression he could have driven them so far. Neither was *Licinius* the consul undiligent in the same kind. What his doings were, after such time as he was at leisure from *Perseus*, I find no where mentioned. Only this is said in general, That in the war which he made, he cruelly and covetously demeaned himself.

After the same fashion dealt they, that commanded in the year following; *Hostilius* the consul, and *Hortensius* the admiral, or pretor of the fleet. *Hostilius* shewed more of his industry, in picking quarrels with the confederates of *Rome*, than in prosecuting the war against the *Macedonians*. For, concerning the *Roman* war upon his kingdom, after that the consul had sought passage in vain over certain mountains, *Perseus* seemed, in a manner free from it. He was troubled indeed on that side which looked toward *Illyria*, by *Ap. Claudius*, whom the consul sent thither with an army of four thousand, and who, by levies made upon the confederates, doubled this his army. But *Claudius* thinking to have taken *Uscana*, a border town of *Illyria*, by treason, came thither in such careless order, that the inhabitants, which had made shew of treason, with purpose only to train him into danger, sallied forth upon him, overthrew him, and chased him so far, that hardly he escaped with a fourth part of his company. Yet this town of *Uscana* shortly after became *Roman*: which howsoever it happened, *Perseus* very soon recovered it, and many other places therewithal: *Cotys*, a *Thracian* king, securing him on the one side of *Macedon*; and *Cephalus* an *Epirot* revolted from the *Romans*, on the other. *Perseus* likewise made a painful journey into *Etolia*: where he was promised to be admitted into *Stratus*, that was the strongest city

in that region. Of this hope, though he were disappointed by those of the *Roman* faction; yet in his return home, he took in *Aperantia*; and shortly heard good news, That *Ap. Claudius* was again thoroughly beaten by *Clevas*, one of his lieutenants. Such success had the *Macedonian* war under *Hostilius*. The same consul offended much the *Greeks*, by the strict inquisition which his ambassadors made into men's affection towards *Rome*. For these ambassadors travelling thorough all the cities of *Peloponnesus*, gave out speeches tending to shew, That they liked no better of those who sought not by might and main to advance their business, than of those which were of the *Macedonian* faction. Their meaning was, to have accused by name, in the parliament of *Achaia*, *Lycortas*, that worthy commander, who nobly followed the steps of *Philopemen*; and together with him, his son *Polybius*, who soon after was general of the *Achean* horle; but more notable by that excellent history which he wrote, than by his great employments, which he well and honourably discharged. The sum of the accusation should have been; That these were not hearty friends unto the *Romans*, but such as abstained from raising troubles, more for lack of opportunity, than for any love to the common quiet. But since no colour of truth could be found, that might give countenance to such a tale; it was thought better, for the present, to let it alone, and give gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the *Etolians*: they demanded hostages; and found some in the council that approved the motion: as also among the *Acarnanians*, there were that entreated to have *Roman* garrisons bestowed in their towns. But neither the one nor the other of these propositions took effect. They of the *Roman* faction accused not only such as were inclinable to the *Macedonian*, but also the good patriots; making it no less than a matter of treason, to be a *Grecian* in *Greece*. On the contrary side, there wanted not some, who roundly told these pick-thanks of their base flattery; rating them openly in such sort, that one of them hardly escaped being stoned, even in presence of the ambassadors. Thus was all full of accusations and excuses: among which the ambassadors carried themselves, as men that could believe none ill; though it were well enough known what they thought. The best was, that an order from the senate was brought into *Greece*, and published, to this effect: That it should be free for all men, to refuse obedience to any *Roman* magistrate, imposing any burthen for the present war, unless it were such, as the senate had likewise thought meet. Of this decree the whole country was glad: for it was, or seemed, a good remedy of many inconveniencies. But they that standing on the privilege hereof, refused to fulfill every commandment, were numbered among the patriots; which in the end of this war proved little better, if not worse, than to have been traitors. The senate was driven to set down this order; by reason of the many and vehement complaints brought to *Rome*, concerning the wrongs done by *Roman* magistrates, and especially by the admirals, *Lucretius* and *Hortensius*. *Lucretius* was condemned in a great sum of money, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the *Romans*, in that they loved not to have their subjects oppressed. *Hortensius* being still in office, had warning to amend.

* Liv. lib. 43.

b Polyb. Legat. 70.

c Polyb. Legat. 74

Among the great number of embassages that came to *Rome* about this time, either to seek redress of injuries, or to offer their services: it is note-worthy, that from *Alabanda*, a town of the lesser *Asia*, there was presented unto the senate, and well accepted, a most base piece of flattery. These *Alabanders* brought three hundred horsemen's targets, and a crown of gold, to bestow upon *Jupiter* in the capitol. But having a desire to gratify the *Romans* with some exquisite token of their dutiful obedience, wherein they would be singular; and being not able to reach unto any great performance: they built a temple, unto the town *Rome*, and appointed anniversary games to be celebrated among them, in honour of that Goddess. Now, who can wonder at the arrogant folly of *Alexander*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolemy*, and the like vain men, that would be thought Gods; or at the shameless flattery of such as bestowed upon men, and not the most virtuous of men, divine honours; when he sees a town of houses, wherein powerful men dwell, worshipped as a goddess, and receiving (without scorn of the givers, or shame of the present) the title of *Deity*, at the gift of such a rascal city as *Alabanda*?

S E C T. VII.

Q Martius the Roman consul, with extream difficulty and danger, enters into Tempe. The cowardise of Perseus in abandoning Tempe. The town of Diu quitted by Martius; repaired and fortified by the king. The Romans attempt many places, with ill success. Their affairs in hard estate. Martius a cunning and a bad man. Polybius sent ambassador to Martius from the Acheans. Polybius's honest wisdom beneficial to the Acheans. King Eumenes grows averse from the Romans. Perseus negotiates with Antiochus and Eumenes. His false dealing with Gentius king of Illyria; whom he draws into the Roman war. He sends ambassadors to the Rhodians; who vainly take upon them to be arbitrators between him and the Romans. Perseus loseth a mighty succour of the Bastarnæ, by his wretched parsimony.

AFTER two years of the *Macedonian* war, things were further out of tune in *Greece*, than when the war began, which had been thought likely to reform all those countries, and bring them to what pass the *Romans* desired, as it did in the end. *Perseus* had hitherto the better, and was stronger now, than when he lived in peace. He had enlarged his borders on the *Illyrian* side; his friends in all parts of *Greece*, took courage daily; and his reputation grew such, as caused those that were wholly *Roman*, to suspect what the issue of the war might prove, and thereupon to become wise for themselves. Contrariwise, *Licinius* and *Hostilius* the consuls, had one after the other spent their time in vain, seeking way into *Macedon*; and delayed the glorious enterprise of conquest, by many losses received. The *Roman* admirals had so demeaned themselves, that many towns, even of the best affected to *Rome*, kept them out by force. Generally, the fear was great on the *Roman* side; and the army much lessened, not only by casualties of war, but by the facility of the tribunes or colonels, or else of the consul himself (for they laid the blame one upon the other) in licensing the soldiers to depart. *Quintius Martius* the new consul, who succeeded unto *Hostilius*, was to amend all this: which nevertheless was more than he knew how to do, though he brought with him a strong supply

of men. He began hotly to set the war on foot, which a long time had slept. And he began the right way, not seeking to force the streights that were surely guarded, but taking pains to climb the mountains, which were thought able to forbid all passage over them, without help or need of any custody. The king heard of his approach, and being uncertain what way he meant to take, distributed his own forces to the defence of all places which might give entrance, or permit ascent. But the consul proceeded in his journey, with hope either not to be discovered by the enemy, or to break through all opposition, or at leastwise, to fight on as convenient ground, as they should have that lay to stop him; and at length, if all failed, to make a safe retreat. He sent before him four thousand of his most expedite foot, to discover the ways. Two days was this company troubled, in overcoming the difficulty of no more than fifteen miles, after which they had sight of the enemy, that lay to deny their passage. They occupied therefore a safe piece of ground, and sent back word to the consul where they were, intreating him to hasten unto them, which he did. The *Macedonians* were not a whit dismayed at his arrival, but met him, and fought with him two or three days together, each returning to their own camp at night, with little loss on either side. This bickering was on the narrow ridge of a mountain, which gave scarcely room unto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to be employed, all the rest were beholders. In this case, it was impossible to get forwards, yet a shame to return. Wherefore *Martius* took the only course remaining, and indeed the best. Part of his men he left with *Popilius*, to attend upon the *Macedonians*, whilst he, with the rest, fetched a compass about, and sought out ways that never had been trodden. Herein he found extreme difficulty, which notwithstanding he overcame. Besides the troubles commonly incident to such journeys, through places unfit for habitation, he was compelled by labour of hand to make paths where none were, yea, where nature might seem to have intended that none should be. So steep he found the descent of the mountains, in this way which he took, that of seven miles, which they travelled the first day, his men were compelled, for the most part, to rowl themselves down, as not daring to trust their feet. Neither was this the worst; for they met with rocks that stood one over another, so upright, and cumbersome to get down, that their elephants were afraid of the giddy prospect; and, casting their governors, made a terrible noise, which affrighted the horses, and bred great confusion. Having therefore gone, or wallowed four miles of this grievous journey, there was nothing more desired by the soldiers, than that they might be suffered to creep back again the same way which they had come. But shift was made to let down the elephants by a kind of bridges, like unto falling draw-bridges, whereof the one end was joined to the edge of the cliff, the other sustained by two long posts, fastened in the ground below. Upon these two posts, or poles, which indeed (not being very strong, since it was intended that they should be either cut or broken) were fastened two rafters, answerable in length to the distance between the higher and the lower fall; so as the end of one bridge might reach to the beginning of another. These were covered with planks and turf, that they might seem continuous with the ground, so as to make the beasts adventurous to go upon them. If there were a plain of any good extent from the foot of a rock to the next downsfall, then might the bridge be shorter.

When

When an elephant was gone a pretty way upon one of these, the posts upholding the frame were cut asunder, thereby causing him to sink down unto the next bridge; whence he was conveyed in like manner to the third, and onward still to the very bottom. Thus went they down sliding, some on their feet, others on their buttocks, till they came to an even valley. By this it appears how thoroughly provided the *Romans* used to be in their journeys, of things needful in all occasions; as also what inestimable pains they took in this descent, about the conveyance of themselves and all their carriages down the mountains. The next day they rested, staying for *Popilius* and his company, who hardly, or perhaps never, should have over-taken them, if the enemy had followed, and set upon him from aloft. The third and fourth days journeys were like unto the first, save that custom, and the nearness to their way's end, without meeting the enemy, caused them the better to endure the labour.

Perseus could not be ignorant of the *Romans* coming towards him, since they fought with his men upon the passage three days together, he lying so nigh, that he might well near have heard the noise. Yet was he so possessed with fear, that he neither stirred to help his own men, or to hinder the consul, nor made any provision for that which might fall out; but, as one void of counsel, sat hearkening after the event. Four only passages there were leading into *Tempe*; the first by *Connus*, which the *Romans* were unable to force; the second and third were the same which *Martius* had attempted in vain, and another like unto it; the last by the city of *Dium*, out of *Macedon*. All these were sufficiently guarded, and whosoever would seek any other way, must be fain to take such pains as *Martius* had undergone. The entrance by *Dium* was fairer than any of the rest, whereof only the king had benefit; for that his enemies could not get thither, save through the valley it self, into which they must first pierce another way. *Dium* stood upon the foot of the huge mountain *Olympus*, about a mile from the sea; of which mile, the river *Helicon* becoming there a lake, and called *Baphyras*, took up the one half; the rest being such as might easily have been fortified. Besides all these, there was in the midst of *Tempe* a passage, which ten men might easily keep, where the spurs of the mountains reaching far into the valley, drew near to the very banks of *Peneus*, a goodly and deep river, which ran through it. Wherefore nothing had been more easy, than to make the consul repent him of his troublesome journey, if *Perseus* could have seen his own advantages. For the *Roman* army was not only in ill case to fight, after the vexation of that miserable travel, but must needs have either perished for want of victuals, or been enforced to return the same way that it came, if the king had made good the streight of *Dium*. To have returned, and climbed up with their elephants and carriages against those rocks, from which, with extreme labour, they could hardly get down, it seems a matter of impossibility; especially considering how the enemy, from above their heads, would have beaten upon them, being now aware of the path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they stole away from him. It may therefore be thought strange, that the *Romans* did not rather take their journey into *Macedon*, from the side of *Illyria*, whence that kingdom had often been invaded, as lying open on that part, than put themselves to the trouble of breaking into *Tempe*; whence, after that they were there arrived, there was no means to escape, without forcing one of those passages, which they de-

spaired to win. But the cowardise of *Perseus* did commend the counsel by them followed, as wise. For he no sooner heard that the enemy was come over the mountains into *Tempe*, than he feared like one out of his wits; saying, that he was vanquished, and had lost all without battel. Herewithal he began to take out of *Dium*, what he could carry away in haste; and straightways abandoned the town. In the same vehemency of amazement, he sent a strait commandment to *Thessalonica*, that the arsenal there should be set on fire; and to *Pella*, that his treasures there should be cast into the sea; as if the *Romans* were like presently to be masters of these two cities. *Nicias*, who was appointed to drown the treasure, performed it hastily as well as he could; though soon after, his master grew sorry for the loss, and it was all, in a manner, recovered by divers from under the water. But *Andronicus*, who had charge to set fire on the king's arsenal, deferred the execution, foreseeing that repentance might follow; and so he prevented the damage. Whether *Nicias*, for his absolute and blind obedience, or *Andronicus*, for his careful providence, merited the greater commendation, or more easy pardon, it rested in the king to interpret. The reward of their service was this. *Perseus*, growing ashamed of his mad cowardise, that appeared in this hasty direction, caused them both to be slain. Also those poor men, which had fetched his treasure out of the sea by their diving, were pay'd their wages after the same sort, that so there might be no witness of the king's base folly. Such end must they fear, who are privy to dishonourable actions of great princes. If *Perseus* would have gone surely to work for the hiding of his fault; then must he so royally have behaved himself, that no man might believe him to be the author of any unworthy act or counsel. But his virtue was of no such capacity. He thought it enough to lay the blame upon others. And therefore having called *Hippias* away (the captain which had stopped the consul on the top of the mountain) and *Asclepiodatus*, from defence of the passages, whereto they were by him appointed, he rated them openly; saying, that they had betrayed unto the enemy the gates and bars of *Macedon*. Of this reproach if they would discharge themselves, by laying it upon him, to whom of right it belonged; then might they have sped as did *Nicias* and *Andronicus*.

The consul *Martius* had great cause to rejoyce, for that the king so hastily relinquished his possession of *Tempe*, and all the passages leading thereinto, since the *Roman* army; this notwithstanding, was hardly able to subsist for want of victuals. He took *Dium* without resistance, and thence went forward into *Macedon*: wherein having travelled about a day's journey, and gotten one town that yielded, he was compelled, by mere lack of food for his men, to return back towards *Thessaly*. His fleet came to him in this time of necessity, well appointed to have holpen him in the war: but having left behind at *Magnesia*, the ships of burthen, which carried the provisions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his lieutenants had been careful to occupy one of the castles about *Tempe*, which were forsaken by the *Macedonians*: for by those ways only might corn be brought into the army. To meet the sooner with this corn, which was most desirously expected; he forsook *Dium*, and went to *Phila*; by which foolish journey (if not worse than foolish) he lost more, than a little the longer fasting had been worth. It is probable that his carts, with all or the most of his store, were lost among the mountains; for otherwise it had been madness to

put himself on such an enterprize, so slenderly provided, as that without enforcement, or sight of the enemy, he should be fain to quit it. Howsoever it was; men thought him a coward, or at least a bad man of war; since he thus recoiled and gave off, when it most behoved him to have prosecuted the action.

By understanding the folly and cowardise of *Martius*; the king recollected himself; understood his own error; fought to hide it by such poor means as have been shewed; and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repossessed the town of *Dium*, which he hastily repaired, finding it dismantled by the *Romans*. This done, he encamped strongly by the river *Enipeus*: meaning there to stop the enemies proceeding all that summer. Less diligence, more timely used, would have been enough not only to have delivered *Martius* into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of peace: but to have given him such a noble victory, as might cause the *Romans* to seek a good end of the war upon fair conditions, and not to begin again in haste. Yet this recovery and fortification of *Dium*, was to the consul an exceeding hinderance. For little or nothing could afterward be done toward the conquest in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Only the town of *Heraclea*, standing on the river of *Peneus*, five miles from *Dium*, was taken by force; or rather by a trick of climbing up on mens heads, somewhat after the manner of our tumblers. But it made such defence as it could; and was not given up for fear. After this, *Martius* did set a bold face towards *Dium*; as if he would have taken it again, and have driven the king further off; though his intent or hope, was nothing like so great: his chief care being to provide for his wintering. He sent the admiral to make attempt upon the sea-towns, *Theffalonica*, *Cassandrea*, *Demetrias* and others. All these were assayed; but in vain. The fields about *Theffalonica* were wasted; and some companies, that sundry times adventured forth of the town, were still put to the worse. As for the town itself, there was danger in coming near it, either by land or sea; by reason of the engines which shot from the walls, and reached unto the fleet. Wherefore the admiral setting sail from thence, ran along by *Enia*, and *Antigonea* (landing near to each of them, and both doing and receiving hurt) until he came unto *Pallene*, in the territory of *Cassandrea*. There king *Eumenes* joyned with him, bringing twenty ships of war: and five other were sent thither from king *Prusias*. With this access of strength the admiral was bold to try his fortune at *Cassandrea*; which was bad. There was a new ditch lately cast by *Perseus*, before the town: which while the *Romans* were filling up, question was made, what became of the earth taken thence, for that it lay not upon the bank. By this occasion it was learned, that there were arches in the town-wall filled up with that earth, and covered with one single row of brick. Hence the admiral gathered hope of making way into the town, by lapping the walls. To this work he appointed such as he thought meetest: giving an alarm to the other side of the town, thereby to shadow his attempt. The breach was soon made. But whilst the *Romans* were shouting for joy, and ordering themselves for the assault: the captains within the town perceived what was done; and falling forth unexpected, gave a fierce charge on the companies that were between the ditch and the

wall; of whom they slew about six hundred, and suffered few to escape unwounded. This disaster, and the want of good success on that part of the town which king *Eumenes* assailed (a supply in the mean while entring the town by sea) caused the siege to break up. *Torone* was the next place which the admiral thought meet to attempt: and thence likewise he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards *Demetrias*; whereinto *Euphranor*, a *Macedonian* captain, was gotten before his coming, with such forces, as were not only sufficient to have defended the town, if the admiral had layed siege to it, but to keep the land about it from spoil; or at least (as they did) to make the enemy pay dear for all that he there got. This *Euphranor* had taken his journey to *Demetrias*, by *Melibea*; whither the consul (that he might not be quite without work) had sent his lieutenant to besiege it: and by the terror of his appearing suddenly over their heads, caused the besiegers to dislodge in all haste, setting their camp on fire.

Such fortune attended on the *Romans*; or rather, so far was their ability short of their enterprises; ever since their consul (whether dastardly, or carelessly) most unlike a good commander, had let go his hold of *Macedon*, by forsaking *Dium*: yea, it is to be suspected, that some greater harm befel them, or at least, that they were in some greater danger, than is expressed in the broken remaining history of this war. For *Martius* perswaded the *Rhodians*, by *Agefipolis* their ambassador, who came to him at *Heraclea* about other business of less importance, that they should do well to interpose themselves as mediators, and seek to finish the war. Now, although ^a *Polybius* do most probably conjecture, that this was rather a malicious device of *Martius*, craftily seeking to bring the *Rhodians* in danger (as anon it fell out) by their opposing the resolution of the senate; than that it proceeded from any true fear in him, either of *Perseus*, or of *Antiochus*, who had then an army on foot; yet since he made shew of fear, it is like withal, that somewhat had happened, which might make his fear seem not counterfeit. And so were the *Rhodians* moved to think of him; not only for that the extraordinary courtesy, both of him and of the admiral, towards their ambassador, coming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cause it; but much more, for that shortly after the ambassadors of *Perseus*, and of *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, did set out their business at *Rhodes*, not more with the strength of a good fleet, which the *Macedonian* had gotten, than with the honour of some victory, wherein he had lately slain great numbers of the *Roman* horse. ^b Thus much we find intimated; though the time, place, or other circumstances of the fight be not specified. And hereto may be referred, the report of those that were sent from *Rome*, to view the estate of *Martius's* army. For they found the consul wanting meat; the admiral wanting men; and, for those few that he had, wanting both money and cloaths: and *Ap. Claudius* the pretor, who lay on the frontier of *Illyria*, so unable to invade *Macedon*, that contrariwise, he was in extream danger, so as either he must quickly be sent for thence, or a new army be sent thither to him. Wherefore it may seem, that some blow had been taken on the *Illyrian* side, which made all to halt; or at least, that the *Romans* with greater loss, than is before spoken of, had been driven from some of the towns which they besieged.

^a Polyb. legat. 80.

^b Polyb. legat. 87.

Now although it were so, that *Martius*, in very few of his actions, behaved himself like a man of war; yet in exercise of cunning, which one hath most aptly termed, *a crooked or sinister kind of wisdom*, he dealt as a craftsman, with a restless working diligence. This indeed neither proved his sufficiency, nor commended his honesty; since thereby he effected nothing to his own benefit: and nevertheless, out of envy, vain-glory, or such delight as weak and busy-headed men take in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made opposition to the good of his country. At such time as *Perseus*, by the success of his doings against *Hosilius*, had gotten much reputation, and was thought likely to invade *Thessaly*; *Archo*, *Lycortas*, and other good patriots among the *Acheans*, judged it expedient for their nation to help the *Romans*, as in a time of adversity, whom in prosperity they loved not to flatter. Wherefore *Archo* proposed a decree, which passed; that the *Acheans* should send their whole power into *Thessaly*, and participate with the *Romans* in all danger. So the army was levied, and ^a *Polybius*, with others, sent ambassadors unto *Martius*, to certify him thereof, and know his pleasure. *Polybius* found the consul busied in seeking passage through *Tempe* into *Macedon*. He went along with the army, and awaited the consul's leisure, till they came to *Heraclea*; where, finding the time convenient, he presented the decree, and offered the service of his nation, wherein soever it should be commanded. *Martius* took this very kindly; but said, that he needed now no manner of help. Forthwith *Polybius* dispatched home his companions, to signify thus much, tarrying himself behind in the camp. After a while, word was brought to *Martius*, that *Ap. Claudius* desired, or rather imperiously required of the *Acheans*, five thousand men, to be sent him into *Epirus*. It was manifest, that *Appius* had need of these men; and that if he were strong in the field, he might do notable service, by distracting the forces of *Perseus*. But the labyrinthian head of *Martius* could not allow of such plain reason. He called unto him *Polybius*, to whom he declared, that *Appius* had no need of such aid; and therefore willed him to return home, and in any wise take order that the men might not be sent, nor the *Acheans* be put to such needless charges. Away went *Polybius*, musing, and unable to resolve, whether it were for love to the *Acheans*, that the consul was so earnest in this business; or rather for envy, and to hinder *App. Claudius* from doing any thing, since himself could do nothing. But when *Polybius* was to deliver his opinion in the council, touching this matter; then found he a new doubt, that more nearly concerned his own self, and those of his own party. For, as he was sure to incur the great indignation of the consul, if he should neglect what was given him in charge; so was it manifest, on the other side, that the words by *Martius*, uttered to him in private, would prove no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they should refuse to help *Claudius*, alledging, that he had no need. In this case therefore, he had recourse unto the decree of the senate, which exempted men from necessity of doing what the *Roman* commanders should require, unless by special order from the senate the same were likewise appointed. So for lack of warrant from the senate, this demand of *Appius* was referred unto the advice of the consul, by whom it was sure to be made frustrate. Hereby the *Acheans* were saviors of more than an hundred and twenty talents, though *Polybius* him-

self ran into danger of *Appius's* displeasure; and for such honest dealing in his country's behalf, was afterwards rewarded by the *Romans* with many a long year's imprisonment.

Whether it were by the like policy of *Martius*, that king *Eumenes* grew cold in his affection to the *Romans*, or whether this king began when it was too late to stand in fear, lest the fire, which he himself had helped to kindle, would shortly take hold on his own lodging; or whether the regard of money were able to overway all other passions, it is hard to determine; since they, that had better means to know the truth, have not precisely affirmed any certainty. One report is, that *Eumenes* did not so much as give any help to *Martius*; but, coming to have joined with him in such friendly manner as he did with the former consuls, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in such anger, that he refused to leave behind him certain horse of the *Gallo-Greeks*, being requested to have done it. If this were true, and that his brother *Attalus* tarrying behind with the consul, did the *Romans* good service; then is the reason apparent of the hatred borne afterwards by the senate to *Eumenes*, and the love to *Attalus*. But it is more generally received, that *Eumenes* gave a willing ear to *Perseus's* desire of accord, for mere desire of gain. And it might well be, that covetousness drew him on in the course wherinto indignation first led him. Howsoever it befel, *Perseus* caused *Eumenes* to be sounded, and found him so tractable, that he was bold to solicit him by an embassy. The tenor of his advertisements both to *Eumenes*, and to *Antiochus*, was, that there could be no perfect love between a king and a free city; that the *Romans* had quarrel alike to all kings, though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and used the help of one against another; that *Philip* was oppressed by them, with the help of *Attalus*; *Antiochus*, with the help of *Philip* and *Eumenes*; and now *Perseus* assailed, with the help of *Eumenes* and *Prusias*. Herewith he willed *Eumenes* to consider, that when *Macedon* was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in *Asia*, which lay next at hand; yea, that already they began to think better of *Prusias* than of him. In like sort, he admonished *Antiochus* not to look for any good conclusion of his war with the *Egyptian*, so long as the *Romans* could make him give over, by denouncing their will and pleasure. Finally, he requested both of them either to compel the *Romans* to surcease from their war upon *Macedon*, or else to hold them as common enemies unto all kings. *Antiochus* lay far out of the *Romans* way, and therefore was little troubled with such remonstrances. *Eumenes* was more nearly touch'd, and as he felt part of this to be true, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest. Yet, when he should give answer, he began to offer a bargain of peace for money. He thought the *Romans* to be no less weary, than *Perseus* was afraid. Wherefore he promised, for his own part, that if he might have fifteen hundred talents for withdrawing his hand from this war, then would he remain a neuter therein; and that for some greater quantity of money (how much I find not) he would also bring the *Romans* to condescend unto peace: and, for assurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to give hostages. *Perseus* liked well to receive the hostages, but not to lay out the money; especially before-hand, as was required. He would fain have peace with *Rome*, and not with *Eumenes* only. For procuring of this,

^a Polyb. Legat. 78.

he promised to be at any reasonable cost ; but he would lay down the money in the temple at *Samothrace*, whence it should be delivered unto *Eumenes*, after that the peace was fully concluded and ratified. The isle of *Samothrace* was *Perseus's* own, and therefore *Eumenes* thought the money no nearer to him, being there, than if it remained in *Pella*. Besides, his labour deserved somewhat, howsoever the business might happen to succeed ; so that needs he would have part of his wages in *prêt*. Thus the two kings did no more than lose time ; and *Eumenes* grew suspected of the *Romans* as a traitor.

After the same manner dealt *Perseus* with king *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. He had attempted this *Illyrian* before, who dealt plainly, and said, that without money he could not stir. Hereunto *Perseus* loved not to hearken, thinking that his treasures would serve at the last cast, to deliver him from all his fears. But when the *Romans* had gotten within *Tempe*, then did his fear urge him to prodigality ; so as he agreed to pay three hundred talents, which *Gentius* demanded for a recompence. So the bargain was soon made, and pledges on both sides delivered for performance. This was openly done by *Perseus*, to the end that all his army might have comfort by such access of strength to their party. Presently, upon the bargain made, ambassadors were sent to *Rhodes*, both from *Perseus* and *Gentius*, who desired the *Rhodians* to take upon them as arbitrators between *Perseus* and the *Romans*, and to bring the war to an end. The *Rhodians*, thinking that *Martius* the consul was no less desirous of peace than the *Macedonian*, arrogantly promised, that they, by their authority, would make peace ; wishing the kings to shew themselves conformable. But the *Roman* senate, hearing proud words to the same effect from the *Rhodian* ambassadors, gave an answer as disdainful, angry, and menacing as they could devise ; so as this vain glory of the *Rhodians* was thoroughly chastised ; and more thoroughly should have been, if their submission had not been as humble, as their folly was proud. Such use of *Gentius's* friendship made *Perseus*, without laying out one ounce of silver. Now fain he would have hastned this young and rash *Illyrian* to enter with all speed into the war ; but then must the money be hastned away. *Pantauchus*, the *Macedonian* ambassador, who remained with *Gentius*, exhorted him daily to begin the war by land and sea, whilst the *Romans* were unprovided. But finding what it was that made all to stay, he sent word to *Perseus*. Hereupon ten talents were sent to *Pantauchus*, who delivered it to the young king, as earnest of that which followed. More followed indeed, and sealed up with the seal of the *Illyrians* ; but carried by *Macedonians*, and not too fast. Before this money came into *Illyria*, *Gentius* had laid hands upon two *Roman* ambassadors, and cast them into prison ; which *Perseus* no sooner heard, than he recalled his treasure-bearers, and sent them with their load to *Pella* ; for that now the *Illyrian* was of necessity to make war with the *Romans*, whether he were hired thereto or not.

^a There came about the same time, through *Illyria*, to the aid of *Perseus*, under one *Clondicus* a petty king, ten thousand horse and ten thousand foot, of the *Gauls*, which were (as *Plutarch* hath it) the *Bastarnæ*. These had before-hand made their bargain, and were to receive present pay at the first. At their entry into the kingdom, *Perseus* sent one to them ; desiring their captains to come visit him, whom he promised to gratify with

goodly rewards ; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their general asked, was, Whether the king had sent money to give the soldiers their pay in hand, according to his bargain ? Hereto the messenger had not what to answer. Why then (said *Clondicus*) tell thy master, That the *Gauls* will not stir one foot further, until they have gold, as was agreed, and hostages. *Perseus* hereupon took counsel : if to utter his own opinion, before men so wise that they would not contradict him, were to take counsel. He made an invective against the incivility and avarice of the *Bastarnæ* : who came with such numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his kingdom. Five thousand horse of them, he said, would be as many as he should need to use ; and not so many, that he should need to fear them. It had been well done, if any of his counsellors would have told him, that there wanted not employment for the whole army of them, since without any danger to the kingdom, they might be let out by the way of *Perrhæbia*, into *Thessaly* : where wasting the country, and filling themselves with spoil, they should make the *Romans* glad to forsake *Tempe*, even for hunger and all manner of want ; therein doing the king notable service, whether they won any victory, or not. This, and a great deal more might have been alledged, if any man had dared to give advice freely. In conclusion *Antigonus*, the same messenger that had been with them before, was sent again, to let them know the king's mind. He did his errand : upon which followed a great murmur of those many thousands that had been drawn so far to no purpose. But *Clondicus* asked him now again, whether he had brought the money along with him, to pay those five thousand, whom the king would entertain. Hereto, when it was perceived, that *Antigonus* could make no better answer than shifting excuses ; the *Bastarnæ* returned presently towards *Danubius*, wasting the neighbour parts of *Thrace* ; yet suffering this crafty messenger to escape unhurt : which was more than he could have well expected.

Thus dealt *Perseus*, like a careful treasurer, and one that would preserve his money for the *Romans*, without diminishing the sum. But of this painful office he was very soon discharged by *L. Æmylius Paulus* the new consul : who in fifteen days after his setting forth from *Italy*, brought the kingdom of *Macedon* to that end, for which God had appointed over it a king so foolish and so cowardly.

SECT. VIII.

Of *L. Æmylius Paulus* the consul. His journey. He forceth *Perseus* to discamp. He will not hazard battel with any disadvantage. Of an eclipse of the moon. *Æmylius's* superstition. The battel of *Pydna*. *Perseus's* flight. He forsakes his kingdom : which hastily yields to *Æmylius*. *Perseus* at *Samothrace*. He yields himself to the *Roman* admiral ; and is sent prisoner to *Æmylius*.

BY the war of *Macedon*, the *Romans* hitherto had gotten much dishonour. Which though it were not accompanied with any danger, yet the indignity so moved them, that either ^a they decreed that province to *L. Æmylius Paulus*, without putting it, as was otherwise their manner, to the chance of lot, between him and his fellow con-

^a Liv. lib. 44. *Plutarch* in vit. *Æmyl.*

^b *Plutarch* in vit. *Æmyl.*

ful ; or at least were gladder that the lot had cast it upon him, than that so worthy a man was advanced to the dignity of a second consulship. He refused to propound unto the senate any thing that concerned his province ; until by his ambassadors, thither sent to view the estate of the war, it was perfectly understood, in what condition both the *Roman* forces, and the *Macedonian*, at the present remained. This being thoroughly known to be such, as hath been already told ; the senate appointed a strong supply, not only unto the consul, but unto the navy, and likewise to the army that lay between *Illyria* and *Epirus* ; from which *Ap. Claudius* was removed, and *L. Anicius* sent thither in his place. *Æmylius*, before his departure from *Rome*, making an oration to the people, as was the custom, spake with much gravity and authority. He requested those that thought themselves wise enough to manage this war, either to accompany him into *Macedon*, and there assist him with their advice ; or else to govern their tongues at home, and not take upon them to give directions by hearsay, and censure by idle reports : for he told them plainly, that he would frame his doings to occasions ; not to the expectation of the multitude. The like speech of his father *L. Æmylius*, who died valiantly in the battel of *Canna*, might well be living in some of their memories : which was enough to make them conform themselves the more gladly unto the instructions given by a wise and resolute consul.

All his business within the city being dispatched, *Æmylius* was honourably attended, at his setting forth on his journey ; with an especial hope of men, that he should finish the war : though that he should finish it so soon and happily, was more than could have been hoped or imagined. He came to *Brundisium* ; whence, when the wind came fair, he set sail at break of day, and arrived safely at the isle of *Corcyra* before night. Thence passed he to *Delphi* : where, having done sacrifice to *Apollo*, after the fifth day he set forwards to the camp ; and was there in five days more. So are there but five of the fifteen days remaining, in which he finished the war.

Perseus lay strongly encamped at *Dium* ; having spared no labour of men and women to fortify the banks of *Enipeus*, where it was fordable in dry weather. So as there was little hope, or none, to force him ; and consequently as little possibility to enter that way into *Macedon*. One great inconvenience troubling the *Romans*, and much disabling them to make attempt upon *Dium*, was lack of fresh water. For there wereten miles between *Dium* and *Tempe* ; all the way lying between the sea-shore and the foot of *Olympus*, without any brook or spring breaking forth on that side. But *Æmylius* found present remedy for this, by digging wells on the shore, where he found sweet springs ; as commonly there is no shore that wants them, though they rise not above the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder *Martius* from taking up his lodging any nearer to the enemy, than the town of *Heraclea*, on the river *Peneus* ; where he had watering at pleasure, but could perform no service of any worth. Yet when the *Roman* camp had such means to lye close to the *Macedonian*, as it presently did ; the passage onward being defended as hath been already shewed, seemed no less difficult than before. Wherefore it was necessary to search another way ; which by enquiry was found out. There was a narrow passage over *Olympus*, leading into *Porrhæbia* : hard of ascent, but slenderly guarded, and therefore promising a

fair journey. *Martius* either had not been informed hereof ; or durst not attempt it : or perhaps could not get his soldiers to make the adventure ; they fearing lest it would prove such a piece of work, as had been their march over *Ossa* into *Tempe*. But *Paulus* was a man of greater industry, courage, and ability, to command. He had reformed, even at his first coming, many disorders in the *Roman* camp ; teaching the soldiers, among other good lessons, to be obedient and ready in execution ; without troubling themselves, as had been their manner, to examine the doings and purposes of their general. And now he appointed about five thousand men to this enterprise : whereof he committed the charge unto *Scipio Æmylianus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his own sons by nature, but adopted ; the one of them, by a son of *Scipio* the *African* ; the other by one of the *Fabii*. *Scipio* took with him some light-armed *Thracians* and *Cretans* ; but his main strength was of legionaries. For the king's guard, upon the mountain, consisted in a manner wholly of archers and slingers : who, though at some distance they might do notable service against those that should climb up unto them ; yet when the darkness took away their aim, they were like to make a bad night's work, being to deal with those that were armed to fight at hand. To conceal the business about which they went, *Scipio* and *Fabius* took a wrong way towards the fleet ; where victuals were provided for their journey : it being noised, that they were to run along the coast of *Macedon* by sea, and waste the country. All the while that they were passing the mountains (which was about three days) the consul made shew of a meaning to set upon *Perseus* where he lay ; rather to divert the king's attention from that which was his main enterprise, than upon any hope to do good, in seeking to get over *Enipeus*. The chanel of *Enipeus*, which received in winter time a great fall of waters from the mountains, was exceeding deep and broad ; and the ground of it was such, as though at the present it lay well-near all dry, yet it served not for those that were weightily armed to fight upon. Wherefore *Æmylius* employed none save his *Velites* ; of whom the king's light armature had advantage at far distance, though the *Romans* were better appointed for the close. The engines from off the towers which *Perseus* had raised on his own bank, did also beat upon the *Romans*, and gave them to understand, that their labour was in vain. Yet *Æmylius* persisted as he had begun ; and continued his assault, such as it could be, the second day. This might have served to teach the *Macedonians*, that some greater work was in hand : since otherwise a good captain, as *Æmylius* was known to be, would not have troubled himself with making such bravado's, that were somewhat costly. But *Perseus* only looked unto that which was before his eyes : until his men that came running fearfully down the mountain, brought word into the camp, That the *Romans* were following at their backs. Then was all full of tumult, and the king himself no less (if not more) amaz'd than any of the rest. Order was forthwith given to dislodge ; or rather, without order, in all tumultuous haste, the camp was broken up, and a speedy retreat made to *Pydna*. Whether it were so, that they which had custody of the passage were taken sleeping, or whether they were beaten by plain force ; *Scipio* and *Fabius* had very good success in their journey. It may well be, that they slept until the *Romans* came somewhat near to them ; and then taking alarm, when their arrows and slings

flings could do little service, were beaten at handy-stroaks: so as the different relations that are cited by *Plutarch* out of *Polybius*, and an epistle of *Scipio*, may each of them have been true. Thus was an open way cleared into *Macedon*: which had been effected by *Martius* in the year foregoing; but was closed up again, through his not prosecuting so rich an opportunity.

Perseus was in extream doubt what course to take, after this unhappy beginning. Some gave advice, to man his towns, and so to linger out the war: having been taught by the last year's example, how resolute the people were in making defence. But far worse counsel prevailed; as generally it doth in turbulent and fearful deliberations. The king resolved to put all at once to hazard of battel: fearing belike to put himself into any one town, lest that should be first of all besieged; and he therein (as cowardly natures always are jealous) not over-carefully relieved. This was even the same that *Æmylius*, or any invader, should have desired. So a place was chosen near unto *Pydna*, that served well for the *Phalanx*, and had likewise on the sides of it some pieces of higher ground, fit for the archers and light armature. There he abode the coming of the enemy; who stayed not long behind him. As soon as the *Romans* had sight of the king's army; which, with greater fear than discretion, had hasted away from them, forsaking the camp that was so notably well fortified: they desired nothing more, than to give battel immediately; doubting lest otherwise the king should change his mind, and get further off. And to this effect *Scipio* brake with the consul; praying him not to lose occasion by delay. But *Æmylius* told him, that he spake like a young man; and therefore willed him to have patience. The *Romans* were tired with their journey; had no camp wherein to rest themselves; nor any thing there, save only the bare ground whereon they trod. For these and the like respects, the consul made a stand, and, shewing himself unto the *Macedonian*, who did the like, in order of battel, gave charge to have the camp measured out and entrenched behind the army; whereunto at good leisure, he fell back without any manner of trouble. After a night's rest, it was hoped both by the *Romans* and the *Macedonians*, that the matter should be determined; each part thinking their own general to blame, for that they had not fought the same day. As for the king, he excused himself by the backwardness of the enemy; who advanced no further, but kept upon ground serving ill for the *Phalanx*: as on the other side, the consul had the reasons before shewed, which he communicated to those about him the next day.

That evening (which followed the third of *September*, by the *Roman* account) *C. Sulpicius Galus*, a colonel, or tribune of a legion, who had the former year been pretor, foretold unto the consul, and (with his good liking) unto the army, an eclipse of the moon, which was to be the same night: willing the soldiers not to be troubled therewith, for that it was natural, and might be known long before it was seen. It was the manner of the *Romans*, in such eclipses, to beat pans of brass and bassons, as we do in following a swarm of bees; thinking that thereby they did the moon great ease, and helped her in her labour. But this prognostication of *Sulpicius* converted their superstition into admiration of his deep skill, when they saw it verified. Contrariwise, the *Macedonians* howled and made a great noise as long as the eclipse lasted: rather perhaps because it was their fashion, than

for that they were terrified therewith as with a prodigy, betokening their loss; since their desire to fight was no wit lessened by it. I will not here stand to dispute, whether such eclipses do signify, or cause, any alteration in civil affairs, and matters that have small dependance on natural complexion: for the argument is too large. More worthy of observation it is, how superstition captivates the understanding of the wisest, where the help of true religion is wanting. *Æmylius*, though he were sufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the moon, that it was no supernatural thing, nor above the reach of human understanding, so as he should need to trouble himself with any devout regard thereof: yet could he not refrain from doing his duty to this moon, and congratulating with sacrifice her delivery, as soon as she shone out bright again: for which, he is commended even by *Plutarch* a sage philosopher, as a godly and religious man. If *Sulpicius* perhaps did not assist him in this foolish devotion; yet is it like, that he being a senator, and one of the council for war, was partaker the next morning in a sacrifice done to *Hercules*; which was no less foolish. For a great part of the day was vainly consumed, ere *Hercules* could be pleased with any sacrifice, and vouchsafe to shew tokens of good luck in the entrails of the beasts. At length in the belly of the one and twentieth sacrifice, was found a promise of victory to *Æmylius*; but with condition, that he should not give the onset. *Hercules* was a *Greek*, and partial, as nearer in alliance to the *Macedonian* than to the *Roman*. Wherefore it had been better to call upon the new goddesses, lately canonized at *Alabanda*; or upon *Romulus*, founder of their city, on whom the *Romans* had bestowed his deity; or (if a god of elder date were more authentic) upon *Mars* the father of *Romulus*, to whom belonged the guidance of military affairs; and who therefore would have limited his favour with no injunctions contrary to the rules of war.

Now concerning the battel; *Æmylius* was thoroughly perswaded, that the king meant to abide it: for that otherwise he would not have stayed at *Pydna*, when, as a little before, his leisure served to retire whither he listed, the *Romans* being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the sacrifices, the consul thought that he might wait upon advantage, without making any great haste. Neither was it to be neglected, that the morning sun was full in the *Roman's* faces: which would be much to their hinderance all the forenoon. Since therefore *Perseus* kept his ground, that was commodious for the *Phalanx*, and *Æmylius* sent forth part of his men to bring in wood and fodder; there was no likelihood of fighting that day. But about ten of the clock in the morning, a small occasion brought to pass that, whereto neither of the generals had over-earnest desire. A horse brake loose at watering; which two or three of the *Roman* soldiers followed into the river, wading after him up to the knees. The king's men lay on the further bank; whence a couple of *Thracians* ran into the water, to draw this horse over to their own side. These fell to blows, as in a private quarrel; and one of the *Thracians* was slain. His countrymen seeing this, hasted to revenge their fellow's death, and followed those that had slain him, over the river. Hereupon company came in, to help on each part, until the number grew such, as made it past a fray, and caused both the armies to be careful of the event. In fine, each of the generals placed his men in order of battel, accordingly as the man-

ner of his country, and the arms, wherewith they served, did require. The ground was a flat level, save that on the sides a few hillocks were raised here and there; whereof each part might take what advantage it could. The *Macedonians* were the greater number, the *Romans* the better soldiers, and better appointed. Both the king and the consul encouraged their men with lively words; which the present condition could bountifully afford. But the king having finished his oration, and sent on his men, withdrew himself into *Pydna*; there to do sacrifice, as he pretended, unto *Hercules*. It is the less marvel, that he durst adventure battel, since he had bethought himself of such a stratagem, whereby to save his own person. As for *Hercules*, he liked not the sacrifice of a coward: whose unseasonable devotion could be no better than hypocrisy. For he that will pray for a good harvest, ought also to plow, sow, and weed his ground. When therefore the king returned to the battel, he found it no better than lost: and he, in looking to his own safety, caused it to be lost altogether, by beginning the flight.

The acts of this day, such as we find recorded, are, that the *Roman* elephants could do no manner of good; that the *Macedonian Phalanx* did so stoutly press onwards, and beat off all which came before it, as *Æmylius* was thereat much astonished; that the *Peligni* rushing desperately on the *Phalanx*, were over-borne, many of them slain, and the squadrons following them so discouraged herewith, as they retired apace towards an hill. These were the things that fell out adverse to the *Romans*; and which the consul beholding, is said to have rent his coat-armour for grief. If the king, with all his power of horse, had in like manner done his devoir, the victory might have been his own. That which turned the fortune of the battel, was the same, which doubtless the consul expected even from the beginning: the difficulty, or almost the impossibility, of holding the *Phalanx* long in order. For, whilst some of the *Romans* small battalions pressed hard upon one part of it, and others recoiled from it; it was necessary (if the *Macedonians* would follow upon those which were put to the worse) that some files having open way before them, should advance themselves beyond the rest that were held at a stand. This coming so to pass, admonished the consul what was to be done. The long pikes of the *Macedonians* were of little use, when they were charged in flank by the *Roman* targettiers; according to the direction given by *Æmylius*, when he saw the front of the enemies great battel become unequal, and the ranks in some places open, by reason of the unequal resistance which they found. Thus was the use of the *Phalanx* proved unavailable against many small squadrons, as it had been formerly in the battel of *Cynoscephale*: yea, this form of embatteling was found unserviceable against the other, by reason, that being not every-where alike distressed, it would break of itself; though here were little such inconvenience of ground, as had been at *Cynoscephale*.

Perseus, when he saw his battel begin to rout, turned his bridle presently, and ran amain towards *Pella*. All his horse escaped in a manner untouched, and a great number followed him; the little harm which they had taken, witnessing the little good service which they had done. As for the poor foot, they were left to the mercy of the enemy; who slew above twenty thousand of them; though having little cause to be furious, as having lost in

that battel, only some fourscore, or sixscore men at the most. Some of the foot escaping from the execution, overtook the king and his company in a wood; where they fell to railing at the horsemen, calling them cowards, traytors, and such other names, till at length they fell to blows. The king was in doubt lest they had ill meaning to himself: and therefore turned out of the common way, being followed by such as thought it good. The rest of the company dispersed themselves: every one as his own occasions guided him. Of those that kept along with their king, the number began within a while to lessen. For he fell to devising upon whom he might lay the blame of that day's misfortune, which was most due to himself: thereby causing those that knew his nature, to shrink away from him how they could. At his coming to *Pella*; he found his pages and household servants ready to attend him, as they had been wont. But of his great men that had escaped from the battel, there was none appearing in the court. In this melancholy time, there was two of his treasurers, that had the boldness to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their unseasonable admonitions, he stabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he sent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore standing in fear, lest they that refused to come at his call, would shortly dare some greater mischief; he stole out of *Pella* by night. Of his friends he had with him only *Evander* (who had been employed to kill *Eumenes* at *Delphi*) and two other. There followed him likewise about five hundred *Cretans*; more for love of his money than of him. To these he gave of his plate, as much as was worth about fifty talents, though shortly he cozened them of some part thereof; making shew as if he would have redeemed it; but never paying the money. The third day after the battel he came to *Amphipolis*; where he exhorted the townsmen to fidelity, with tears; and his own speech being hindered by tears, appointed *Evander* to speak what himself would have uttered. But the *Amphipolitans* made it their chief care to look well to themselves. Upon the first fame of the overthrow, they had emptied their town of two thousand *Thracians* that lay there in garrison: sending them forth under colour of a gainful employment, and shutting the gates after them. And now to be rid of the king; they plainly bid *Evander* be gone. The king hearing this, had no mind to tarry: but embarking himself and the treasure which he had there, in certain vessels that he found in the river *Strymon*; passed over to the isle of *Samothrace*: where he hoped to live safe, by privilege of the religious sanctuary therein.

These miserable shifts of the king made it the less doubtful how all the kingdom fell into the power of *Æmylius*, within so few days after his victory. *Pydna*, which was nearest at hand, was the last that yielded. About six thousand of the soldiers that were of sundry nations, fled out of the battel into that town, and prepared for defence: the confused rabble of so many strangers hindering all deliberation and consent. *Hippius*, who had kept the passage over *Ossa* against *Martius*, with *Pantauchus*, who had been sent ambassador to *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, were the first that came in: yielding themselves and the town of *Berea*, whither they had retired out of the battel. With the like message came others from *Theſſalonica*, from *Pella*, and from all the towns of *Macedon*, within

two days: the loss of the head bereaving the whole body of all sense and strength. Neither did they of *Pydna* stand out any longer, when they knew that the king had forsaken his country; but opened their gates upon such terms, that the sack of it was granted to the *Roman* army. *Æmylius* sent abroad into the country such as he thought meetest, to take charge of other cities; he himself marching towards *Pella*. He found in *Pella* no more than three hundred talents; the same whereof *Perseus* had lately defrauded the *Illyrian*. But within a very little while he shall have more. It was soon understood, that *Perseus* had taken sanctuary in the temple at *Samothrace*: his own letters to the consul, confirming the report. He sent these letters by a person of such mean condition, that his case was pitied, for that he wanted the service of better men. The scope of his writing was, to desire favour; which though he begged in terms ill becoming a king; yet since the inscription of his epistle was, *king Perseus to the consul Paulus*; the consul, who had taken from him his kingdom, and would not allow him to retain the title, refused to make any answer thereunto. So there came other letters, as humble as could be expected; whereby he craved and obtained, that some might be sent to confer with him about matters of his present estate. Nevertheless, in this conference he was marvellous earnest, that he might be allowed still to retain the name of king. And to this end it was perhaps, that he had so carefully preserved his treasure unto the very last: flattering himself with such vain hopes as these; that the *Romans* would neither violate a sanctuary, nor yet neglect those great riches in his possession; but compound with him for money, letting him have his desire to live at ease, and to be called king. Yea, it seems that he had indeed, even from the beginning, a desire to live in this isle of *Samothrace*: both for that in one of his consultations about the war, he was dehorted by his friends, from seeking to exchange his kingdom of *Macedon*, for a such a paltry island; and for that he offered to lay up the money which *Eumenes* demanded in the holy temple that was there. But he finds it otherwise. They urge him to give place unto necessity, and without much ado, to yield to the discretion and mercy of the people of *Rome*. This is so far against his mind, that the conference breaks off without effect. Presently there arrives at *Samothrace* *Cn. Octavius* the *Roman* admiral with his fleet; who assails, as well by terrible threats, as by fair language, to draw the king out of his lurking hole; wherein, for fear of imprisonment, he had now already imprisoned himself. When all would not serve, a question was moved to the *Samothracians*; how they durst pollute their temple, by receiving into it one that had violated the like privilege of sanctuary, by attempting the murder of king *Eumenes* at *Delphi*? This went to the quick. The *Samothracians*, being now in the power of the *Romans*, take this matter to heart; and send word to the king that *Evander*, who lives with him in the temple, is accused of an impious fact committed at *Delphi*, whereof unless he can clear himself in judgment, he must not be suffered to prophane that holy place, by his abiding in it. The reverence borne to his majesty now past, makes them forbear to say, that *Perseus* himself is charged with the same crime. But what will this avail, when the minister of the fact being brought into judgment, shall (as is to be feared) impeach the au-

thor? *Perseus* therefore willed *Evander* to have consideration of the little favour that can be expected at the *Romans* hand, who are like to be presidents and overseers of this judgment: so as it were better to die valiantly, since none other hope remains, than hope to make good an ill cause; where, though he had a good plea, yet it could not help him. Of this motion *Evander* seems to like well, and either kills himself, or hoping to escape thence, by deferring the time as it were to get poison wherewith to end his life, is killed by the king's commandment. The death of this man, who had stuck to *Perseus* in all times of need, makes all the king's friends that remained hitherto to forsake him; so as none are left with him, save his wife and children, with his pages. It is much to be suspected, that they which leave him upon this occasion, will tell perilous tales, and say, that the king hath lost the privilege of this holy sanctuary, by murdering *Evander* therein. Or, if the *Romans* will affirm so much, who shall dare to gainsay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formality, and even that also liable to dispute, which preserves him from captivity, he purposeth to make an escape, and fly, with his treasures, unto *Cotys*, his good friend, into *Thrace*. *Oroandes*, a *Cretan*, lay at *Samothrace* with one ship; who easily was persuaded to waft the king thence. With all secrecy the king's money, as much as could be conveyed, was carried aboard by night; and the king himself, with his wife and children (if rather it were not true, that he had with him only ^b *Philip*, his elder son, who was only by adoption his son, being his brother by nature) with much ado got out of a window by a rope, and over a mud-wall. At his coming to the sea-side, he found no *Oroandes* there; the *Cretans* had played a *Cretan* trick, and he was gone with the money to his own home. So it began to wax clear day, whilst *Perseus* was searching all along the shoar, who had stayed so long about this, that he might fear to be intercepted ere he could recover the temple. He ran therefore amain towards his lodging, and, thinking it not safe to enter it the common way, lest he should be taken, he hid himself in an obscure corner. His pages missing him, ran up and down making enquiry, till *Octavius* made proclamation, that all the king's pages, and *Macedonians* whatsoever, abiding with their master in *Samothrace*, should have their lives and liberty, with all to them belonging, which they had either in that isle, or at home in *Macedon*, conditionally, that they should presently yield themselves to the *Romans*. Hereupon they all came in. Likewise *Ion*, a *Thessalonian*, to whom the king had given the custody of his children, delivered them up to *Octavius*. Lastly, *Perseus* himself, with his son *Philip*, accusing the gods of *Samothrace*, that had no better protected him, rendered himself, and made the *Roman* victory compleat. If he had not trusted in those gods of *Samothrace*, but employed his whole care in the defence of *Macedon*, without other hopes of living, than of reigning therein, he might well have brought this war to an happier end. Now, by dividing his cogitations, and pursuing at once those contrary hopes of saving his kingdom by arms, and himself by flight, he is become a spectacle of misery, and one among the number of those princes, that have been wretched by their own default. He was presently sent away to *Æmylius*, before whom he fell to the ground so basely, that he seemed thereby to dishonour the victory over himself, as

^a Liv. lib. 42. ^b Plut. in vit. *Æmyl.* Liv. lib. 45. Liv. lib. 42.

gotten upon one of abject quality, and therefore the less to be esteemed. *Æmilius* used to him the language of a gentle victor, blaming him, though mildly, for having with so hostile a mind made war upon the *Romans*. Hereto good answer might have been returned by one of better spirit. As for *Perseus*, he answered all with a fearful silence. He was comforted with hope of life, or (as the consul termed it) almost assurance; for that such was the mercy of the people of *Rome*. After these good words, being invited to the consul's table, and respectfully intreated, he was committed prisoner to *Q. Ælius*.

Such end had this *Macedonian* war, after four years continuance; and such end therewithal had the kingdom of *Macedon*, the glory whereof, that had some time filled all parts of the world then known, was now translated unto *Rome*.

S E C T. IX.

Gentius, king of the *Illyrians*, taken by the *Romans*.

ABOUT the same time, and with like celerity, *Anicius*, the *Roman* pretor, who succeeded unto *App. Claudius*, had the like success against king *Gentius*, the *Illyrian*. *Gentius* had an army of fifteen thousand, with which he was at *Lissus*, ready to assist king *Perseus* as soon as the money should come, whereof he had received only ten talents. But *Anicius* arrested him on the way; fought with him; overcame him; and drove him into ^a *Scodra*. This town was very defensible by nature, besides the help of fortification, and strongly manned with all the force of *Illyria*; which, assisted with the king's presence, made it seem impossible to be won in any, not a very long time. Yet *Anicius* was confident in his late victory, and therefore presented his army before the walls, making countenance to give an assault. The *Illyrians*, that might easily have defended themselves within the town, would needs issue forth and fight. They were it seems rather passionate than courageous, for they were beaten; and thereupon forthwith began amazedly to treat about yielding. The king sent ambassadors, by whom, at first, he desired truce for three days, that he might deliberate concerning his estate. It ill became him, who had laid violent hands on the *Roman* ambassadors, to have recourse to such mediation. But he thought his own fault pardonable, inasmuch as hitherto there was no greater harm done by him, than the casting of those ambassadors into prison, where they were still alive. Having obtained three days respite, he passed up a river, within half a mile of the *Roman* camp, into the lake of *Scodra*, as it were to consult the more privately; though indeed, to hearken whether the report were true, that his brother *Caravantius* was coming to his rescue. Finding that no such help was toward, it is a wonder that he was so foolish as to return into *Scodra*. He sent messengers craving access unto the pretor, before whom having lamented his folly past (which, excepting the dishonesty, was not so great as his folly present) he fell down humbly, and yielded himself to discretion. All the towns of his kingdom, together with his wife, children, brother, and friends, were presently given up. So this war ended in thirty days, the people of *Rome* not knowing that it was begun, until *Perpenna*, one

of the ambassadors that had been imprisoned, brought word from *Anicius* how all had passed.

S E C T. X.

How the *Romans* behaved themselves in *Greece* and *Macedon*, after their victory over *Perseus*.

NOW began the *Romans* to swell with the pride of their fortune, and to look tyrannically upon those that had been unmannerly towards them before, whilst the war with *Perseus* seemed full of danger. The *Rhodian* ambassadors were still at *Rome*, when the tidings of these victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the senate, and bid them do their errand again. This they performed with a bad grace, saying, that they were sent from *Rhodes* to make an overture of peace; forasmuch as it was thought, that this war was no less grievous to the *Romans* themselves, than to the *Macedonians* and many others; but that now they were very glad, and in behalf of the *Rhodians* did congratulate with the senate and people of *Rome*, that it was ended much more happily than had been expected. Hereto the senate made answer, that the *Rhodians* had sent this embassy to *Rome*, not for love of *Rome*, but in favour of the *Macedonian*, whose partisans they were, and should be so taken. By these threats, and the desire of some (covetous of the charge) to have war proclaimed against *Rhodes*, the ambassadors were so affrighted, that in mourning apparel, as humble suppliants, they went about the city; beseeching all men, especially the great ones, to pardon their indiscretion, and not to prosecute them with vengeance for some foolish words. This danger of war from *Rome* being known at *Rhodes*, all that had been any whit averse from the *Romans* in the late war of *Macedon*, were either taken and condemned, or sent prisoners to *Rome*; excepting some that slew themselves for fear, whose goods also were confiscated. Yet this procured little grace, and less would have done, if old *M. Cato*, a man by nature vehement, had not uttered a mild sentence, and advertised the senate, that in decreeing war against *Rhodes*, they should much dishonour themselves, and make it thought, that ^b rather the wealth of that city, which they were thought greedy to ransack, than any just cause, had moved them thereto. This consideration, together with their good deserts in the wars of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, helped well the *Rhodians*; among whom, none of any mark remained alive, save those that had been of the *Roman* faction. All which notwithstanding, many years passed, ere by importunate suit, they could be admitted into the society of the *Romans*; a favour which, till now, they had not esteemed; but thought themselves better without it, as equal friends.

With the like, or greater severity, did the *Romans* make themselves terrible in all parts of *Greece*. *Æmilius* himself made progress through the country, visiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleasure; yet not forgetting to make them understand what power he had over them. More than five hundred of the chief citizens in *Demetrias* was slain at one time by those of the *Roman* faction, and with help of the *Roman* soldiers. Others fled, or were banished, and their goods confiscated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the consul, the redress was such,

^a Called now Scutari.

^b Cæsar, in orat. apud Salust. de Conjurat. Catilinæ.

as requited not the pains of making supplication. His friends, that is to say, those which betrayed unto the *Romans* the liberty of their country, he feasted like a king, with excessive cheer; yet so, that he had all things very cheap in his camp: an easy matter, since no man durst be backward in sending provisions, nor set on them the due price. Ambassadors likewise were sent to *Rome*; some to give order for settling the estate of *Macedon*, towards which they had more particular instruction from the senate than was usual in such cases; and some to visit the affairs of *Greece*. The kingdom of *Macedon* was set at liberty by *Amylius*, and the ambassadors, his assistants, who had order therefore from the senate. But this liberty was such as the *Romans* used to bestow. The best part of it was, that the tribute which had been pay'd unto the kings, was lessened by half. As for the rest, the country was divided into four parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the nobility were sent captive into *Italy*, with their wives and children, as many as were above fifteen years old. The ancient laws of the country were abrogated, and new given by *Amylius*. Such mischief the senate thought it better to do, at the first alteration of things in this province, and in the time of conquest, than otherwise to leave any inconvenience that should be worse in the future. But concerning the *Greeks*, that were not subject to *Rome*, the things done to them, could deserve no better name than mere tyranny, yea, and shameless perjury; were it not so, that the familiar custom among princes and great estates of violating leagues, doth make the oaths of confederation seem of no validity. The ambassadors, that were sent to visit the *Greeks*, called before them all such men of note, from every quarter, as had any way discovered an unserviceable disposition towards the *Romans*. These they sent to *Rome*, where they were made sure enough. Some of these had sent letters to *Perseus*, which fell at length into the *Romans* hands; and in that respect, though they were no subjects, yet wanted there no colour for using them as traitors, or at least as enemies. But since only two men were beheaded, for having been openly on the *Macedonian* side; and since it is confessed, that the good patriots were no less afflicted in this inquisition, than they that had sold themselves to the king: this manner of proceeding, was inexcusable tyranny. With the *Acheans* these ambassadors were to deal more formally; not so much because that commonwealth was strong (though this were to be regarded by them, having no commission to make or denounce war) and like to prove untractable, if manifest wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of sign by letters, or otherwise, whereby any one of the *Acheans* could be suspiciously charged to have held correspondence with the *Macedonian*. It was also so, that neither *Callicrates*, nor any of his adherents, had been employed by the nation in doing or offering their service to the *Romans*, but only such as were the best patriots. Yet would not therefore the ambassadors neglect to use the benefit of the time; wherein, since all men trembled for fear of *Rome*, the season served fitly to rank the *Acheans* with the rest. And hereto *Callicrates* was very urgent, fearing, and procuring them to fear in behalf of him and his friends, that if some sharp order were not now taken, he and his fellows should be made to pay for their mischievous devices, ere long time passed. So the ambassadors came among the

Acheans, where one of them, in open assembly of the nation, spake as *Callicrates* had before instructed him. He said, that some of the chief among them had, with money and other means, befriended *Perseus*. This being so, he desired that all such men might be condemned, whom, after sentence given, he would name unto them. After sentence given (cried out the whole assembly) what justice were this? Name them first, and let them answer; which if they cannot well do, we will soon condemn them. Then said the *Roman* boldly, that all their pretors, as many as had led their armies, were guilty of this crime. If this were true, said *Xenon*, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence, then should I likewise have been friend to *Perseus*; whereof, if any man can accuse me, I shall thoroughly answer him, either here presently, or before the senate at *Rome*. Upon these words of *Xenon*, the ambassador laid hold, and said, that even so it were the best way for him and the rest to purge themselves before the senate at *Rome*. Then began he to name others, and left not until he had cited above a thousand; willing them to appear and answer before the senate. This might even be termed the captivity of *Greece*, wherein so many of the honestest and worthiest men were carried from home, for none other cause than their love to their country, to be punished according to the will of those, who could not endure, that virtue, and regard of the publick liberty, should dwell together in any of the *Greeks*. At their coming to *Rome*, they were all cast into prison, as men already condemned by the *Acheans*. Many embassies were sent from *Achaia* (where it is to be wondered, that any such honest care of these innocent men could be remaining; since honesty had been thus punished as a vice in so many of the worthiest among them) to inform the senate, that these men were neither condemned by the *Acheans*, nor yet held to be offenders. But instead of better answer, it was pronounced, that the senate thought it not expedient for the country, that these men return into *Achaia*. Neither could any solicitation of the *Acheans*, who never ceased to importune the senate for their liberty, prevail at all; until after seventeen years, fewer than thirty of them were enlarged, of whom that wise and virtuous man *Polybius*, the great historian, was one. All the rest were either dead in prison, or, having made offer to escape, whether upon the way before they came to *Rome*, or whether out of jail after that they were committed thereto, suffered death as malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done upon the *Epirots*. For the senate being desirous to preserve the *Macedonian* treasure whole, yet, withal to gratify the soldiers, gave order that the whole country of *Epirus* should be put to sack. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as also it was performed by *Amylius*, with mischievous subtilty. Having taken leave of the *Greeks*, and of the *Macedonians*, with bidding them well to use the liberty bestowed upon them by the people of *Rome*, he sent unto the *Epirots* for ten of the principal men out of every city. These he commanded to deliver up all the gold and silver which they had; and sent along with them into every of their towns what companies of men he thought convenient, as it were to fetch the money. But he gave secret instruction to the captains, that upon a certain day by him appointed they should fall to sack, every one the town whereinto he was sent. Thus in one day

were threescore and ten cities, all confederate with the *Romans*, spoiled by the *Roman* soldiers: and, besides other acts of hostility in a time of peace, a hundred and fifty thousand of that nation made slaves. It may be granted, that some of the *Epirots* deserved punishment, as having favoured *Perseus*. But since they among this people, that were thought guilty of this offence, yea, or but coldly affected to the *Romans*, had been already sent into *Italy*, there to receive their due; and since this nation in general was not only at the present in good obedience, but had, even in this war, done good service to the *Romans*: I hold this act so wicked, that I should not believe it, had any one writer delivered the contrary. But the truth being manifest by consent of all; it is the less marvellous, that God was pleased to make *Æmylius* childless, even in the glory of his triumph, how great soever otherwise his virtues were.

In such manner dealt the *Romans*, after their victory, with the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*. How terrible they were to other kingdoms abroad, it will appear by the efficacy of an ambassage sent from them to *Antiochus*: whereof before we speak, we must speak somewhat of *Antiochus's* fore-goers, of himself, and of his affairs, about which these ambassadors came.

SECT. XI.

The war of Antiochus upon Egypt, brought to end by the Roman ambassadors.

A*ntiochus* the great, after his peace with the *Romans*, did nothing that was memorable in the short time following of his reign and life. He died the six and thirtieth year after he had worn a crown, and in the seventeenth or eighteenth of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*: while he attempted to rob the temple of *Bel*, or (according to ^a *Justin*) of *Jupiter*. He left behind him three sons, *Seleucus Philopator*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Demetrius Soter*; and one daughter, *Cleopatra*, whom he had given in marriage to *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, king of *Egypt*. *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, and the eldest of *Antiochus's* sons, reigned in *Syria* twelve years, according to ^b *Eusebius*, *Appian*, and *Sulpitius*: though *Josephus* give him but seven. A prince, who as he was slothful by nature, so the great loss which his father *Antiochus* had received, took from him the means of managing any great affair. Of him, about three hundred years before his birth, ^c *Daniel* gave this judgment, *Et stabit in loco ejus vilissimus Et indignus decore regio; And in his place* (speaking of *Antiochus* the father of this man) *shall start up a vile person, unworthy the honour of a king*. Under this *Seleucus*, those things were done which are spoken of *Onias* the high priest, in these words, and other to the same effect. ^d *What time as the holy city was inhabited with all peace, because of the godliness of Onias the priest, it came to pass, that even the king did honour the place, and garnished the temple with great gifts*. And all that is written in the third chapter of the second of *Maccabees*, of *Simon of Benjamin*, who by *Apollonius* betrayed the treasures of the temple; and of *Heli-dorus* sent by the king to seize them; of his miraculous striking by God; and his recovery at the prayers of *Onias*; of the king's death, and of his successor *Antiochus Epiphanes*. It is therefore from the reign of this king, that the books of the *Maccabees* take beginning; which books seem not

to be delivered by one and the same hand. For the first book, although it touch upon *Alexander* the great, yet it hath nothing else of his story, nor of the acts of his successors, till the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the brother and successor of this *Seleucus*; from whom downward to the death of *Simon Maccabeus* (who died in the hundred threescore and seventeenth year of the *Greeks* in *Syria*) that first book treateth. The author of the second book, although he take the story somewhat further off, by way of a proem, yet he endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth year of the *Grecian* reign, and with the death of *Nicanor*, slain by *Judas*: remembring in the fourth chapter the practice of *Jason*, the brother of *Onias*, who, after the death of *Seleucus*, prevailed with *Antiochus Epiphanes*, his successor, for the priesthood. ^e It is also held by *Jansenius* and other grave writers, that it was in the time of this *Onias*, that *Arius* king of the *Spartans* sent ambassadors to the *Jews*, as to their brothers and kinsmen. Which intelligence between them and the *Greeks*, *Jonathan* the brother and successor of *Judas*, remembreth in the preamble of that epistle, which he himself directed to the people of *Sparta* by *Numenius* and *Antipater* his ambassadors, whom he employed at the same time to the senate of *Rome*; repeating also the former letters word by word, which *Arius* had sent to *Onias* the high-priest, whereto *Josephus* adds, that the name of the *Lacedemonian* ambassador was *Demoteles*, and that the letters had a square volume, and were sealed with an eagle holding a dragon in her claws.

Now to this *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, succeeded *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in the hundred and seven and thirtieth year of the *Greeks* in *Syria*. He was the second son of the great *Antiochus*: and he obtained his kingdom by procuring the death of the king his brother; which also he usurped from his brother's son.

Ptolemy Philometor, his nephew by his sister *Cleopatra*, being then very young, had been about seven years king of *Egypt*.

Ptolemy Epiphanes, the father of this king *Philometor*, had reigned in *Egypt* four and twenty years, in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. *Philip* of *Macedon*, and the great *Antiochus*, had agreed to divide his kingdom between them, whilst he was a child. But they found such other business, ere long, with the *Romans*, as made them give over their unjust purpose; especially *Antiochus*, who gave with his daughter in marriage, unto this *Ptolemy*, the provinces of *Cælesyria*, *Phenice*, and *Judea*, which he had won by his victory over *Scopus*, that was general of the *Egyptian* forces in those parts. Nevertheless, *Ptolemy* adhered to the *Romans*; whereby he lived in the greater security. He left behind him two sons; this *Ptolemy Philometor*, and *Ptolemy Physcon*, with a daughter *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was wife to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the younger, by whom she was cast off, and her daughter taken in her stead. Such were the marriages of these *Egyptian* kings.

Ptolemy Philometor, so call'd (that is, the lover of his mother) by a bitter nick-name, because he slew her, fell into hatred with his subjects, and was like to be chased out of his kingdom; his younger brother being set up against him. *Physcon* having a strong party, got possession of *Alexandria*; and *Philometor* held himself in *Alembis*, craving favour of king *Antiochus's* uncle. Hereof *Antiochus*

^a Strab. lib. 16. Jull. lib. 35. ^b Euseb. in Chron. App. de bell. Syr. Ant. 12. c. 5. ^c Dan. 11. 21. ^d 1 Mac. 1. 12. ^e 2 Mac. 1. 12. Super Eccl. c. 5.

was glad; who, under colour to take upon him the protection of the young prince, sought by all means possible to possess himself of that kingdom. He sent *Apollonius* the son of *Menesibheus* ambassador into *Egypt*, and, under colour to assist the king's coronation, he gave him instructions to persuade the governours of the young king *Philometor*, to deliver the king his nephew, with the principal places of that kingdom into his hands; pretending an extraordinary care and desire of his nephew's safety and well doing. And, the better to answer all argument to the contrary, he prepared a forcible army to attend him. Thus came he along the coast of *Syria*, to *Joppe*, and from thence on the sudden he turned himself towards *Jerusalem*, whereby ^a *Jason* the priest (a chaplain fit for such a patron) he was with all pomp and solemnity received into the city. For though lately, in the time of *Seleucus*, the brother and predecessor of ^b *Epiphanes*, that impious traitor *Simon* of the tribe of *Benjamin*, ruler of the temple, when he would have delivered the treasures thereof to *Apollonius* the governour of *Cælesyria* and *Phœnicia*, was disappointed of his wicked purpose by miracle from heaven; the said *Apollonius* being stricken by the angel of God, and recovering again at the prayer of *Onias*: yet sufficed not this example to terrify others from the like ungodly practices. Presently upon the death of *Seleucus*, this *Jason*, the brother of *Onias*, seeking to supplant his brother, and to obtain the priesthood for himself, offered unto the king three hundred and threescore talents of silver, with other rents and sums of money. So he got his desire, though he not long enjoyed it.

This naughty dealing of *Jason*, and his being over-reached by another, in the same kind, calls to mind a by-word taken up among the *Acheans*, when as that mischievous *Callicrates*, who had been too hard for all worthy and virtuous men, was beaten at his own weapon, by one of his own condition. It went thus:

*One fire than others burn more forcibly;
One wolf than other wolves does bite more sore;
One hawk than other hawks more swift does fly.
So one most mischievous of men before,
Callicrates, false knave as knave might be,
Met with Menalcidas more false than he.*

And even thus fell it out with *Jason*; who within three years after, was betrayed, and overbidden by *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, that for three hundred talents more obtained the priesthood for himself: *Jason* thereupon being forced to fly from *Jerusalem*, and to hide himself among the *Ammonites*.

From *Jerusalem*, *Antiochus* marched into *Phœnicia*, to augment the numbers of his men of war, and to prepare a fleet for his expedition into *Egypt*: with which, and with a mighty army of land-forces, ^d *He went about to reign over Egypt, that he might have the dominion of two realms, and entered Egypt with a mighty company, with chariots and elephants, with horsemen, and with a great navy, and moved war against Ptolemæus king of Egypt, but Ptolemæus was afraid of him and fled, and many were wounded to death. He won many strong cities, and took away the spoils of the land of Egypt.* Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of ^e *Daniel*. *He shall enter into the quiet and plentiful pro-*

vinces, and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his father's fathers. Never indeed had any of the kings of *Syria* so great a victory over the *Egyptians*, nor took from them so great riches. For he gave a notable overthrow to the captains of *Ptolemy*, between *Pelusium* and the hill *Cassius*; ^f after which, he entered and sack'd the greatest and richest of all the cities of *Egypt*, *Alexandria* excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after that *Antiochus* had smitten *Egypt*, ^g *He turned again and went up towards Israel and Jerusalem, with a mighty people, and entered proudly into the sanctuary, and took away the golden altar, and the candlestick for the light, and all the instruments thereof, and the table of the shewbread, and the pouring vessels and the bowls, and the golden basons, and the vail, and the crowns, and the golden apparel. He took also the silver and the gold, and the precious jewels, and the secret treasures: and when he had taken away all, he departed into his own land, after he had murdered many men.*

^h It was about the beginning of the *Macedonian* war that *Antiochus* took in hand this *Egyptian* business. At what time he first laid claim to *Cælesyria*; justifying his title by ⁱ the same allegations which his father had made; and stiffly averring, that this province had not been consigned over to the *Egyptian*, or given in dowry with *Cleopatra*. ^k Easy it was to approve his right unto that which he had already gotten, when he was in a fair way to get all *Egypt*. The *Acheans*, *Rhodians*, *Athenians*, and other of the *Greeks*, pressed him, by several ambassages, to some good conclusion. But his answer was; that if the *Alexandrines* could be contented to receive their king his nephew *Philometor*, the elder brother of the *Ptolemies*, then should the war be presently at an end; otherwise not. Yet when he saw that it was an hard piece of work to take *Alexandria* by force; he thought it better to let the two brothers consume themselves with intestine war, than by the terror of his arms, threatening destruction unto both of them, to put into them any desire of coming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his forces for the present; leaving the *Ptolemies* in very weak estate; the younger, almost ruined by his invasion: the elder hated and forsaken by his people.

But how weak soever these *Egyptians* were, their hatred was thought to be so strong, that *Antiochus* might leave them to the prosecution thereof; and follow, at good leisure, his other business at *Jerusalem* or elsewhere. So after the sack of *Jerusalem*, he rested him a while at *Antioch*; and then made a journey into *Cilicia*, to suppress the rebellion of the *Thracians* and other in those parts, who had been given, as it were, by way of dowry, to a concubine of the king's called *Antiochia*. For governour of *Syria* in his absence, he left *Andronicus*, a man of great authority about him. In the mean while *Menelaus* the brother of *Jason*, the same who had thrust *Jason* out of the priesthood, and promised the king three hundred talents for an income, committing the charge of the priesthood to his brother *Lysimachus*, took certain vessels of gold out of the temple: ^l of he presented a part to *Andronicus* the lieutenant, and sold the rest at *Tyre*, and other cities adjoining. This he did, as it seemed to advance the payment of the three hundred talents promised; the same being now

^a 2 Mac. 4.
^f Hieron. in Dan.

^b 1 Mac. cap. 3.
^g 1 Mac. c. 1.

^c 2 Mac. c. 4.
^h Lib. 6.

ⁱ 1 Mac. c. 1. v. 17, 18, 19, 20, &c.

^j Cap. 5. §. 2.

^k Polyb. Legat. 81, 82, &c.

^l Dan. 1. 10.

rus eagerly demanded. Hereof when *Onias* the priest (formerly dispossessed by *Jafon*) had certain knowledge, being moved with zeal, and detesting the sacrilege of *Menelaus*, he reprov'd him for it; and fearing his revenge, he withdrew himself into a sanctuary at *Daphne*.

Daphne was a place of delight adjoining as a suburb to *Antioch*. In compass it had about ten miles: wherein were the temples of *Apollo* and *Diana*, with a grove, sweet springs, banquetting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a manner, abused to lust, and other such voluptuousness. Whether it were well done of *Onias*, to commit himself to the protection of *Apollo* and *Diana*, or to claim privilege from the holiness of a ground consecrated to any of the heathen gods, I will not stand to discourse. Only I say for my own opinion; that the inconvenience is far less, to hold this book as *Apocryphal*; than to judge this fearful shift which *Onias* (though a virtuous man) made for his life, either commendable, or allowable, as the book seems to do. As for this refuge, it could not save the life of the poor old man: ^a For *Menelaus* taking *Andronicus* apart, prayed him to slay *Onias*. So when he came to *Onias*, he counselled him craftily, giving him his right hand with an oath, and persuading him to come out of the sanctuary: so he slew him incontinently, without any regard of righteousness. Hereof when complaint was made to *Antiochus*, after his return out of *Cilicia*, ^b He took away *Andronicus's* garment of purple, and rent his cloaths, and commanded him to be led throughout the city, and in the same place where he had committed the wickedness against *Onias*, he was slain as a murderer. In taking revenge of this innocent man's death, I should have thought that this wicked king had once in his life-time done justice. But presently after this, at the suit of one *Ptolemy*, a traitor to *Ptolemy Philometor*, he condemned innocent men to death; who justly complained against *Menelaus*, and his brother *Lyfimachus*, for a second robbing of the temple, and carrying thence the vessels of gold remaining. Hereby it is manifest, that he was guided by his own outrageous will, and not by any regard of justice: since he revenged the death of *Onias*, yet slew those that were in the same cause with *Onias*, ^c Who, had they told their cause, yea, before the *Scythians*, they should have been heard as innocent. By reason of such his unsteadiness, this king was commonly termed *Epimanes*, that is, mad, instead of *Epiphanes*, which signified noble or illustrious.

After this, *Antiochus* made a preparation for a second voyage into *Egypt*, ^d and then were there seen throughout all the city of *Jerusalem*, forty days long, horsemen running in the air with robes of gold, and, as bands of spearmen, and as troops of horsemen set in array, encountering and coursing one against another. Of these prodigious signs, or rather forewarnings of God, all histories have delivered us, some more, some less. Before the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Vespasian*, a star in the form of a sword appeared in the heavens, directly over the city; after which there followed a slaughter like unto this of *Epiphanes*, though far greater. In the *Cymbrian* wars, ^e *Pliny* tells us, that armies were seen fighting in the air from the morning till the evening.

In the time of pope *John* the eleventh, a fountain poured out blood instead of water, in or near the city of *Genoa*; soon after which the city was

taken by the *Saracens*, with great slaughter. Of these and the like prodigious signs, ^f *Vipera* hath collected many, and very remarkable. But this one seemeth to me the most memorable, because the most notorious. All men know that in the emperor *Nero*, the off-spring of the *Cesars*, as well natural as adopted, took end; whereof this notable sign gave warning.

^g When *Livia* was first married to *Augustus*, an eagle let fall into her arms a white hen, holding a lawrel branch in her mouth. *Livia* caused this hen to be carefully nourished, and the lawrel branch to be planted: of the hen came a fair increase of white poultry, and from the little branch there sprang up in time a grove of lawrel; so that afterwards, in all triumphs, the conquerors did use to carry in their hands a branch of bays taken out of this grove; and, after the triumphs ended, to set it again in the same ground; which branches were observed, when they happened to wither, to foreshew the death of those persons who carried them in triumph. And in the last year of *Nero*, all the broods of the white hen died, and the whole grove of bays withered at once. Moreover, the heads of all the *Cesars* statues, and the scepter placed in *Augustus's* hand, were stricken down with lightning. That the *Jews* did not think such strange signs to be unworthy of regard, it appears by their calling upon GOD, and praying, that these tokens might turn to good.

Now, as the first voyage of *Antiochus* into *Egypt* was occasioned by discord of the two brethren therein reigning; so was his second expedition caused by their good agreement. For the elder *Ptolemy* being left in *Memphis*, not strong enough to force his brother, who had defended *Alexandria* against all the power of their uncle, thought it the best way to seek entrance into that royal city, rather by persuasion than by arms. *Phycon* had not as yet forgotten the terror of the former siege: the *Alexandrians*, though they loved not *Philometor*, yet loved they worse to live in scarcity of victuals (which was already great among them, and like to grow extreme) since nothing was brought in from the country; and the friends of the younger brother saw no likelihood of good issue to be hoped for without reconciliation. These good helps, and above all these, the loving dispositions of *Cleopatra*, who then was in *Alexandria*, encouraged *Philometor* in his purpose. But that which made him earnestly desirous to accomplish it, was the fear wherein he stood of his uncle. For though *Antiochus* were gone out of *Egypt* with his army, yet had he left behind him a strong garrison in *Pelusium*; retaining that city, which was the key of *Egypt*, to his own use. This consideration wrought also with *Phycon*, and with those that were about him; so as by the vehement mediation of *Cleopatra*, their sister, the two brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the news of this accord was brought to *Antiochus*, he was greatly enraged; for notwithstanding that he had pretended no other thing than the establishment of the king *Philometor*, his nephew, and a meaning to subject his younger brother unto him, which he gave in answer to all ambassadors; yet he now prepared to make sharp war upon them both. And to that end, he presently furnished and sent out his navy towards *Cyprus*, and drew his land-army into *Calesjria*,

^a 2 Mac. cap. 4.

^b 2 Mac. c. 4. v. 38.

^c Ver. 47.

^d 2 Mac. c. 5. v. 1.

^e Plin. lib. 2. c. c;

^f Mercur. Vipera de Prodig. lib. 8. Vipera de pisco & sacro instituto.

^g Sueton. Galba.

ready to enter *Egypt* the spring following. When he was on his way as far as *Rhinocorura*, he met with ambassadors sent from *Ptolemy*. Their errand was partly to yield thanks to *Antiochus* for the establishing of *Philometor* in his kingdom; partly to beseech him, that he would rather be pleased to signify what he required to have done in *Egypt*, which should be performed, than to enter it as an enemy with so puissant an army. But *Antiochus* returned this short answer, that he would neither call back his fleet, nor withdraw his army, upon any other condition, than that *Ptolemy* should surrender into his hands, together with the city of *Pelusium*, the whole territory thereto belonging; and that he should also abandon and leave unto him the isle of *Cyprus*, with all the right that he had unto either of them, for ever. For answer unto these demands, he set down a day certain, and a short one. Which being come and pass'd, without any accord made, the *Syrian* fleet enter'd *Nilus*, and recovered as well those places which appertained to *Ptolemy* in *Arabia*, as in *Egypt* it self; for *Memphis*, and all about it, received *Antiochus*, being unable to resist him. The king having now no stop in his way to *Alexandria*, pass'd on thitherwards by easy journeys.

Of all these troubles pass'd, as well as of the present danger wherein *Egypt* stood, the *Romans* had notice long ago. But they found, or were contented to find, little reason for them to intermeddle therein. For it was a civil war, and wherein *Antiochus* seemed to take part with the juster cause. Yet they gave signification, that it would be much displeasing unto them, to have the kingdom of *Egypt* taken from the rightful owners. More they could not, or would not do, being troubled with *Perseus*; and therefore loth to provoke *Antiochus* too far. Nevertheless, the *Egyptian* kings being reconciled, and standing jointly in need of help against their uncle, who prepared and made open war against them both; it was to be expected, that not only the *Romans*, but many of the *Greeks*, as being thereto obliged by notable benefits, should arm in defence of their kingdom. *Rome* had been sustained with food from *Egypt*, in the war of *Hannibal*; when *Italy* lying waste, had neither corn nor money wherewith to buy sufficient store. By help of the *Egyptian*, had *Aratus* laid the foundation of that greatness whereto the *Acheans* attained. And by the like help, had *Rhodes* been defended against *Demetrius Poliorcetes*. Neither were these friendly turns, which that bountiful house of the *Ptolemies* had done for sundry people abroad, ill followed or seconded, by other as had in requital; but with continuance of suitable beneficence from time to time increased. Wherefore the two brothers sent abroad confidently for aid; especially to the *Rhodians* and *Acheans*, who seemed most able to give it effectually. To the *Romans*, *Physcon* and *Cleopatra* had sent a year since; but their ambassadors lay still in *Rome*. Of the *Acheans* they desired in particular, that *Lycortas*, the brave warrior, might be sent to them as general of all the auxiliaries, and his son *Polybius* general of the horse. Hereunto the *Acheans* readily condescended, and would immediately have made performance, if *Callicrates* had not interposed his mischievous art. He, whether seeking occasion to vaunt his obsequiousness to the *Romans*; or, much rather, envying those noble captains,

whose service the kings desired, withstood the common voice, which was, that their nation should not with such small numbers, as were requested, but with all their power, be aiding unto the *Ptolemies*. For it was not now (he said) convenient time to entangle themselves in any such business, as might make them the less able to yield unto the *Romans* what help soever should be required in the *Macedonian* war. And in this sentence, he, with those of his faction, obstinately persisted; terrifying others with big words, as it were, in behalf of the *Romans*. But *Polybius* affirmed, that *Martius*, the late consul, had signified unto him, that the *Romans* were pass'd all need of help; adding further, that a thousand foot and two hundred horse might well be spared to the aid of their benefactors, the *Egyptian* kings, without disabling their nation to perform any service to the *Romans*; forasmuch as the *Acheans* could, without trouble, raise thirty or forty thousand soldiers. All this notwithstanding, the resolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken by the violence of *Callicrates*. For when it was thought that the decree should have pass'd, he brought into the theatre where the assembly was held, a messenger, with letters from *Martius*; whereby the *Acheans* were desired to conform themselves to the *Roman* senate, and to labour, as the senate had done, by sending ambassadors to set *Egypt* in peace. This was an advice against all reason. For the senate had indeed sent ambassadors to make peace; but as in a time of greater business elsewhere, with such mild words, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely, that the *Acheans* should do any good in the same kind. Yet *Polybius* and his friends durst not gainsay the *Roman* council, which had the force of an injunction. So the kings were left in much distress; disappointed of their expectation. But within a while was *Perseus* overcome; and then might the ambassador sent from the *Roman* senate perform as much as any army could have done.

Audience had been lately given by the senate unto those ambassadors of *Physcon* and *Cleopatra*; which having stay'd more than a whole year in the city, brought nothing of their business to effect until now. The ambassadors delivered their message in the name of those that had sent them; though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) *Philometor* no less than his brother and sister.

In this embassy of *Ptolemy*, now requesting help from *Rome*, appeared a notable change of his fortune, from such as it had been before three or four years last past. For in the beginning of these his troubles, which began with the *Macedonian* war, either he, or *Euleus*, or *Ieneus* (upon whom the blame was afterwards laid) which had the government of him, thought his affairs in such good estate, that not only he determined to set upon *Antiochus*, for *Coelesyria*, but would have interposed himself between the *Romans* and *Perseus*, as a competent arbitrator; though it fell out well, that his ambassador was by a friend perswaded to forget that point of his errand. From these high thoughts, he fell on the sudden, by the rebellion of his brother and subjects, to live under the protection of the same *Antiochus*. And now at such time, as by atonement with his brother and subjects, he might have seemed to stand in no need of such protection, he hath remaining none other help whereby to save both his kingdom and life, than

what can be obtained by their intercession which were employed against him. This miserable condition of him, his brother, and sister, shewed it self even in the habit of those ambassadors. They were poorly clad; the hair of their heads and beards over-grown, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their hands branches of olive. Thus they entered into the senate, and there fell groveling and prostrate upon the floor. Their garments were not so mean and mournful, nor their looks and countenances so sad and dejected, but that their speech was than either of the other far more lamentable. For having told in what danger their king and country stood, they made a pitiful and grievous complaint unto the senate, beseeching them to have compassion of their estate, and of their princes, who had always remained friendly and faithful to the *Romans*. They said, that the people of *Rome* had so much heretofore favoured this *Antiochus* in particular, and were of such account and authority with all other kings and nations, as if they pleased but to send their ambassadors, and let *Antiochus* know that the senate was offended with his undertaking upon the king their confederate, then would he presently raise his siege from before *Alexandria*, and withdraw his army out of *Egypt* into *Syria*. But that if the senate protracted any time, or used any delay, then should *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* be shortly driven out of their realms, and make repair to *Rome*, with shameful dishonour to the senate and people thereof, in that, in the extreme dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchsafed to relieve them.

The lords of the senate, moved with compassion, sent incontinently *C. Popilius Lenus*, *C. Decimius*, and *A. Hostilius*, as ambassadors, to determine and end the war between those kings. In commission they had first to find king *Ptolemy*, and then *Antiochus*, and to let them both understand, that unless they surceased and gave over arms, they would take that king no more for a friend to the senate and people of *Rome*, whom they found obstinate, or using delay. So these *Romans*, together with the *Alexandrian* ambassadors, took their leave, and went onward their way within three days after.

Whilst *Popilius* and his fellows were on their way towards *Egypt*, *Antiochus* had transported his army over *Lucine*, some forty miles from *Alexandria*. So near was he to the end of his journey, when the *Roman* ambassadors met him. After greeting and salutations at their first encounter, *Antiochus* offered his right hand to *Popilius*; but *Popilius* filled it with a roll of *Paper*, willing him to read those mandates of the senate, before he did any thing else. *Antiochus* did so, and having a little while considered of the business, he told *Popilius*, that he would advise with his friends, and then give the ambassadors their answer. But *Popilius*, according to his ordinary blunt manner of speech, which he had by nature, made a circle about the king with a rod which he held in his hand, willing him to make him such an answer as he might report to the senate, before he moved out of that circle. The king, astonished at this so rude and violent a commandment, after he had stay'd and paused a while, I will be content (quoth he) to do whatsoever the senate shall ordain. Then *Popilius* gave unto the king his hand, as to a friend and ally of the *Romans*.

Thus *Antiochus* departed out of *Egypt* without any good issue of his costly expedition, even in

such manner as *Daniel* had prophesied long before; yea, fulfilling every particular circumstance, both of returning, and of doing mischief to *Jerusalem* after his return; like as if these things had rather been historified than fore-told by the prophet. As for the *Roman* ambassadors, they stayed a while, and settled the kingdom of *Egypt*, leaving it unto the elder brother, and appointing the younger to reign over *Cyrene*. This done they departed towards *Cyprus*; which they left, as it had been, in the power of the *Egyptian*, having first sent away *Antiochus's* fleet, which had already given an overthrow to the *Egyptian* ships.

SECT. XII.

How the Romans were dreadful to all kings. Their demeanour towards Eumenes, Prusias, Masanissas, and Cotys. The end of Perseus and his children. The instability of kingly estates. The triumphs of Paulus, Anicius, and Octavius. With the conclusion of the work.

BY this peremptory demeanour of *Popilius*, in doing his message, and by the ready obedience of king *Antiochus* to the will of the senate; we may perceive how terrible the *Romans* were grown, through their conquest of *Macedon*. The same *Popilius* had been well contented a year before this, to lay aside the roughness of his natural condition, and to give good language to the *Acbeans* and *Etolians*, when he went ambassador to those people of *Greece*, that were of far less power than king *Antiochus*. Likewise, *Antiochus* had with good words, and no more than good words, dismissed other ambassadors which came from *Rome*, in such sort, as they complained not, much less used any menacing terms, though he performed nothing of their request. But now the case was altered. So found other kings as well as *Antiochus*.

Eumenes sent to *Rome* his brother *Attalus* to gratulate the victory over *Perseus*, and to crave help or countenance of the senate against the *Gallo-Greeks*, which molested him. Very welcome was *Attalus*, and lovingly entertained by most of the senators; who bade him be confident, and request of the senate his brother's kingdom for himself; for it should surely be given him. These hopeful promises tickled *Attalus* with such ambition, that he either approved, or seemed to approve the motion. But his honest nature was soon reclaimed by the faithful counsel of *Stratius* a physician; whom *Eumenes* had sent to *Rome* of purpose to keep his brother upright. So when he came into the senate, he delivered the errand about which he had been sent; recounting his own services done to the *Romans* in the late war, ^b wherewithal he forgot not to make of his brother as good mention as he could; and finally requested, that the towns of *Atius* and *Maronea* might be bestowed upon himself. ^c By his omitting to sue for his brother's kingdom, the senate conceived opinion, that he meant to crave another day of audience for that business alone. Wherefore, to make him understand how gracious he was, they not only granted all his desire; but in the presents which they gave to him (as was their custom to ambassadors, that came with an acceptable message) they used singular magnificence. ^d Nevertheless, *Attalus* took no notice of their meaning; but went his way, contented with what they had already granted. This did so highly displease the senate, that whilst he was yet in *Rome*,

^a Dan. c. ii. v. 29, 30, &c.

^b Liv. lib. 45.

^c Polyb. legat. 93.

^d Pol. b. i. c. 11.

they gave order for the liberty of *Ænus* and *Maronea*: thereby making ineffectual their promise; which otherwise they could not, without shame, revoke. And as for the *Gallo-Greeks*, which were about to invade the kingdom of *Pergamus*; they sent ambassadors to them, with such instructions, as rather encouraged than hindered them in their purpose. The displeasure of the senate being so manifest; *Eumenes* thought it worthy of his labour to make another voyage to *Rome*. He might well blame the folly of his second voyage thither, for this necessity of the third; since, by his malice to *Perseus*, he had lay'd open unto these ambitious potentates the way to his own doors. No sooner was he come into *Italy*, than the senate was ready to send him going. It was not thought expedient to use him as an enemy, that came to visit them in love: neither could they in so doing, have avoided the note of singular inconstancy; and to entertain him as a friend, was more than their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would permit. Wherefore they made a decree, that no king should be suffered to come to *Rome*; and by virtue thereof sent him home, without expence of much further complement.

Prusias king of *Bithynia* had been at *Rome* somewhat before; where he was welcomed after a better fashion. He had learned to behave himself as humbly as the proud *Romans* could expect or desire. For entering into the senate, he lay down, and kissed the threshold, calling the *fathers* his gods and saviours: as also he used to wear a cap, after the manner of slaves newly manumised, professing himself an enfranchised bondman of the people of *Rome*. He was indeed naturally a slave, and one that by such abject flattery kept himself safe; though doing otherwise greater mischief than any wherewith *Perseus* had been charged. His errand was, besides matter of complement, to commend unto the senate the care of his son *Nicomedes*, whom he brought with him to *Rome*, there to receive education. Further petition he made, to have some towns added to his kingdom: whereto, because the grant would have been unjust, he received a cold answer. But concerning the wardship of his son, it was undertaken by the senate: which, vaunting of the pleasure lately done to *Egypt*, in freeing it from *Antiochus*, willed him thereby to consider what effectual protection the *Romans* gave unto the children of kings, that were to their patronage commended.

But above all other kings, *Malaniffa* held his credit with the *Romans* good. His quarrels were endless with the *Carthaginians*: which made the friendship of the *Romans* to him the more assured. In all controversies they gave judgment on his side; and whereas he had invaded the country of *Emporia*, holding the lands, but unable to win the towns; the *Romans* (though at first they could find no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppression) compelled finally the *Carthaginians* both to let go all their hold, and to pay five hundred talents to the *Numidians*, for having hindered him of his due so long. Now indeed had *Rome* good leisure to devote upon the ruin of *Carthage*: after which, the race of *Malaniffa* himself was shortly by them rooted up. But hereof the old king never dreamed. He sent to *Rome* one of his sons, to congratulate the victory over *Perseus*; and offered to come thither himself, there to sacrifice for joy unto *Jupiter* in the *Capitol*. His good will was lovingly accepted; his son rewarded; and he entreated to stay at home.

Cotys the *Thracian* sent ambassadors, to excuse himself touching the aid by him given to *Perseus*, for that the *Macedonian* had him bound by hostages; and to entreat, that his son which was taken with the children of *Perseus*, might be set at liberty for convenient ransom. His excuse was not taken; since he had voluntarily obliged himself to *Perseus*, by giving hostages without necessity: yet was his son given back to him ransom-free; with admonition, to carry himself better toward the *Romans* in time following. His kingdom lay between *Macedon* and some barbarous nations; in which respect, it was good to hold him in fair terms.

As for those unhappy kings, *Perseus* and *Genetius*, they were led through *Rome*, with their children and friends, in the triumphs of *Æmylius* and *Anicius*. *Perseus* had often made suit to *Æmylius*, that he might not be put to such disgrace; but he still received one scornful answer, that it lay in his own power to prevent it; whereby was meant, that he might kill himself. And surely, had he not hoped for greater mercy than he found, he would rather have sought his death in *Macedon*, than have been beholden to the courtesy of his intolerant enemies for a wretched life. The issue of the *Roman* clemency, whereof *Æmylius* had given him hope, was no better than this: after that he, and his fellow king, had been led in chains through the streets, before the chariots of their triumphing victors, they were committed to prison, wherein they remained without hope of release. It was the manner, that when the triumpher turned his chariot up towards the *Capitol*, there to do sacrifice, he should command the captives to be had away to prison, and there put to death: so as the honour of the vanquisher, and misery of those that were overcome, might be both together at the utmost. This last sentence of death was remitted unto *Perseus*: yet so, that he had little joy of his life; but either famished himself, or (for it is diversly reported) was kept watching perforce by those that had him in custody; and so died for want of sleep. Of his sons, two died; it is uncertain how. The youngest called *Alexander* (only in name like unto the *Great*, though destined sometimes perhaps by his father, unto the fortunes of the great) became a joiner, or turner, or, at his best preferment, a scribe under the *Roman* officers. In such poverty ended the royal house of *Macedon*: and it ended on the sudden; though some eightscore years after the death of that monarch, unto whose ambition this whole earth seemed too narrow.

If *Perseus* had known it before, that his own son, should be compelled to earn his living by handy-work, in a painful occupation; it is like, that he would not, as in a wantonness of sovereignty, have commanded those poor men to be slain, which had recovered his treasures out of the sea, by their skill in the feat of diving. He would rather have been very gentle, and would have considered, that the greatest oppressors, and the most untrodden wretches are all subject unto the one high power, governing all alike with absolute command. But such is our unhappiness; instead of that blessed counsel, *Do as ye would be done unto*; a sentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicity; we entertain that arrogant thought, *I will be like to the most high*: that is, *I will do what shall please my self*. One hath said truly:

— *Et qui nolunt occidere quenquam,
Posse volunt* : —

*Even they that have no murd'rous will,
Would have it in their power to kill.*

All, or the most, have a vain desire of ability to do evil without controul : which is a dangerous temptation unto the performance. God, who best can judge what is expedient, hath granted such power to very few : among whom also, very few there are, that use it not to their own hurt. For who sees not, that a prince, by racking his sovereign authority, to the utmost extent, enableth (besides the danger to his own person) some one of his own sons or nephews to root up all his progeny ? Shall not many excellent princes, notwithstanding their brotherhood, or other nearness in blood, be driven to flatter the wife, the minion, or perhaps the harlot, that governs one, the most unworthy of his whole house, yet reigning over all ? The untimely death of many princes, which could not humble themselves to such flattery ; and the common practice of the *Turkish* emperors, to murder all their brethren, without expecting till they offend ; are too good proofs hereof. Hereto may be added, That the heir of the same *Roger Mortimer*, who murdered most traiterously and barbarously king *Edward* the second, was, by reason of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, heir apparent to the crown of *England* : which had he obtained, then had all the power of *Edward* fallen into the race of his mortal enemy, to exercise the same upon the line of that unhappy king. Such examples of the instability whereto all mortal affairs are subject ; as they teach moderation, and admonish the transitory gods of kingdoms, not to authorize by wicked precedents, the evil that may fall on their own posterity : so do they necessarily make us understand, how happy that country is, which hath obtained a king able to conceive and teach, 'That ^b *God is the forest and sharpest schoolmaster, that can be devised, for such kings, as think this world ordained for them, without controulment to turn it upside down at their pleasure.*

Now, concerning the triumph of *L. Aemilius Paulus* ; it was in all points like unto that of ^c *T. Quintius Flaminius* : though far more glorious, in regard of the king's own person, that was led along therein, as part of his own spoils ; and in regard likewise both of the conquest and of the booty. So great was the quantity of gold and silver carried by *Paulus* into the *Roman* treasury, that from thenceforth, until the civil wars which followed upon the death of *Julius Caesar*, the estate had no need to burthen it self with any tribute. Yet was this noble triumph likely to have been hindered by the soldiers ; who grudged at their general, for not having dealt more bountifully with them. But the princes of the senate over-ruled the people and soldiers herein, and brought them to reason by severe exhortations. Thus *Paulus* enjoyed, as much honour of his victory as men could give. Nevertheless, it pleased God to take away from him his two remaining sons, that were not given in adoption : of which, the one died five days before the triumph ; the other, three days after it. This loss he bore wisely ; and told the people, That he hoped to see the commonwealth flourish in a continuance of prosperity ; since the joy

of his victory was requited with his own private calamity, instead of the publick.

About the same time, *Octavius* the admiral, who had brought *Perseus* out of *Samothrace* : and *Anicius* the pretor, who had conquered *Illyria*, and taken king *Gentius* prisoner : made their several triumphs. The glory of which magnificent spectacles ; together with the confluence of ambassages from all parts ; and kings either visiting the imperial city, or offering to visit her, and do their duties in person ; were enough to say unto *Rome*, *Sume superbiam ; Take upon thee the majesty, that thy deserts have purchased.*

BY this which we have already set down, is seen the beginning and end of the three first monarchies of the world ; whereof the founders and erectors thought that they could never have ended. That of *Rome* which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We have left it flourishing in the middle of the field ; having rooted up or cut down, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had ; the storms of ambition shall beat her great boughs and branches one against another ; her leaves shall fall off ; her limbs wither, and a rabble of barbarous nations enter the field, and cut her down.

Now these great kings, and conquering nations have been the subject of those ancient histories, which have been preserved, and yet remain among us ; and withal of so many tragical poets as in the persons of powerful princes, and other mighty men, have complained against infidelity, time, destiny ; and most of all, against the variable success of worldly things, and instability of fortune. To these undertakings, these great lords of the world have been stirred up, rather by the desire of *fame*, which ploweth up the air, and soweth in the wind ; than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it so much vexation, and so many cares. And that this is true, the good advice of *Cyneas* to *Pyrrhus* proves. And certainly, as fame hath often been dangerous to the living, so is it to the dead of no use at all ; because separate from knowledge. Which were it otherwise, and the extream ill bargain of buying this last discourse, understood by them which were dissolved ; they themselves would then rather have wished, to have stolen out of the world without noise ; than to be put in mind, that they have purchased the report of their actions in the world, by rapine, oppression and cruelty, by giving in spoil the innocent and labouring soul to the idle and insolent, and by having emptied the cities of the world of their ancient inhabitants, and filled them again with so many and so variable sorts of sorrows.

Since the fall of the *Roman* empire (omitting that of the *Germans*, which had neither greatness nor continuance) there hath been no state fearful in the east, but that of the *Turk* ; nor in the west any prince that hath spread his wings far over his nest, but the *Spaniard* ; who since the time that *Ferdinand* expelled the *Moors* out of *Granado*, have made many attempts to make themselves masters of all *Europe*. And it is true, that by the treasures of both *Indies*, and by the many kingdoms which they possess in *Europe*, they are at this day the most powerful. But as the *Turk* is now counterpoised by the *Persian*, so instead of so many millions as have been spent by the *English*, *French*,

^a Juvenal. Sat. 10.

^b The true law of five monarchies.

^c Chap. 3 § 4.

and *Netherlands* in a defensive war, and in diversions against them, it is easy to demonstrate, that with the charge of two hundred thousand pounds, continued but for two years or three at the most, they may not only be persuaded to live in peace; but all their swelling and over-flowing streams may be brought back into their natural channels and old banks. These two nations, I say, are at this day the most eminent and to be regarded; the one seeking to root out the christian religion altogether, the other the truth and sincere profession thereof; the one to join all *Europe* to *Asia*, the other the rest of all *Europe* to *Spain*.

For the rest, if we seek a reason of the succession and continuance of this boundless ambition in mortal men, we may add to that which hath been already said; That the kings and princes of the world have always laid before them, the actions, but not the ends, of those great ones which preceded them. They are always transported with the glory of the one; but they never mind the misery of the other, till they find the experience in themselves. They neglect the advice of God, while they enjoy life, or hope it; but they follow the counsel of death, upon his first approach. It is he that puts into man all the wisdom of the world, without speaking a word; which God with all the words of his law, promises or threats, doth not intuse. *Death*, which hateth and destroyeth man, is believed; God, which hath made him and loves him, is always deferred. *I have considered* (saith *Solomon*) *all the works that are under the sun, and behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit*: but who believes it, till death tells it us. It was death, which opening the conscience of *Charles*

the fifth, made him enjoin his son *Philip* to restore *Navarre*; and king *Francis* the first of *France*, to command that justice should be done upon the murderers of the protestants in *Merindol* and *Cabrières*, which till then he neglected. It is therefore death alone, that can suddenly make man to know himself. He tells the proud and insolent, that they are but abjects, and humbles them at the instant; makes them cry, complain, and repent; yea, even to hate their fore-passed happiness. He takes the account of the rich, and proves him a beggar; a naked beggar, which hath interest in nothing, but in the gravel that fills his mouth. He holds a glass before the eyes of the most beautiful, and makes them see therein, their deformity and rottenness; and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, just and mighty death! whom none could advise, thou hast persuaded; what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and despised: thou hast drawn together all the far stretched greatness, all the pride, cruelty, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with these two narrow words, *Hic jacet*.

Lastly, whereas this book, by the title it hath, calls itself, the first part of the *general history* of the *world*, implying a *second*, and *third* volume; which I also intended, and have hewn out; besides many other discouragements, persuading my silence; it hath pleased GOD to take that glorious prince out of the world, to whom they were directed; whose unspeakable and never enough lamented loss, hath taught me to say with *Job*, *Perse est in luctum citrara mea, & organum meum in vocem flentium*.

F I N I S.

